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Bonum est homini ut eum veritas vincat volentem, quia malum est homini ut eum veritas vincat invitum. Nam ipsa vincat necesse est, sive negantem sive confitentem.

S. AUG. EPIST. ccxxxviii. AD PASCENT.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
TRUE REFORM IN THE TEACHING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. By <i>Rev. Anthony Maas, S.J.</i> ,	1
Prof. T. K. Chene's opinions on the subject, 1; Modern Bible critics have no definite system, 2; Positions of Delitsche and of Strack, 3; Twenty-one different theories, 4; Davidson's theory, 5; Results of modern Old Testament criticism, 6 and 7; Use of the Old Testament in pulpit oratory, 8 and 9; Study of the Old Testament colleges and seminaries, 10 and 11.	
THE TRADITION OF THE GENTILES. By <i>M. M. Snell</i> ,	12
Similarity of some Catholic doctrines and forms to ideas and practices of heathen nations, 12; False inferences from this, 13; The Augustinian view, 14; Evidences of human degeneration, 15 and 16; The Rig Veda and the Zend Avesta, 17; Ancient monotheism degenerates first into pantheism and then into polytheism, 18 and 19; The Catholic Church of to-day is the true representative of the patriarchal religion as well as of the revelation of Christ, 20.	
RUSSIAN ORTHODOXY AND THE RUSSIAN SECTS. By " <i>Zemliak</i> ,"	21
Rude doctrinal simplicity of the Russian sects, 21; Their originating cause, 22 and 23; Gross ignorance of the clergy, 24; Slavish observance of forms, 25; Moral degradation of the clergy, 26; The Patriarch Nikon, 27 and 28; Dissentients resisting his measures, 28; Characteristic notions and practices of the Dissentients, 29; Who and what the Skoptsy are, 30 and 31; Attaching no value to human life, they believe in and practice suicide, 32 and 33; Domitian, Daniel and Vaska immolating themselves and their followers, 34, 35 and 36; The "Old Believers" resorting to suicide to escape the Russian soldiers, 37 and 38; How they have been persecuted, 39 and 40; The numbers that have perished, 41 and 42; Their old hymns, 43.	
THE AVESTA AND ITS DISCOVERER. By <i>A. Hilliard Atteridge</i> ,	44
The destruction of the Persian Guebres or Fire Worshipers in 641 by the Arabs, 44; Their subsequent history in India under the name of Parsis, 45; The central idea of their religion, 46; Modern study of this religion, 49; search for extant remnants of its literature, 47; Duperron's investigations and discoveries, 48; Controversies about their genuineness, 50; Objections answered, 51; The Avesta, as we now have it, 52.	
THE NEW CRUSADE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By <i>R. H. Clarke, LL.D.</i> ,	53
The Holy Father's Encyclical on Human Liberty, 53; Cardinal Lavigerie's mission, 54; The real condition of Africa, before the invasion of Arab slave traders, 55; The methods of the slave dealers, 56 and 57; their cruelty, 58-60; statistics of the slave trade, 61-63; The slave trade increasing, 64; Whence the demand for slaves, 64 and 65; Catholic missions, 66 and 67; Arab slave dealers trying to expel the missionaries, 68; Plans for arresting the slave trade, 69 and 70; Cardinal Lavigerie's plan, 70.	
THE FIRST PERIOD OF ANTI-IRISH BRITISH DIPLOMACY AT ROME. By <i>Mgr. Bernard O'Reilly, D.D.</i> ,	72
The unended struggle between British Protestantism and the hierarchy of the Catholic Church in Ireland, 72; the endurance of the Catholic Celt, 73; Cardinal Cullen and Lord Clifford, 74; The question of the veto, 75 and 76; Intrigues of the British Government, 77-80; The National Schools, 81 and 82; Charitable Bequests Bill, 83 and 84; The famine, 85; The godless colleges, 86, 87 and 88; The Irish bishops thwarting British diplomacy, 89-91.	
MAGNA CHARTA AS IT IS. By <i>D. A. O'Sullivan, Q. C.</i> ,	92
Erroneous conceptions of the Charter, 92 and 93; Condition of England prior to the Charter, 94; Character of King John, 95; The Barons of Runnymede, 96; How King John treated the Charter, 97; What became of the Charter of Runnymede, 98; The real Magna Charter, 98, 99 and 100.	
THE HIGHER AND LOWER EDUCATION OF THE AMERICAN PRIESTHOOD. By <i>Rev. James F. Loughlin, D.D.</i> ,	101
Purpose of the article, 101; Its chief topics, 102; Mgr. Corcoran, 103; What the Church of a nation is, its clergy are, 104; Carping critics, 105-6; The Catholic clergy of the United States, 107-8; Why they are not book-makers, 109; How the system of clerical training may be improved, 110-11; Preparatory seminaries; provincial? or diocesan? where they should be located? 112-13; Necessity of system and organization; how best secured? 114-16; Relation of seminaries to the University, 117; Requires a complete remodeling of our seminaries, 118; Advantageous results, 119-122.	
FORTY YEARS IN THE AMERICAN WILDERNESS. By <i>M. A. C.</i> ,	123
The motive of the article, 123; Description of Salt Lake Valley, 124-125; History of its settlement, 126-27; The Mormon theocracy, 128-29; No happiness in polygamous families, 130-31; Character and appearance of Mormon men and women, 132-33;	

Inordinate cupidity of the Mormon rulers, 134; Brigham Young, 135-36; Erroneous notions as to Mormon industry, 137-39; Factions, 140; Mormonism developing into infidelity, 141; Brigham Young and his wives, 142; The Mountain Meadow massacre, 143; Brigham Young and Catholics, 144-46; Attitude of the United States Government, 147; Mormon graveyards, 148; Concluding reflections, 149.	PAGE
OUR RECENT AMERICAN CATHOLIC CONGRESS AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE. By <i>John A. Mooney, LL.D.</i> ,	150
Moral effect of the congress; on Europeans, on Canadians, on American non-Catholics, 150-53; Opinions of the non-Catholic press, 154-55; Moral effect on Catholics in the United States, 156; Sentiments of the bishops, 157-58; Character of the papers read, 159-60; Temporal Power, 161; The American Catholic newspaper press, American Catholic newspapers and books, 162; American Catholic societies; American Catholic education, 163-65; Our duty to our colored brethren, 166; Other questions, 167; Plan for the next Catholic Congress, 168-69.	
SCIENTIFIC CHRONICLE. By <i>Rev. D. T. O'Sullivan, S.J.</i> ,	170
The Forth Bridge, 170-71; Ramle, 171-73; The Channel Bridge, 174; Minor Notes; Solar Eclipse, Uranium, Milford Haven, Cæruleum, 175-77.	
THE TRUE AND THE FALSE PHILOSOPHY OF SOCIAL REFORM. By <i>Rev. Alfred Young, C.S.P.</i> ,	193
A wrong estimate of public opinion, 193; Two antagonistic philosophies, 194; Catholic philosophy, 195; A "bed-rock question," 196; When comes the idea of a possible future perfection, 197-99; True reformation is the reaffirmation of first principles, 200 and 201; The efforts at reform are an implied confession of men's primeval perfection, 202; The unity and solidarity of mankind, 203-5; The conviction of human degeneracy precedes all efforts at reform, 206; Why the names of great and true reformers ever live, 207 and 208; Degeneracy is death; reform is revivification, 209; Practical illustrations of these truths among the Jews, the Romans, Protestants and Agnostics, 209-12; A tyrannical plutocracy, 213; Where only a philosophy that can save our civilization from its own defects, 214-16; How Catholic philosophy does it, 217-22; Socialistic sophisms, 223-27; The true solution, 228.	
CATHOLIC WORSHIP AND CHRISTIAN ART. By <i>Rev. Charles M. Carroll, D.D.</i> ,	228
The fruitfulness of the theme, 229; The writer's purpose, 230; The influence of Catholic worship on the development of Christian art, 231-32; The paintings in the Catacombs, 233-35; Byzantine Art and Iconoclasm, 236; Revival of painting and sculpture in the thirteenth century and its destruction in the sixteenth, 237; Influence of the Roman liturgy and poetry, 338-40; The music of the Church, Gregorian and modern, 241 and 242; Church architecture, 243-46; Its spiritual significance, 247; Its influence on worshippers, 248.	
THE NORSE HIERARCHY OF AMERICA. By <i>Richard H. Clarke, LL.D.</i> ,	249
The first bishop, Eric Upsal, 249-50; The second bishop, Arnold, 251-54; The third bishop, John Knutus, 255; The further succession of bishops down to the nineteenth, in 1448, 256-58; Brief of Nicholas V., in 1448, to bishops in Iceland, 259; Scanty information respecting priests on Greenland missions, 260; Monks, monasteries and churches, 261-64; Extirpation of Christians in Greenland, 265-66.	
DR. DOLLINGER AND THE "OLD CATHOLICS." By <i>Arthur F. Marshall, B.A. (Oxon.)</i> ,	267
How Dr. Dollinger began to go wrong, 267; His former testimonies to the supreme ecclesiastical power and infallibility of the Pope, 268; The "Old Catholic" Congress at Cologne, 269-70; The successive steps of Dollinger's apostasy, 271-73; Lamennais, Montalembert and Lacordaire, 274; Dollinger's two great mistakes, 275-76; The decadence of "Old Catholicism," 277; The self-contradiction of the denial of infallibility, 277-80; Inconsistencies of the objections to the Vatican Council, 281-83.	
WHEN BRIGHAM YOUNG WAS KING. By <i>M. A. C.</i> ,	284
The first Mass in Salt Lake City, 248; Catholic increase in Utah, 285; How Catholicism was planted there, 286; Salt Lake City and Camp Douglas, 287-89; Interview with Brigham Young, 290-96; His "wives" and children, 297-99; The Mormons are slaves, 300.	
THE ENCYCLICAL SAPIENTIE CHRISTIANÆ. By <i>Rt. Rev. John J. Keane, D.D.</i> ,	301
The aim and purpose of this encyclical, 301; Summary of its chief teachings, 302; Current misapprehensions, 303; Religious tolerance and intolerance, 304-8; Religious Rights, 309; Religious liberty in the United States, 310.	
IS THE DREAM OF A UNIVERSAL REPUBLIC TO BE REALIZED IN OUR DAY? By <i>J. I. Rodriguez</i> ,	311
The overthrow of imperialism in Brazil, 311; Extravagant expectations, 312-13; England and Spain marching towards republicanism, 314; Influence of the Catholic, 315-16; Authority, liberty and tyranny, 317-20; Conscience, 321; Positive law and revealed law, 322-23; The purpose and object of human society, 324.	
AUSONIO FRANCHI—THE GREAT ITALIAN PHILOSOPHER'S NOBLE REPARATION. By <i>John A. Mooney, LL.D.</i> ,	325
The lesson taught by Franchi's reparation, 325; Who he was and is, 326; His his-	

tory and life, 327-30; His adoption of rationalism, testing it and discovering its illusions, 331-34; His journey from unbelief to faith, 335-37; Analysis and refutation of modern schools of sophistry, 338-40; Analysis of the condition of Italy, 341-46; The crime of attacking God and the church, 347.	PAGE
THE PROPOSED REVISION OF THE WESTMINSTER CATECHISM. <i>By George D. Wolff, LL.D.,</i>	348
The inherent self-contradiction of the question, 348; Origin of the Westminster Confession, 349; The part the Scotch took in it, 350; The League and Covenant, 351-53; Who and what the Westminster Commissioners were, 354-55; How they proceeded, 356; The Confession wholly framed according to directions of the "Long Parliament," 356-59; Chief points of the present contention, 360; Impossibility of eliminating from the Confession its calumnious charges against Catholics and the Pope, 361-62; The other points of the contention, 363; Like impossibility as to the "Decree of Reprobation," "Preterition" and the "Damnation of Non-Elect Infants," 364-66; The discussion logically ends in a <i>reductio ad absurdum</i> , 367.	
SCIENTIFIC CHRONICLE. <i>By Rev. D. T. O'Sullivan, S.J.,</i>	368
Safety in electric lighting, 368-71; Nicaragua Canal, 372-73; The use of oil in storms, 374-75.	
SALUTATORY. <i>By the Most Rev. Patrick John Ryan, D.D.,</i>	385
The Aims of the American Catholic Quarterly Review, 385; Its mission, 386; Its relations to politics and science, 387; to history and biography, 388; Thoroughly American, 389.	
THE "IMPREGNABLE FORTRESS"—PRINCE BISMARCK AND THE CENTRE PARTY. <i>By Very Rev. Monsignor Joseph Schrader, D.D.,</i>	390
Bismarck, the hermit in spite of himself—has he been great in every respect? has he been noble? 390-91; Parliamentarianism in the German Empire and the Kingdom of Prussia, 392-94; The <i>Herrenhaus</i> , 395; Bismarck and the different parties in Parliament, 396; Origin and programme of the Centre Party, 397-99; The " <i>Kulturkampf</i> ," 400-402; Bismarck leading it, and all parties (except the "Centre") joining the movement, 403-6; Bismarck's first plan; religious liberty erased from the Constitution of the Empire, 407-409; The "Centre Party" in battle, 410; Their line of conduct, 411-13; Effects of the "May laws," 414-15; Canossa, 416-18; What the Centre Party represents, 419-21.	
CONSECRATION OF THE PHILADELPHIA CATHEDRAL—HISTORICAL REMINISCENCES. <i>By John Gilmary Shea, LL.D.,</i>	422
The Consecration of the Philadelphia Cathedral mark an epoch in American Catholic history, 422; Bishop Egan, 423; The year 1815 an eventful one, 424; Treatment of Bishop Conwell on his arrival, 425; The Right Rev. Francis Patrick Kenrick, 426-27; Bishop Michael O'Connor, 428-29; Division of the diocese, 430; Bishop Newman and Archbishop Wood, 431; Growth of the Church in the United States, 432; Archbishop Ryan, 433.	
CATHOLIC DOGMA AND SCIENTIFIC DOGMATISM. <i>By Rev. John A. Zahm, C.S.C.,</i>	431
False charges against the Church by a certain class of scientists, 434; The responsibility on all religious organizations claiming authority to teach matters pertaining to religion, 435; The Catholic Church only equal to this responsibility, 436; Infidelity and rationalism the logical outcome of Luther's principle of private interpretation of Scripture, 437; By adherence to the principles of induction the great Catholic scientists have been successful in their investigations, 438; Through neglect of metaphysics and true philosophy Spencer, Darwin, Haeckel, Vogt, Büchner and other infidel scientists blunder in their conclusions, 439-445; What the unwarranted conclusions of infidel modern scientists embrace, 446; They are only old errors in a new guise, 447-48; Unable to stand the test of criticism, 449; Contradict one another, 450-52; Instances of their untrustworthiness, 453-55; Summing up of the argument, 457.	
OXFORD, ANCIENT AND MODERN. <i>By Arthur F. Marshall, B.A., Oxon.,</i>	457
Colleges originally founded to help the poor scholar have become the means for fleecing him, 457; What ancient Oxford was and the original purpose of its colleges, 457-60; The practical wisdom and Catholic piety of their founders, 461; The hatred of letters displayed by the "reformers," 462; Influence of Oxford on undergraduates, 466-70; Anglican bishops looking on doctrines of the faith as "ladies fashions," 471.	
THE IMMORAL TEACHING OF THE JESUITS. <i>By Rev. Salvator M. Brandi, S.J.,</i>	472
The alleged immoral teaching of the Church ("Let us do evil that good may come"), dates back to the days of St. Paul, 472; Dr. Littledale's revival of it against the Society of Jesus, 473; What the Society really teaches; the proposed <i>end of an action</i> : its <i>object</i> ; the <i>circumstances</i> that attend and qualify it, 474-75; Citations from Jesuit theologians, 475-77; Prejudice the real basis of the false accusation, 478; Littledale's misrepresentations and dishonest methods a fair sample of the disregard of truth by adversaries of Catholic teaching, 479.	
THE FORCE OF PRINCIPLES. <i>By Brother Barbas,</i>	480
What a principle is; the impossibility of separating conclusions from their prin-	

	<p>ciples, 480-81; The force of principles not confined to true principles, 482; In religion especially we use the force of principles, 483; Luther's false principles are seen in their full force to-day, 484-85; Other notable instances—Paulus, Semler, Neander, Baumgartner, Renau, Colenzo, 486-487; Fiske's "protest against Dogma, 488-91; Private judgment becomes evolutionist, 492-04; The principle of authority, 495.</p>	PAGE
THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.	<i>By Bryan J. Clinch,</i>	496
	<p>How the Russian government treats its Latin Catholic subjects, 496; the religious aspect of Poland, 497; What Poland originally comprised, 498; Intellectual superiority of the Poles to the other races in Russia, 498; Poles increasing in numbers and spreading into other regions, 499; Attitude of the Czar and his ministers to the Catholic religion, 500; Cruel treatment of Catholics, 501; The purpose is to force the Catholics of Russia to acknowledge the Czar as the Head of the Church, 502; Successive phases of the persecution, 503-6; Hypocritical promises of the Czar, 507, 508.</p>	
LOYALTY TO ROME AND TO COUNTRY.	<i>By Rt. Rev. John J. Keane, D.D.,</i>	509
	<p>Henry Charles Lee's attack upon Catholic loyalty, 509; In what sense the Church in this country is not "American and Independent," 510; The cosmopolitan spirit and aim of the Church, 511; Obedience to a higher law than civil laws, 512; The distinction between Church and State, 513-15; Man has no right to form a creed to suit himself, must follow the truth, 516; The Catholic Church not a theocracy nor an imperium in imperio, 517; not impossible to distinguish between matters pertaining to the Church and those which pertain to the State. The Encyclical of Leo XIII. <i>Immortale Dei</i> makes this distinction, 518-20; False notions as to the origin of the Papacy, 521 and 522; False notions about the nature and limits of infallibility, 523; The oath of allegiance in the reigns of Elizabeth and James, 524; the <i>exequatur</i> or <i>placet regium</i>, 525 and 526; concluding explanations, 527 and 528.</p>	
ST. BERNARD AND HIS APPROACHING CENTENARY.	<i>By Mgr. Bernard O'Reilly, D.D.,</i>	529
	<p>St. Bernard's career, 529 and 530; His parents, 531; Fontaine's, 532; Its present condition, 533; St. Bernard's early education, 534; His mother's saintly death, 535; His first victory over self, 536; How his uncle, Gaudry, and his brothers, Bartholomew, Guy and Gerard, were won over to a religious life, 537 and 538; Bernard's parting with his father, brother and sister, 539; Condition of Cîteaux, 540; His penitential rigors and admission to solemn monastic vows, 541; Bernard leading a "swarm" from Cîteaux to the Valley of Absinth, 542; Trials and spiritual rewards, 543 and 544; Bernard receiving his father and youngest brother as religious, 545; The chief evils of that age originating in feudalism, 546-48; Bernard's apology, 549 and 550.</p>	
FRAY JUAN DE PADILLA, THE FIRST CATHOLIC MISSIONARY AND MARTYR IN EASTERN KANSAS, 1542.	<i>By Ad. F. Bandelier,</i>	551
	<p>Coronado's attempt, in 1510, to colonize New Mexico, 551; The Franciscan Fathers who accompanied his expedition and remained behind when he returned, 552 and 553; Fra Juan de Padilla; who he was, his character, 554; The delusive statements of a captive Indian, 555 and 556; Manner in which Coronado was received by different tribes and the route he pursued, 557-59; Natural features and productions of the country traversed, 560; Numbers and habits of the Indians, 561; Who the Quilivas were and where located, 561-63; Martyrdom of Fray de Padilla, 564 and 565.</p>	
ARE CATHOLICS RIGHT?	<i>By Rt. Rev. Francis S. Chatard, D.D.,</i>	566
	<p>The opportuneness of the question respecting the position of Catholics on the subject of schools, 566; The present state of the educational problem, 567; Inherent rights of individuals, 568; Some details of the system of public school education, 569 and 570; Testimony of Irish Prelates on the subject, 571 and 572; Further evil effects of public school education, 573; Necessity of denominational schools, 574; How the foundation of a useful life is laid, 575.</p>	
IN MEMORIAM OF THE RIGHT REV. JAMES O'CONNOR.	<i>By George D. Wolff, LL.D.,</i>	576
	<p>Bishop O'Connor's character, ability, holy zeal and successful labors, 576 and 577.</p>	
SCIENTIFIC CHRONICLE.	<i>By Rev. D. T. O'Sullivan, S. J.,</i>	548
	<p>Electro-Magnetic Theory of Light; Views of Electricity, 578-83; The Rotation Period of Mercury, 586; Lexell's Comet, 587; Profits of the Paris Exposition, 588; 589-90; Lime Sulphate Powder, 591-92.</p>	
A GLANCE AT THE PRESENT POSITION OF THE CHURCH IN ENGLAND, WITH A GRATEFUL REMINISCENCE OF CARDINAL NEWMAN.	<i>By Arthur F. Marshall, B.A. (Oxon.),</i>	609
	<p>Change in English opinion during the last forty years, 609; Social progress of the Catholic Church, 610; Lord Beaconsfield and Cardinal Manning, 611; Prominence of Catholics in literature and official movements, 612; Influence of Catholics throughout the British Empire, 613; Numerical growth of Catholicism in Great Britain, 614-16; Obstacles to the conversion of England, 617 and 618; Ritualism, 619; Catholic organization in England, 620; Education, 621; Need of a missionary spirit, 622; Political causes and religious Liberalism, 623 and 624; Death of Car-</p>	

Table of Contents.

II

dinal Newman, 625; Position at Oxford, 626 and 627; His controversies, 628; His glorious mission, 629. PAGE

THE FRIENDS AND THE FOES OF SCIENCE. By *Rev. John A. Zahn, C.S.C.*, 630

The so-called leaders of modern thought, 630; Visionary speculations, 631; Contempt for metaphysics, 632; Necessary precautions against error, 633; Comby, Berthelot and Pasteur, 634; The scientists trained under the influence of the Church eminently careful and practical, 635; Brilliant galaxy of Christian scientists, 636; Infidel scientists the logical exponents of the principles of the "Reformers," 637; Testimonies of Luther and others as to the decline of learning, 638-40; Opposition of Protestantism to science, 640-42; Kepler and Tycho Brahe, 643 and 644; Protestant persecution of Descartes, the Marquis of Worcester, and inventors and discoverers, 645-47; Of Harvey, Jauner and Simpson, 648; Opposition to lightning rods, 649; Scientific researches of Catholic religious, 650-52; The Christian belief of most distinguished scientists, 653-55; Intimate connection of the inductive sciences with philosophy and theology, 656.

A SAD CHAPTER FROM THE STORY OF IRELAND. By *Rev. T. R. Power*, . 657

Walter Besant's social novels, 657; The story of Alice Eykin, 659 and 660; The scanty details published of the transportation of Irish to the West Indies, 661 and 662; Press-gangs and slave-hunts, 663; No escape for the captured, 664 and 665; The fate of the young girls worse than death, 666; Scenes of horror in Ireland, 667; Separation of wives from husbands and children from parents, 668 and 669; How many were transported, 670 and 671; Their sufferings on shipboard, 672; Their horrible treatment on the islands, 673 and 674; Exiled priests, 675 and 676; Father Grace's narrative, 678 and 679; Scanty records in Barbadoes, 670.

THE TIMES THAT LED UP TO DANTE. By *Condè B. Pallen, Ph.D.*, . . . 681

To duly estimate the Middle Ages we must ascend further up the stream of time, 681; The destruction of the Roman Empire by barbarians, 682; The Saracens of the 7th century, 683; The desertion of the West by the Greeks, its consequences, 684; Condition of Europe from the 7th to the 9th centuries, 685; Embryonic formation of the national life of European people, 686; The death of heathen Rome inevitable, 687; A Christian empire to take its place, 688; Christianity and the barbarians, 689; Princes compelled to learn that political obedience has its limits, 690; Resistance of the German Kaisers, 691; In the age of Dante Europe was just emerging from this conflict, 692; Human thought feeling the effects of the change, 693 and 694; Scholasticism, 695; The central theme of the Divine Comedy, 696.

WAS ST. PAUL MARRIED—CANON FARRAR'S ANSWER. By *Rev. Joseph V. Tracey, S.S.*, 697

The first requisites of a historian, 697; Canon Farrar's sweeping assumptions, 698; Acts XXVI. 10, the true meaning, 699 and 700; Saul's supposititious membership of the Sanhedrin Council, 701 and 702; Unanswerable objections to the supposition, 703; I Cor. IX., 5, its true meaning, 704 and 705; I Cor. VII., 8, Canon Farrar's interpretation, 706; Objections to his interpretation, 707 and 708; Testimony of tradition, 709 and 710.

FATHER DAMIEN. By *Bartle Teeling*, 711

Scarcely possible to realize the horrors of leprosy, 711-12; Yet not long since all Europe was infected with it. Leprosy in the Hawaiian Islands, 714; How Father Damien came to enter upon his heroic mission, 715; His early life and training, 716-18; His seminary life, 719; His ten years of labor as a missionary in the Hawaiian, 720-23; His arrival at the leproserie, 724; Description of its horrors, 725-26; His heroic perseverance and its blessed fruits, 727; Letter to his mother, 728; His exemption from the disease for some years, and his subsequent infection with it, 729; His letters his bishop and to his relatives, 730; Father Wendelin's account of his death, 731-32; His last letters, 733.

THE POPES OF THE RENAISSANCE. By *John A. Mooney, LL.D.*, 734

Ludwig Pastor's "History of the Popes," 734; The Church at once a monarchy and a democracy, 735; Early History of Æneas Silvius Piccolomini, 736-38; His entrance into the priesthood, 739; Canon Creighton's misrepresentations, 740; Æneas's frank avowal to Pope Eugenius, 741; Æneas when Bishop of Sienna and when Cardinal, 742; His elevation to the Papacy, choosing the name of Pius II.; his learning, eloquence and energy, 743; Paul II., his early life and character, 744-45; The temporal rulers of that age, 746-49; Pius II. and the Turks, 750-53; Lukewarmness of the temporal rulers, 754; Holy zeal and perseverance of Pius II., 755-56; His death, 757; Canon Creighton's misrepresentations, 758; Scanderbeg, 759; Sixtus IV., 760; Ravages of the Turks, 761; Efforts of Sixtus to arrest them, 762-63.

ARE ALL FORMS OF CHRISTIANITY EQUALLY GOOD? By *Rev. John J. Conway*, 764

Liberalism and Latitudinarianism, 764; The Catholic teaching on Indifference, 765; Christ's commission to His Apostles, 766; The Council of Jerusalem, 767; Intellectual sin a violation of God's law, 768; St. Paul on the unity of faith, 769; Testimony of the early Fathers, 770; Belief in the equal good of all forms of religion a denial of absolute truth, 771; Such belief is contrary to reason, 772; The Catholic religion is the most reasonable of all religions, 773.

	PAGE
CARDINAL NEWMAN. By <i>Rev. Herman J. Heuser</i> ,	774
The various reasons for the almost universal homage accorded to Newman, 774; The writer's opinion, 775; Newman reached the hearts of men, 776; Newman as a youth, 777; Elected Fellow of Oriel, 778; Newman's associates, 779; Hurrell Froude, 781; Keble, Dr. Pusey, Dr. Whately, 781; Newman appointed Vicar of St. Mary's, 781; Newman's journey along the Mediterranean; his illness and sadness, 782; His return to Oxford; the Tractarian Movement, 783; its avowed objects, 784; Tract XC, 785; Confidence lost in Newman, 786; The Anglican authorities and Newman, 786; Newman's studies of Primitive Christianity, 787; His reasons for holding back others from entering the Catholic Church and his own delay, 788; His reception into the Church, 789; His tearing the mask off of Achilli, 790; Kingsley's attack, 791; His later years, 792; His death, 793.	
SCIENTIFIC CHRONICLE. By <i>Rev. D. T. O'Sullivan, S.J.</i> ,	790
Electro-Magnetic Theory of Light. Maxwell's Hypothesis—Part II., 795-98; Oleo-margarine, 799-801; New Use for Electricity, 802; The Croton Aqueduct, 803; The August Shower of Meteors, 804; Lightning Rods, 806; Microbes, 806-8.	

BOOK NOTICES.

Aids to Effective Elocution (O'Grady).....	608	Life of St. Anthony of Padua (Dirks).....	605
Benjamin Herder.....	826	Luther on Education (F. F. Peintzel)	607
Cardinal Lavigerie and the African Slave Trade (Clarke).....	380	Lux Vera.....	605
Catholicity versus Protestantism.....	607	Manual of Catholic Theology (Wilhelm).....	598
Century of Revolution (Lilly)	189	Meditationes de Præcipuis Mysteriis (De Ponte).....	817
Christian Unity and the Historic Episcopate (Forrester).....	178	Moral Philosophie (Cathrein).....	822
Compendium Juris Canonici (Smith).....	608	Musa Ecclesiastica (A' Kempis).....	192
Conferences of Agostino da Montefeltro.....	604	Natural Religion (Hettinger).....	601
Constitutional History of the United States (Curtis).....	180	New English Dictionary.....	185
Dark Ages (Maitland)	186	Nicolai Nilles.....	824
De Philosophia Morali Prælectiones (Russo)	825	Official Report of the Catholic Congress	384
Der Apostel von Ohio	831	Our Christian Heritage (Cardinal Gibbons)	181
Diary of the Parnell Commission (Macdonald).....	384	Palestine (Condor).....	378
Garden of Divine Love.....	191	Perfection of Man by Charity (Buchner).....	191
General Metaphysics (Rickaby).....	607	Philosophy of Literature (Bro. Azarias).....	809
Good Things for Catholic Readers.....	190	Plain Sermons (Browne).....	828
Herndon's Lincoln.....	189	Principles of Religious Life (Doyle).....	602
History of the Founders of the Order of Servants of Mary.....	191	Problems of Greater Britain (Dilke).....	382
History of France.....	191	Problems in American Society (Crooker)	182
Institutiones Patrologiæ.....	188	Rational Religion (Conway).....	606
Introduction to the Sacred Scriptures.....	377	Reconstruction of Europe (Murdoch).....	185
Isabella of Castile.....	606	Religious Aspect of Revolution (McCosk).....	382
Jesus the Messiah (Edersheim).....	187	Revelations of the Sacred Heart to Blessed Margaret Mary, and History of her Life	600
Justice and Jurisprudence.....	812	Sermons for the Sundays and Chief Festivals of the Ecclesiastical Year (Pottgeiser).....	190
La Reforme Sociale, et le Centenaire de la Revolution.....	184	Short Cut to the True Church (Hill)	599
Les Aveugles (Sizeranne).....	381	Souvenir Volume of the Centenary.....	384
Les Faits Economiques et le Mouvement Social en Italie.....	832	St. Chrysostom.....	376
Les Origines de la Revolution Française.....	379	Supernatural Revelation (Mead).....	593
Lessons from Our Lady's Life.....	191	The Four Gospels Vindicated (Heiss).....	606
Life of Blessed Margaret Mary Alacoque (Barry)	379	The Pope and the New Era.....	603
Life of Don Bosco (Lady Martin).....	379	Theologia Moralis Fundamentalis.....	819
		Unknown Switzerland (Tissot).....	188
		Way, Nature, and Means of Revelation (Weir)	595
		Who was Bruno? (J. A. Mooney).....	608
		Works and Days of Moses (Perring).....	382

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TRUE REFORM IN THE TEACHING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

PROF. T. K. CHEYNE, in his article, "Reform in the Teaching of the Old Testament" (*Contemp. Rev.*, August, 1889), endeavors to impress us with the conviction that we must adopt a reform or expect a revolution in the teaching of the Old Testament. With the watchword, "Reform, an alternative to Revolution," he insists on the necessity of a compromise between belief and skepticism. It is in order to save the Old Testament as a piece of Christian religious literature that we must be prepared to change our tactics in its regard. The danger threatens us from modern criticism; to modern criticism, therefore, all concessions must be made. What, in the opinion of Prof. Cheyne, we ought to yield to modern critics may be summed up in two propositions: 1. The results of Bible criticism must be admitted as certain. 2. In matters with regard to which modern criticism has not yet spoken the last word, we must suspend our opinion. But these general conditions of the proposed compromise are considerably modified in their application. In the following pages we shall, therefore, first consider the way in which our author applies his principles, and then suggest the outlines of a true reform in the teaching of the Old Testament.

The article in the *Contemporary Review* first of all vindicates the rights of modern criticism, and then endeavors to prove the existence of some results. It is certainly discouraging for an emi-

VOL. XV.—I

ment specialist to read in the Diocesan Address, for 1889, of the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, that "as yet there are really no established results (in the Old Testament criticism) beyond those which are recognized in our prayer-book." To be told by Dr. Wace (*Nineteenth Century*, May, 1889) that "the younger school of English Hebraists is going too far and too fast," can but elicit a smile of compassion on the face of a scholar who is himself of no little weight in that school. "Too far and too fast," indeed, the professor grants, Old Testament criticism goes for New Testament scholars; but, instead of criticising, the New Testament specialists ought rather to encourage and help on their Old Testament colleagues, if not from a feeling of friendship and love, at least for the good of New Testament theology.

Nor is it only the speed and forwardness of Old Testament criticism that Prof. Cheyne must defend; the very foundations of the science are said to be sandy, all is hypothesis and theory; fashion is the only standard of truth. Present adherents of Kuenen-Wellhausen may next year, if circumstances require it, adhere to any other author whose system is more novel and striking. The writer in the *Contemporary* does not deny it, but sees in this fact rather a happy sign of independent thought. The renowned Bible critics professedly adhere to no definite philosophical system; their course is not influenced by any strong philosophical bias. And when the objection is urged that if historical criticism is untrammelled by philosophy, it is also unguarded by theology, the whole matter is settled by the question, whether "any of the leaders of religious thought in our day are pure supernaturalists." The learned professor does not seem to realize the fact that his own remark concerning the difference of views on the supernatural proves the sandy foundations of Bible criticism. If the supernatural depends on the various subjective conceptions of nature's limits, and does not surpass all possible natural exigencies and resources, the critical canons, too, of the Old Testament students will vary with various authors. If we are allowed to speak of a pure and a partial supernaturalism, as we speak of a pure and partial liberalism, in religion, and especially in its Old Testament department, we shall soon be reduced to a greater influence of personal interests and ambitions than we see in common politics.

The objectively supernatural, then, is banished from the study of the Old Testament, but we enjoy psychologism of criticism instead. Prof. Cheyne does not see any harm in becoming a psychologist in criticism, since when out of the pulpit "we are almost all of us psychologists in exegesis." We must, according to the principles of psychological criticism, approach the facts of the Old Testament as nearly as possible, and then explain them according

to the laws of nature, if we can ; if we cannot, we leave them unexplained. The meaning of these principles is more fully determined in a foot-note, in which we are permitted to express a *theological* conviction on the nature of a historical fact, provided we do not speak as historians. Thus allowance is made for the consoling position of Delitzsch, namely, that neither in the Old nor the New Testament critical analysis necessarily leads to a denial of miracles either historical or spiritual. So much for the principles of psychological criticism ; we shall next consider the results of this kind of critical analysis.

Dr. Hermann Strack's "Introduction to the Old Testament" is here appealed to by Prof. Cheyne as an orthodox theological cyclopædia of the results of modern Old Testament criticism. Whether this appeal has been influenced by the fact that Dr. Wace refers Mrs. Humphrey Ward to the same author is hard to determine ; but in any case Dr. Strack's results, though scarcely disavowed by any expert in Protestant Germany, are a long way "too far and too fast" for us. St. Paul's principle, to study all things with a view to building up, is certainly far from being followed in one and all of Dr. Strack's results, in as far as they are utilized by Prof. Cheyne. The first result pointed out by the professor concerns the book of Daniel, and comprises two facts : 1. The book of Daniel was not written by Daniel. 2. Its second part dates from the time of the Machabees. If even the psychological critics find it difficult to disintegrate the book of Daniel,—and that they do, according to Dr. Strack's avowal,—what reasons may they have for disintegrating the work at all ? In which of its two principles has modern criticism a motive for its way of acting ? The proximity to the facts does not lead us to suppose an author different from Daniel ; it is, on the contrary, an acknowledged fact that Daniel calls himself the author of the book ; if we then reject his authority with regard to this fact, why should we believe him in other points ? Nor does the second principle of psychological criticism force us to reject the authorship of Daniel, for, according to it, we must explain facts naturally, if possible ; if we cannot explain them thus, we leave them unexplained. There is a question of *explaining* facts, not of changing or inventing them. The fact, then, of Daniel's authorship might have been left unexplained, if there was need ; but it should not have been denied, as criticism has denied it, by assigning the book to another author.

The next result pointed out by Prof. Cheyne touches Ecclesiastes, and a pitiful result it is. "The Jewish tradition with regard to Ecclesiastes must be abandoned." The Professor supposes Ecclesiastes to be the first part of a man of the world's apology for Christianity. But we are not told in the *Contemporary* what this

astonishing result of psychological criticism involves—twenty-one different theories at least, each of which claims an equal right with that of Prof. Cheyne, have sprung into existence; each assigns to Ecclesiastes a different origin and a different period of composition. Nachtigall, Paulus and Grotius; Hardt, Keil and Haevernick; Rosenmüller, Ewald and Stähelin; Gerlach, Delitzsch and Burger; Maier, De Wette and Kleinert; Schenkel, Böttcher and Hitzig; Reuss, Vatke and Graetz, are some of the representatives and defenders of each of the twenty-one theories. They all assure us that their own view is the most probable and satisfactory. Nor are we told that, on the other hand, men like Wangemann, Boehl, Taylor, Lewis, Bullock, Schaefer, Motais, Essen, Reusch, Vegni, Welte, Scholz, Danks, Haneberg, Vigouroux, Tschokke, Schenz and Cornely still defend the truthfulness of the Jewish tradition concerning the origin of Ecclesiastes, and point out Solomon as the author of the book. Matters standing thus, psychological criticism goes "too far and too fast" for us in bidding us to abandon the Jewish tradition on this point as unfounded.

"Pass next to Isaiah," we are bid by Prof. Cheyne. From the start we part with Dr. Strack and his friend, Dr. Orelli, because they have been converted too recently to the side of modern criticism. Dr. Cheyne had been converted in 1870, and that after nine full years of post-graduate studies. The work called "The Book of Isaiah Chronologically Arranged" will be our guide in this new field of investigation. First, then, as to the results: 1. The plural authorship of Isaiah is certain. 2. The modern tradition of the Babylonian origin of the whole part from chapter 40 to 66 holds its ground. Not very promising results to begin with, but we must hold our judgment in suspense. Prof. Cheyne whispers into our ear that even the result number 2 will soon be beaten out of the field. The cruelty of Manasseh, who sawed Isaiah in two, is well known in tradition. History repeats itself most certainly. Not one, but many a Manasseh is, in our days, striving to the utmost to saw the prophet, not merely in two, but to cut him limb from limb, to mangle his body, to dislocate his bones, and to disfigure his whole person. "Despised and the most abject of men, a man of sorrows and acquainted with infirmity," Isaiah might have said of himself, suffering under the dissecting-knife of modern criticism.

But we must look more accurately at the given results. Not to mention all the theories concerning the authorship of the minor divisions of the first part of the prophet, psychologic criticism requires at least two authors of the book. Why the various parts have been combined cannot be explained. Perhaps it has been a mere oversight on the part of the collector. Who the real authors were, and who the collectors, remains also a literary mystery. Fancy

an anthology without indications of the beginning and end of each particular piece, without names of authors and collectors, and you have pretty nearly an idea of the book of Isaiah in the light of modern criticism. Davidson (*Introd.* iii., p. 61) uses our very comparison: "Like the books of Psalms and Proverbs," he says, "it is an anthology." The great unity of the work, which appears on a closer study of its sacred contents, must yield to the speculations of criticism. The identity of principles throughout the book, its uniform progress of thought, its constant application of the same rules of art, its continuous refinement of feeling and expression, its high perception of the relation between Creator and creature, its even philosophy of theocracy and human polity, its unvaried reverence for Jehovah and His anointed, all these bonds of unity are so many empty titles for our psychologic criticism. The prophet may start with the statement of his divine call "to blind the heart of this people and make their ears heavy and shut their eyes" (Is. 6, 10), and show its truthfulness to the minutest particulars in the course of his work; he may send forth his heartrending cry of sympathy: "How long, O Lord" (Is. 6, 11), when the nation is in woe, and exult in every national joy with the gladness of Him "that prepareth the way in the desert" (Is. 40, 3) and "bringeth glad tidings to Sion" (Is. 52, 7); his heart may beat from beginning to end for the glory of Jehovah and the greatness of his name; his whole book may be but a broad outline of the history of nations before and during the Messianic reign, showing that "all flesh is grass, and all the glory thereof as the flower of the field" (Is. 40, 7). But all these arguments for the unity of the book of Isaiah and its single authorship are not indeed denied by psychologic criticism; they are ignored. Had as much labor been spent in a solid study of the prophet as has been wasted in idle dreams about his sacred writings, we should have been told ere this that the very parts of Isaiah called in question by the critics agree admirably well with the age of the prophet, while they do not fit into the later period of the exile to which they are assigned. Take, for instance, the serious warning of the prophet against idolatry. During the reigns of Achaz and Manasseh it was most timely, but after the exile it would have been entirely out of place. Again, take the argument of Isaiah for the omniscience of God, namely, the prophecy of the fall of Babylon and the restoration of the Jewish nation through Cyrus. Had these events been a matter of history when the argument was written, it might have amused the reader, but could not have convinced him. Not to mention that the prophecies of Isaiah speak of Jerusalem as still existing, of Egypt and Ethiopia as still at the height of their power, and rebuke the Jewish nation for seeking help from the nations rather than from Jehovah,

we cannot pass in silence over the fact that the later prophets, such as Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Zephaniah, Nahum, Habakkuk, freely quote Isaiah, though they lived before the period to which modern criticism assigns the origin of the prophet's second part. It should seem, then, but reasonable that any Old Testament student, not biassed by the axioms of psychologic criticism, must agree with us in pronouncing Prof. Cheyne's results in the case of Isaiah also "too far and too fast."

The last *result* of modern Old Testament criticism pointed out by the professor is the Kuenen-Wellhausen theory of the Pentateuch. Dr. Strack has here been abandoned for his obscurity, though he is "a dry and a dull" writer. The orthodox Davids, too, obtain their share of sarcasm for not being equally skilful slingers with the shepherd-hero. The writer does not seem to consider that even if Providence has not gifted one with the skill of the sling, it is preferable to ambition David's victory than to act as Goliath's shield-bearer. Next we are informed about the glorious *results*: 1. The book of Deuteronomy, or its main part, though possibly earlier than Isaiah's time, is undoubtedly later than Solomon's. 2. Though the book contains a certain amount of the Mosaic element, this, too, has "passed through the subjectivity of the later writer," and "Deuteronomy in all its parts is a work from a single smelting." 3. The other books of the Hexateuch—for modern criticism insists on speaking of Hexateuch instead of Pentateuch—are a Mosaic of the productions of the Jehovist, and the proto-Elohists, and the priestly narratives and laws, all of which are blended into one by one or more "Redactors." If we make use of the current abbreviations, denoting the Jehovist by J, the Elohist by E, the priest-codex by P, the "Redactor" by R, Deuteronomy by D, and by J', E', etc., the second, third, etc., editions of the respective writings, we may express the modern critical view of the Hexateuch by the following formula:

$$\frac{\frac{J+E}{R(je)} + D}{R(d)} + P' + P'' + P''' \over R = \text{Hexateuch}.$$

That J, E, D, P and R, R', etc., thrown in at pleasure, constitute a universal solvent of books and authors, does not seem to interest modern criticism. If Milton and Shakespeare, according to the above principles, are resolvable into various distinct authors, our critics infer that Milton and Shakespeare either never existed, or are but compilers of an anthology. The sophistry of their critical principles never occurs to our psychologists. Neither do they

consider that their work moves from beginning to end in a vicious circle. First they divide the Hexateuch into J, E, P, D and R, assigning to each his proper position, according to the supposed characteristic of each, and, the partition completed, they clap their hands and cry out "miracle." The offspring of the theory agrees with the theory, as a matter of course; if the coat made to order does not fit the person, the tailor is at fault, not the pattern. Finally, to throw a glance at the history of our critical theories, the documentary hypothesis concerning the Hexateuch has had to yield to the supplementary, though the supplementary in its turn meets more difficulties in its way than its predecessor did. We may therefore safely maintain that even in its work of predilection, the analysis of the Hexateuch, psychologic criticism has gone "too far and too fast."

Finally, Prof. Cheyne points out more definitely in which particulars he would introduce a reform. In private study we must proceed on the basis of the critical facts and results commonly admitted by the learned. In the ordinary university teaching, Old Testament criticism ought to form a special department of scientific theology; at least, no theological student should leave the university without having formed a critical and historical habit of mind. In their extraordinary teaching, universities must encourage the prosecution of inquiry on those lines which promise to be most remunerative in Old Testament criticism. In secondary schools the teachers should not treat the narratives of the Old Testament as if they were all equally historical; he must not permit the children to suppose that he knows, or that any one knows, or that the writers of Genesis knew anything about the antediluvians, or about the three supposed ancestors of the Israelites. In primary schools, though simple minds that will never be touched by modern currents of thought should not be disturbed by criticism, still positive error ought not to be propped up by deliberate inculcation; preachers ought not to give occasion to the Matthew Arnolds of the future to mock at their indifference to the truth of history, the charm of poetry and the simplicity of early religion; wherever full edification cannot be had without the knowledge of some particular result of modern criticism, that result must be given even in the pulpit. "Reproductive" pulpit-oratory should be cultivated, *i.e.*, the subject-matter of the Bible should be reproduced in the language of our own day, and applied to our own wants.

So far for the reform in the study of the Old Testament proposed by Prof. Cheyne. Any one who knows his catechism will easily detect in which particulars the proposed reform would go too far and too fast. But with the professor's errors a certain amount of truth is mixed up. To start with his suggestion concerning the

Old Testament in pulpit-oratory, it is beyond dispute that in any case and under any circumstance the word of the Old Testament is the word of God, containing within itself a hidden virtue to persuade and to move. The nature of the discourse must show whether words of praise or blame, of joy or sadness, ought to be used; whether passages that appeal to the intellect or such as stir up the passions should be quoted; but some part of the Old Testament may be used in every case, whether the orator instructs, or reasons, or inveighs against vice, or extols virtue. "All Scripture inspired of God is profitable to teach, to reprove, to correct, to instruct in justice" (2 Tim., iii., 16). It would, indeed, be hardly possible to find anywhere in literature a collection of matter better adapted by its very nature to the pulpit than the Old Testament offers. The chastity of Joseph, the devotion of Ruth, the patience of Job, the fiery zeal of Jeremiah, the fortitude of the Machabees, the faith of Abraham and the penitential tears of David, are of themselves powerful incentives to the same virtues; but penetrated as they are with the unction of the Holy Ghost, they pierce the hardest of hearts, and enlighten the darkest of minds. And again, the promise of a coming conqueror of the serpent, of a future blessing to all the nations of the earth, of a star rising out of the house of Jacob, a ruler springing from the seed of David, whose mother is a virgin, whose shoulders bear the world's empire, whose heart is filled with the seven-fold gifts of the Holy Ghost, who is not merely king, but prophet, too, and, above all, priest, pouring out his life-blood for the redemption of sinners, and sprinkling many nations with the blood of atonement, such a priestly prophet-king presents a lovely picture, indeed; but frame it in the fire-frame of the prophet's language, illuminate it with the divine light of prophetic vision, enliven it with the keen religious feeling, nay, the exstatic love of the Old Testament prophets, and you will kindle in the most worldly minds and hearts a holy enthusiasm for the standard of Christ, your hearers will leave you with the feelings of the Apostles, who went forth rejoicing because they had been deemed worthy to suffer for the name of Jesus (Acts, 5, 41).

St. Augustine insists on this point not once, but again and again, in clear and forcible language. In his work, "*De Doct. Christ.*" (l. ii., 8), he says: "*Totas legerit nostasque habuerit, etsi non intellectu, tamen lectione;*" and in another passage of the same work (l. iv., 5) he maintains: "*Sapienter dicet tanto magis vel minus, quanto in scripturis sanctis magis minusve profecit.*" In the first passage the preacher is told that he ought at least to read the whole of Sacred Scripture, in the second he is informed that his preaching will be effective in proportion to his knowledge of Sacred Scripture. What would the great doctor have said of those preachers whose whole

Bible knowledge consists in a judicious use of a Concordance or a Thesaurus Biblicus? Not as if the use of these books were not worthy of commendation, so far as it goes; but it does not go far enough. Both the Bible Concordance and the Thesaurus are valuable aids in the study of the Scriptures; they assist us greatly in the study of parallel passages for the purpose of finding the true meaning of a word or of a phrase or of a whole verse, but neither source is intended or competent to supply the study and knowledge of the Bible. What everybody admits with regard to other branches of learning seems to be obscure when it is applied to the Bible. The foreigner who speaks book-English or uses dictionary-language is smiled at; but the messenger of God who preaches Concordance-sermons is defended by a novel-reading generation of sermonizers.

Nor is reading and study of the Old Testament the only point that we must insist on in the case of the pulpit orator; he must moreover live and feel the Scriptures over again. Prof. Cheyne has told us that the preacher ought to "reproduce" the Old Testament in the language of our day. The prophet Ezekiel had been told something very similar by Almighty God Himself: "*Comede volumen istud, et vadens loquere filiis Israel.*" St. Jerome, clothing this command of God in the language of his time, renders it thus: "Devour this holy book by assiduous study, digest it by deep meditation, cause it to become part of your very substance, before you presume to preach to my holy people" (Ez. iii., 1). Unless the pulpit orator is thus imbued with the spirit of the sacred writings, he may speak with the tongues of men and angels, still he is but "as sounding brass and tinkling cymbal." He preaches at best but the word of man, not of God; and the word of God alone has the living force to inflame the heart with heavenly desires and to move it to practical resolutions. The unity of the Pentateuch, the historical exactness of the books of Kings and Chronicles, the futuristic system of Daniel and Ezekiel, Isaiah's philosophy on pleasure and pain, one and all of these subjects furnish, no doubt, interesting topics for the lecture-room; but unless the hearts of the audience are filled with the sentiments that filled the soul of Moses and Samuel and Joshua and all other inspired writers of the Old Testament, the practical result will be naught, "*vox et præterea nihil.*"

It seems plain that this knowledge and love of the Old Testament cannot be acquired in a day; the young Levite's soul must be prepared for this work from early youth. Not as if the Bible pure and simple were to be read in our elementary schools, nor as if in early youth deep biblical researches could be followed up; but an interesting Bible history, with illustrations or without, should form one of the principal text-books of our primary schools. Joseph's

captivity and Jacob's sorrow, the martyrdom of the seven brothers, and the heroism of their afflicted mother, the charity of Tobias and the fortitude of Judith, have brought tears of compassion and admiration into the eyes of many a young reader. Whether the Bible history takes the place of one or more readers, or whether it forms one of the historical text-books of the elementary school, is of little importance, provided it be studied thoroughly and lovingly. It is not the future priest only who is benefited by such reading; the Christian layman also will thus acquire a store of divine knowledge that will be apt to influence his future life for the better in whatever circumstances he may find himself placed.

In our college courses the study of the Old Testament might assume a wider range. In the history classes, the history of Bible times should be compared with the history that has come down to us in the Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions; in geography, the discoveries of the late excavations should be placed side by side with the biblical geography; in literary studies, the literature of the Semitic races, and of the Jews above all, should be discussed as profoundly as the history of the literature of other nations. And why should we disregard scripture poetry while we spend hours and days in fixing the canons of Latin and Greek quantities and metre? But it is especially in the religious instruction that the true importance of the Old Testament ought to be more fully explained. There the professor has every opportunity of showing the relation of the Old to the New Testament as type to antetype, promise to fulfilment, shadow to reality. Not as if the New Testament absolutely needed the Old in order to be understood; nor as if the Old Testament might have carried on its supernatural economy without reference to the New; but we learn many things from a picture, the Old Testament, for instance, which escape us in the original, and we practically study the sunlight in its dispersed and reflected state, unable to bear the glare of the sun itself. In the same way will the youthful heart learn many features of the new law from the corresponding types of the old. The history of the passion and death of Christ for the sins of the world is impressive, indeed; but when we understand the full importance of the paschal-lamb and the scape-goat, and apply these to their antetype, the prayer, "Lamb of God, who taketh away the sins of the world," has a new meaning for us.

To teach the New Testament by means of the Old is not something new in the Church of Christ. St. Paul employed the same method of instruction, especially in his Epistle to the Hebrews. After briefly calling to mind the Divinity of Christ, the Apostle goes on to explain the excellency of the Christian faith. First, the Christian law is compared with the law of the Old Testament,

legislator with legislator, promulgator with promulgator, obedience with obedience. In the New Dispensation there is no longer question of angels or men or saints, but of Him whom the angels adore as their God. In the second place, the Apostle proceeds to develop the excellency of the Christian priesthood. Here, too, the priests and sacrifices and atonement of the Old Testament are brought in contrast with the priest and sacrifice and atonement of the New. Melchizedek and Aaron and the Jewish High Priest dwindle into insignificance before the majesty of Christ. Rams and buck goats and oxen hardly bear mention when they are contrasted with the blood of the Lamb. The morning, noonday and evening sacrifices of the old law effect a mere legal sanctification, while "Christ was offered once to exhaust the sins of many" (Heb. 9, 28). If, then, St. Paul thought it advisable to instruct his brethren in the New Testament mysteries by comparing these to the observances of the Old Testament, why should we Christian priests and prophets hesitate to follow the same method? We do not address Gentiles and pagans who might misunderstand and misapply our instruction; our audience has been steeped in a Christian civilization for centuries.

Finally, a word must be added concerning the teaching of the Old Testament in our ecclesiastical seminaries. Without saying anything about the method to be followed in the Scripture classes,—for that would be to interfere with the several professors of Sacred Scripture,—we venture to draw attention to a more thorough study of the original languages. Not to be able to become a first-rate authority in matters of Hebrew and the other Oriental languages, is no reason for neglecting such a study entirely. Unless its possessor be a fool, a little knowledge is not always a dangerous thing. It is, of course, preferable to sing well; but even a slight acquaintance with Gregorian music is, in a "Missa Cantata," preferable to no knowledge of music at all. But what has all the lucidity of a first principle in other branches of learning, seems to be unintelligible in the case of Hebrew. True, we may read most of the theological arguments based on difficult or disputed Hebrew texts in special treatises, written in Latin, or even in the vernacular, but without at least a slight acquaintance with Hebrew we shall not be able to understand even the difficulty, much less the solution. It is also very well to appeal to the Vulgate, declared to be an authentic translation by the Council of Trent; but neither Protestants nor any other earlier sects acknowledge the Council of Trent as having authority in this matter. At any rate, a scholar is ashamed to acknowledge his inability to read Homer or Horace or Pindar in the original; and shall a Catholic priest, the authoritative interpreter of the word of God, confess, without a blush, that

he must take his information at second-hand? Second-hand, we say, not with regard to the divine element in the Old Testament, but with regard to everything human.

Finally, a word concerning Prof. Cheyne's alternative; if, indeed, there really is the alternative between reform in the teaching of the Old Testament and a loss of it for the Christian people, we would say that the true reform consists in bringing the Old Testament more widely before our Christian community, not as subject to the principles of psychologic criticism, but as the living word of God; for we know from the lips of God himself: "Heaven and earth shall pass, but my words shall not pass away" (Matth. 24, 35).

THE TRADITION OF THE GENTILES.

IT frequently occurs that intelligent unbelievers cite, in evidence of the semi-pagan character of the Catholic Church, the fact that her doctrines and forms are, in many instances, very similar to the ideas and practices of heathen nations. That striking similarities do exist all scholars now admit, and even the direct historic connection of certain Christian ceremonies with their pagan counterparts has been clearly established. There are otherwise well-instructed Catholics who sometimes tremble as such evidences are forced upon their minds, and who would be utterly at a loss to repel a vigorous attack from this quarter by a thoroughly trained antagonist. In such cases it is one false idea, common to both, which furnishes a weapon to the assailant of Christian doctrine, and renders vulnerable the armor of its champion. This has been an element in every dogmatic form of heresy, and, though not itself heretical, is so essentially un-Catholic that it cannot co-exist in a single mind with any proper conception of the true dignity of the Church of God, or its real nature and mission. The error is briefly this: that Christianity claims to be the exclusive possessor of divine truth, which was revealed from heaven for the first time to the writers of the Bible or to the twelve Apostles, and considers all other systems as utterly false, and their practices, as such, reprehensible. If the Church made this claim it would be unable to maintain its position. Many of the teachings of our Lord are but repetitions of the maxims of much more ancient oriental sages;

and there is scarcely an element in the Catholic doctrine or ritual which cannot be found in some of the philosophies or religions of the Gentile world.

When this fact is once apparent, the same process of reasoning which Christian sectarians use against the Catholic Church makes it equally serviceable to those who argue that all religions are merely ingenious theories by which our early progenitors sought to account for the phenomena of nature, and which, with the growing light of science, are banished farther and farther from the region cognizable by the senses and the intellect, until at last compelled to take refuge beyond the confines of the universe in the realm of the forever unknowable; or that they are systems devised and maintained by a few crafty men who turn to their own advantage the ignorant fears aroused in the multitude by the tempest, the earthquake, the innumerable forms of disease, and the awful imminency of death.¹

The alternative of this terrible conclusion is to be found in the dictum of St. Augustine: "What is now called the Christian religion has existed among the ancients, and was not absent from the beginning of the human race until Christ came in the flesh; from which time the true religion, which existed already, began to be called Christian."² This view may be expressed in other words as follows: The first parents of the race received from God a revelation which, though pictured in dimmer outline, coincided very nearly with the truths of which the Catholic Church is to-day the guardian; and it is this revelation, the true Catholic faith, which underlies every system of the world.

The present chaos of discordant and often horrible beliefs and practices are the result of the varying kinds and degrees of corruption which this sacred deposit underwent when left to the unaided reason and memory of fallen man. As Catholic savants have always more or less explicitly recognized this truth, it will not here be necessary to cite authorities. The subject has never been thoroughly studied on account of the inaccessibility of the most important materials and the lack of Catholic thinkers inclined to devote themselves to it; but the first of these difficulties, thanks to the indefatigable labors of modern orientalists, has been removed, and the time seems to be near when, by the comprehensive study of the religious systems of the world from the standpoint of revealed truth, a new science of *hierology* will be developed, which will result, as all scientific investigation must sooner or later do, in the triumphant vindication of the universal religion. The present article has the aim simply to call popular attention to the polemic

¹ See Tylor's *Primitive Culture*.

² St. Augustine, *Retractions*, I., 13.

importance of the Augustinian view, answering, at the same time, some possible objections, and taking a glance at a few of the evidences which may be cited in its support.

The theory of the descent of all religions from an original perfect and divinely revealed system implies, in opposition to a large school of modern anthropologists, a tendency towards degeneration in the whole human race. To the objection of evolutionists that there is no reason to exempt man alone from the operation of the universal law of progressive development by which other species are governed, it may be replied that in the fall the upward current was broken by the intervention of the obstacle of human freedom between the divine force which had hitherto throbbed unimpeded through every vein of nature, and the human activities which were destined to be the very flowering of creative energy. This view of the fall would leave our theory of social degeneracy intact, even though the descent of the human body from a progressive series of animal progenitors should be admitted. Let it be noted, however, that the structural affinities between the lower races of man and the anthropoid apes, which are chiefly relied upon as proof of his simian descent, may be accounted for with equal facility by the operation of the laws of adaptation to environment and of correlation of structure upon those degraded races who, at the dawn of the human epoch, had obscured in the ashes of animalism the lights of intuition and of historic revelation.

The first men may have been characterized by the maximum of intellectual and intuitional power, and even been in possession of a lofty and perfect religious system, without possessing or speedily acquiring a high degree of material civilization, perhaps thinking it better to rise above vulgar wants than to endeavor, with the Baconians, to supply them; yet it seems more probable that, under such circumstances, many useful arts would have very soon been discovered, and the theory of the remote antiquity of civilization must therefore be esteemed as an important outpost of our position.

The evidence which has been collected by ethnologists of the school of Tylor and Lubbock in support of progressive development is counterbalanced by the numerous facts which have come to light bearing a contrary significance.¹ It is admitted, on all hands, that there have been fluctuations in the tide of progress; there have been ebbs and flows, and a thousand little eddies have broken the unity of the current and made it difficult to determine its direction. Here are a few problems which the progressionists

¹ Winchell, *Preadamites*, pp. 277-280. Tylor, *Early History of Mankind*, pp. 181-186.

would find it hard to solve. The Hottentots and Bushmen represent the very lowest stage of human existence; their physical resemblance to the gorilla is appalling.¹ Yet they are the only members of the negro race who have produced any enduring monuments of pictorial art;² and, though a dissection of their brains shows the speech centre to be in a singularly defective condition,³ they possess a comparatively complex and polished language which presents some resemblances to that of ancient Egypt.⁴ The most degraded races of the western continent likewise show some evidences of having sprung from a nobler stock.

We find in the prehistoric records of European man at least one remarkable example of deterioration. The men of the Reindeer Epoch possessed great artistic skill, and some of their carvings upon ivory are really beautiful;⁵ but their descendants, the lake dwellers, have left no evidences of any capacity for imitative art.⁶

The Crow Indians of the Rocky Mountains, and the Alto Peruvians of the Andes, from whom the other aborigines, Mr. Catlin says, claim descent, are distinguished above them all for the amplitude of their foreheads, caused by the development of the frontal lobe of the brain.⁷ Even the Man of Calaveras, whose fossilized remains are said to have been found in the Pliocene gravel, "under the solid basalt of Table Mountain," is shown by the measurements of his skull to have been of superior intelligence.⁸

Rev. Richard Taylor, F.G.S., who resided in New Zealand as a missionary for more than thirty years, states that the Maoris had degenerated exceedingly since the days of Captain Cook, notably in the arts of boat-building and weaving; and that they have traditions of the time when cannibalism was never heard of and war was unfrequent, and when a regal government yet existed among

¹ Winchell, *Preadamites*, pp. 171, 250, 253, 254.

² "The Bushmen are said to have painted the cliffs from the Cape of Good Hope to beyond the Orange River with figures of men and animals in red, bronze, white, and black colors, or etched them in light tints on a dark ground. These are said to have been done with great firmness of hand, and copies of them show a fidelity to nature equal to some of the Egyptian delineations."—Winchell, *Preadamites*, p. 256, note.

³ H. D. Rolliston, in describing the cerebral hemispheres of an adult male Australian, in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, August, 1887, says: "The island of Reil is exposed on the left side; this exposure is a condition found in primitive brains; thus Marshall (*Phil. Trans.*, 1884) figures it in the brain of a Bushwoman and quotes other examples. The exposure of the island of Reil implies that the surrounding gyri are ill developed. Broca's convolution is thus shown to be defective."—*American Anthropologist*, January, 1888.

⁴ Winchell, *Preadamites*, p. 71; and Peschel, *Races of Men*, pp. 457, 458.

⁵ Rau, *Early Man in Europe*, pp. 59, 75, 78, 103-105.

⁶ *Id.*, p. 78.

⁷ Catlin, *Last Rambles*, p. 248.

⁸ See Winchell, *Preadamites*, pp. 427, 428.

them ; and he says of their language that " its fulness, its richness, showing a close affinity, not only in words but in grammar, with the Sanskrit, carries the mind back to a time when literature could not have been unknown.¹

Even among the Greeks there appear evidences of a prehistoric civilization higher in some respects than that of their historic period ; the geographical knowledge of Homer was greater than that of Herodotus or any later writer ;² and Pythagoras, who was pre-eminently the disciple of antiquity, possessed a scientific and general knowledge which far surpassed that of many of his contemporaries or successors, and which is being newly emphasized with every advance which inductive science is making among us.³

A leading element in the progressionist delusion is the custom of largely ignoring history and tradition, and assuming that the lowest degree of savagery manifested by contemporary races represents the most ancient phase of culture. It is then easy to read in the ascending series of intermediate conditions the history of civilization. Very many of the current scientific treatises on the subject are based exclusively upon this assumption, by reversing which they might, with equal propriety, be read backwards, and the gamut of progress run in the descending scale. The current ideas regarding the sequence of the palæolithic, neolithic, bronze, and iron ages, rest upon very narrow foundations, and probably will ere long be decently interred by the side of the innumerable corpses which fill the graveyards of scientific speculation.⁴

There are abundant evidences of the nature of the progress which has taken place in matters of religion. Changes of the most marked kind have occurred in the religions of Europe and Asia since the beginning of the historic period, and outside of the Catholic Church they have been always from better to worse. Even Max Müller admits a primitive theism of which polytheism was a corruption.⁵ The ancient oriental literatures all tell the same story regarding the original religions and social conditions of the countries nearest to the birthplace of the race.

The earliest monuments of Egypt represent a period when the soundest ethical principles were taught and practised, and when no degrading creature-worship had detracted from the honor due

¹ Taylor, *Te Ika a Mani, or New Zealand and its Inhabitants*, pp. 5, 6.

² See Sir Godfrey Higgins, *Celtic Druids*, 104.

³ For example, he recognized the real nature of the solar system, and taught the revolution of the earth around the sun. See *American Cyclopædia*, article Pythagoras.

⁴ See Dr. W. H. Dall, in *Contributions to North American Ethnology*, vol. i., pp. 47, 48 ; Lord Arundel, of Wardour, *Tradition*, pp. 289-297 ; and Thébaud, *Gentilism*, pp. 64-70.

⁵ Müller, *Chips*, vol. i., pp. 351-359.

to the one eternal deity, whom they called Amun, the Hidden One. The oldest hieroglyphic papyrus which has been yet discovered, a moral treatise by the high official, Pthah-Hotep, dated by some scholars from three to four thousand years B.C., has for its most striking feature "the simple and beautiful didactics of filial piety."¹ Not until the 18th dynasty (1703-1462 B.C.) had the insidious growth of pantheism so obscured in Egypt the primitive revelation as to allow the intrusion of idolatrous emblems into her temples and her sculptured records.² The writings of Hermes Trismegistus,³ though already tainted with pantheism, prove conclusively the high degree of religious enlightenment which existed among the early Egyptians.

Still more plainly does the patriarchal religion manifest itself in the Rig Veda (1500-1200 B.C.), and in the earliest portions of the Zend Avesta (about 1300 B.C.). The former work teaches explicitly in many places the unity of the godhead. For example, "They called him Indra, Mitra, Varuna, Agni; then he is the beautiful-winged heavenly Garutmat; that which is one, the wise call it, in divers manners; they call it Agni, Yama, Mâtarisnan."⁴ The holy Rishis or patriarchs who wrote the Veda loved to call upon God as Brahma, the Adorable One, and spoke of Him as a Christian of to-day might do. "What the sun and light are to this visible world, that is the supreme good and truth to the intellectual and invisible universe; and as our corporal eyes have a distinct perception of objects enlightened by the sun, thus our souls acquire sure knowledge by meditating on the light of truth which emanates from the Being of beings; this is the light by which alone our minds can be directed in the path of beatitude." "Without hand or foot He runs rapidly, and grasps firmly; without eyes He sees; without ears He hears all; He knows whatever can be known, and there is no one who knows Him; Him the wise call the great, supreme, pervading Spirit."⁵ The authors of the Rig Veda believed in the personal immortality of the soul and its eternal reward or punishment, in the resurrection of the body and the last judgment. They honored the Virgin of the Dawn, and in their worship of Mitra mingled recollections of the archangel Michael with the Messianic traditions which afterwards were expressed still more distinctly in the myth of Chrishna. Their moral codes resembled that of Moses, and they exalted the value of almsgiving. They considered the offering of sacrifices as necessary to

¹ See Johnson, *Oriental Religions, China*, p. 533.

² Thébaud, *Gentilism*, p. 252.

³ *Id.*, pp. 211-226.

⁴ Rig Veda, I., 164, 165.

⁵ Cited by Thébaud, *Gentilism*, p. 138.

salvation, and found in the sacred banquet of Soma an earnest of the eternal enjoyment of the Divinity.¹

The great prophet Zoroaster planted himself so firmly on the rock of patriarchal tradition that all the usurpations of Magism and the inroads of various idolatrous systems have never succeeded in drawing away the religion which bears his name from the main truths of Revelation. Professing only to maintain the pure religion of old against growing corruptions, he recognized one God, Ahura-Mazda, the Bright Spirit, surrounded by angelic hosts, and having a council of six archangels, besides Mithra (St. Michael), the angel of the sun and the champion of divine truth, and Graosha (St. Gabriel), the messenger of divine revelations and the especial dispenser of heavenly blessings. Angro-mainyus, the Dark Spirit, the Great Serpent, was the leader of the fallen angels, and was destined to be overcome by Mithra, with whom he was continually at war. The fall and the curse, heaven and hell and purgatory, the judgment, and the resurrection of the body, all find their place in the Persian theology, while sacrifice, the Soma feast, and prayer for the dead, form part of the practical side of the same system.² In the Persian ethics, "truth, charity, purity, and industry were the virtues chiefly valued and inculcated. Evil was traced to its root in the heart of man, and it was distinctly taught that no virtue deserved the name but such as was co-extensive with the whole sphere of human activity, including the thought as well as the word and the deed. The purity required was inward as well as outward, mental as well as bodily."³

The path towards polytheism lay through the *via media* of pantheism, but the process was expedited by the gradual disintegration of peoples and of ideas, which caused local names of the Deity to be considered as representing separate beings, or gave distinct individuality to what were, at first, only His attributes or manifestations of His power. The Hebrews, as far as we know, never fell into the error of imagining that El Shaddai, Elohim, Adonai, and Yahveh were the names of different divinities; but this is exactly what happened in India with Dhaus, Varuna, Indra, and Brahma; and the same had occurred in Chaldea, where the religious degradation had been speedy and great. In the latter country, though God (El or Il) was still spoken of, He was considered too mysterious and distant a being for common intercourse; and those to whom divine honors were paid were partly deified men like Bil-Nipru (Nimrod) and Hoa (Noe), or angels like Ana (Lucifer), and partly personifications of divine works or attri-

¹ See Müller, *Chips*, vol. i., pp. 46, 47.

² Rawlinson, *Five Ancient Monarchies*, vol. iii., pp. 101, 114-117.

³ *Id.*, vol. iii., p. 113.

butes, as Sin, San, and Iva. After this process of segregation is well under way, the religion takes the form which Max Müller calls hathenatheism,¹ and each name, in turn, is invoked as representing the greatest of the gods, the ruler of heaven and earth, and the names are sometimes used interchangeably, though the people already understand them to represent distinct personalities. On this point Rawlinson said, several years ago, in speaking of the Chaldean mythology: "It may be suspected from such instances of connection and quasi-convertibility that an esoteric doctrine, known to the priests and communicated by them to the kings, taught the real identity of the several gods and goddesses, who may have been understood by the better instructed to represent, not distinct and separate beings, but the several phases of the Divine nature. Ancient polytheism had, it may be surmised, to a great extent this origin, the various names and titles of the Supreme, which designated His divine attributes or the different spheres of His operation, coming by degrees to be misunderstood and to pass, first with the vulgar, and at last with all but the most enlightened, for the appellations of a number of gods."² Later researches are said to have brought to light many new evidences that Chaldea possessed a monotheistic religion resembling, in numerous points, that of the Jews.

The religious history of Phœnicia is similar to that of Chaldea.

The monotheism of early Greece, both before and after the Ionian migration, comes down to us in the Orphic books, whose genuineness has been ably vindicated by Father Thébaud,³ and in the philosophies of Pythagoras and Plato, who were distinguished among the Greek thinkers by their reverence for tradition and their acknowledgment of indebtedness to it.⁴ The works of both the Greek and Latin poets, and pre-eminently those of Æschylus, preserved likewise many of the divine traditions of patriarchal days.⁵ The higher we ascend into Greek antiquity the more prominently stands out before us "the idea of God as the Supreme Being, the Father of the heavens and the Father of men"; and Zeus, the Glorious One, was worshipped with a simplicity and singleness of intention which we must, even to-day, regard with admiration.⁶ Father Formby has given a valuable contribution to this subject in his "Primitive Monotheism of Rome," from which it appears that Numa Pompilius possessed a knowledge of the true religion, and laid the foundations of Roman institutions deep in the abiding rock of divine truth.

¹ Müller, *Chips*, vol. i., pp. 27, 29.

² Rawlinson, *Five Ancient Monarchies*, vol. iii., 460.

³ Thébaud, *Gentilism*, pp. 285, 306.

⁴ *Id.*, pp. 365-392.

⁵ *Id.*, pp. 393-435.

⁶ See Müller, *Chips*, vol. ii., pp. 15, 148, 152.

In the Eddas of the Scandinavians the Hebrew Adonai reappears as Odin, called Alfadur, the king of heaven and earth, whose son, Baldur the Fair, is the subject of some of the most beautiful Messianic traditions found out of the possession of the chosen people. Heaven and hell, the angels and the demons, the resurrection and the judgment, and all the doctrines of patriarchal Catholicity appear here; and if we interrogate the Druids we find the Celtic tribes in possession of the same body of truth.¹

Most of the Turanian and Negro peoples fell respectively into atheism and polytheism many thousand years ago, but even among them we find evidences of the universal religion. The ancient Chinese were worshippers of Tien or Shang-te, the God of Heaven, and the Messianic legend finds its embodiment in the story of "How-tseih, born of a pure virgin who has trodden in the foot-print of God after praying for a child, and whose delivery is without pains; exposed in a narrow place, where the oxen and sheep protect Him; in a forest where the woodmen find Him; in the ice where the birds cover Him and respond to His infant cries. Majestic even in babyhood; in childhood planting grain, raising pulse, wheat, and hemp, which He teaches the people to cultivate that they may bear them home for an offering."² The elevated tone of the Chinese ethical systems is well known.

It is not possible within the limits of a single article to follow out many of the details of Catholic doctrine revealed in the remains of every civilized nation of antiquity, or to even glance at the proofs of the fact that the ancestors of those nations now the most barbarous were once equally enlightened. If we should turn to the Aztecs and the Toltecs and the Mayas of the New World, we would find that they possessed many Catholic traditions before their first discovery by Europeans; and an analysis of the religious customs of the hunting tribes of America, as well as of the more degraded Polynesians and Africans, would reveal the traces of the truths which they have long since forgotten. The use of the egg and the boat in religious ceremonies, and the practice of burying the dead in a sitting posture, may be mentioned as instances of these fossilized ideas.³

The summing up of the whole subject is this: The Catholic Church of to-day is the representative, not only of the Christianity of Christ, but of the patriarchal religion which was once spread throughout the inhabited world. Everything good and true which exists between the poles is her rightful property; and no idea or practice which has its root deep in the needs and aspirations of

¹ See Sir Godfrey Higgins, *Celtic Druids*.

² From the Shi-King. See Johnson, *Oriental Religions, China*, p. 545.

³ Lord Arundel of Wardour, *Tradition*, pp. 306-309.

mankind can fail to find its place within her all-embracing care. The various cults of heathendom are, then, only older and more degenerate heresies; and the Catholic, from whatever nation or sect he may have sprung, may rest in the assurance that he is but maintaining the religion of his remotest ancestors; and, secure in his adherence to the universal traditions of the human race, he can afford to despise alike the narrowness of heresy, the provincialism of false religions, and the ignorance of the enemies of all religion, pointing the adherents of such systems to their own glorious past as the completest refutation of their errors.

RUSSIAN ORTHODOXY AND RUSSIAN SECTS.

I.

ONE of the most striking characteristics of Russian sects is the extreme simplicity of the doctrines to which they give special prominence and the clearness of the issue between them and the "Orthodox" creed. In this respect they stand out in strong contrast to the sects of the early Church. They are not the outcome of disputes on obscure questions of metaphysics or of speculative theology, for their founders were men of the people, with no pretensions to learning. They can boast of no Manes, of no Pelagius, of no Abelard. The soil of Russia was as little favorable to the growth of metaphysics as that of ancient India was propitious to history. The Church, however, does not appear to have suffered much from this circumstance, as philosophy has never been called upon to supply arms to the assailants or defenders of Russian Christianity. The schismatic creeds inherited the chief characteristics of the Church from which they sprang—a Church justly celebrated for strict fidelity to its ancient liturgy, and for the gorgeous pomp of its ceremonies, and which has always appealed with marked success to the senses, if not to the intellects, of the people. There is nothing, therefore, very strange in the circumstance that none of the sects which have issued from that Church have much to do with theology, while some of them have quite as little to do with Christianity.

The absence of the metaphysical element in the theology of Russian Churches is as natural as the absence of snow at the

tropics, and will certainly not surprise those who have even a slight knowledge of Russian history. The lively horror of education, of enlightenment in any form, which was successfully instilled into the minds of the people by their rulers—who, it must be confessed, generally practised what they so zealously preached—lies at the root of this and of many other curious phenomena of Russian history. Even at the present day a careful examination of the statistics of elementary instruction in that country would not be suggestive of very cheerful reflections to any but sanguine patriots, and it should be borne in mind that the Russia of to-day is in that respect to the Russia of two hundred years ago as dazzling light is to impenetrable darkness. The kind of truth which is stranger than fiction would so far predominate in any description of Russian society of the seventeenth century, when the Schismatics first openly separated themselves from the Orthodox Church, that to readers unacquainted with Russian history it would seem tainted with unpardonable exaggeration. The term “dark ages” might with perfect propriety be applied to a very long period of the history of that country, if it had not been identified with an epoch in the annals of western nations which was in comparison an age of enlightenment and of unparalleled intellectual progress. During that long period, whatever semblance of learning leavened the ignorance of the masses was centred in the clergy; and it is only fair to add that it cannot be dignified even with this modest title without an abuse of terms.

As the schismatic movement and the sects into which it branched derived their character less from the tendencies of a theological or philosophical school than from the moral, intellectual, and social forces at work among the people, it will be needful to draw at least a rough sketch of that society which was merely the sum of those combined negative forces. Ignorance, the worship of hollow forms, and immorality were the chief characteristics of that extraordinary age, and to an extent, and in a degree, which would justify the use of stronger, more expressive, terms, if they existed. There is a degree of intensity in every vice and virtue which removes it as far from what its name usually implies as a difference in kind, and the distinctive characteristics of Russian society during the period in question were all in this degree. Its intellectual darkness was Cimmerian; its form worship vied with that of the Kalmucks in its elaborate thoroughness; and Wycherley and the Duchess of Cleveland would have stood aghast at the beastliness and cynicism of its immorality.

In the sixteenth century not a single school existed in all Russia for the education of candidates for the priesthood, or, indeed, for any other purpose. The ignorance of the professional guides and

teachers of the people assumed colossal proportions. In districts as large as England it was impossible to find in any of the monasteries with which they were studded a single monk who could read or write.¹ The metropolitan of Novgorod, Aphonius, complains to an abbot, Marcellus, that he cannot get a monk in any of the monasteries fitted to undertake the duties of bursar, not, indeed, for want of monks, but because "they cannot read or write, and are given to drink."² Nor could the secular clergy boast of any superiority over their monastic brethren. The bishops constantly ordained peasants who not only were ignorant of the elements of reading and writing, but who had not the slightest wish to be taught. It is instructive and highly amusing to read the dismal account which Gennadius, Archbishop of Novgorod (1485-1501), gives of his experience in this respect, and his doleful complaints of the unwillingness of candidates for ordination to learn to read the Psalter. Some of them, he assures us, could not get their tongue round certain of the words in prayers which it would be their duty to offer up in public.³ Many of them, however, were gifted enough to master the secrets of astrology and magic sufficiently to spread falsehood and superstition and fatalism among the people confided to their care.⁴

Two hundred years afterwards, Demetrius, Metropolitan of Rostoff (1703-1709), a saint of the Orthodox Church, and an implacable enemy of the Schismatics, has a similar tale to tell. He was intimately acquainted with the intellectual and moral condition of the clergy throughout Russia, and he has left on record some interesting personal experiences which enable us to estimate the fitness of the ecclesiastics of the eighteenth century to discharge the duties of their office. In his time the clergy were either ignorant of sacred history, or had only such a confused smattering of it as was more misleading than downright ignorance. "One abbot asked me," he tells us, "whether the prophet Elijah lived before or after the birth of Christ." Another inquired: "Did not the Maccabees live after the Apostles, inasmuch as their teacher Eliazar, in the presence of his tormentor, quoted words of the Gospel which are printed in the Moscow breviary for the first of August?" "I heard much more ridiculous talk," continues the saint, "among the clergy; for example, 'with what knife did St. Peter cut off Malchus's ear? Was it not with the knife which the prophet Elijah *afterwards* used to slay the priests of Baal?' etc."⁵ This, it

¹ Collection of Episcopal Documents, cited by Schtschapoff, *cf. The Russian Schism*, Kazan, 1859, p. 187.

² *Ibidem*.

³ Historical Documents, vol. i, No. 104. See Schtschapoff, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

⁴ Supplement to Historical Documents, i., No. 151; *cf. Schtschapoff, op. cit.*, p. 189.

⁵ *Ancient Russian Library*, Part xvii., p. 86, 87, cited by Schtschapoff, *Russian Schism*, p. 194.

must not be forgotten, was in the beginning of last century, when matters were mending. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries even such conversations could not have been carried on by clergymen of the Orthodox Church. The knowledge they presuppose was at that time wholly beyond their reach. The most competent judges tell us so, and they had no reason to exaggerate the facts. The Fathers of the Council of Moscow, in the deliberations of which the Patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria took a prominent part (1667), solemnly declared, with more force than refinement, that "country boors are admitted into the ranks of the clergy who are not fit to graze cattle, much less to (spiritually) feed a flock of human souls."¹ It would be a mistake to suppose that the higher dignitaries of the Church were generally much better informed than their subordinates. Isidore, metropolitan of Russia, assured Pope Eugene—and history fully bears out his statement—that Russian bishops "were not book learned";² and Macarius, the orthodox historian of the Russian Church, himself a bishop, states the case moderately, as might be expected, when he informs us that many of the bishops and archbishops of those days "were not qualified to teach the people the truths of religion."³ Arsenius, coadjutor of the archimandrite Dionysius, writing to the Coyar, Saltykoff, tells him that the "best archimandrites and priests do not differ in anything from ignorant louts and rustics"; and referring to the censors of the ecclesiastical press, who generally included some of the most learned of the clergy, he asserts that they are equally "ignorant of orthodoxy and of heterodoxy, and know the Holy Writ only by the look of the ink."⁴

Christianity, it must be confessed, never burned with a very pure or bright light in Russia, from its first introduction down to the period in question. The motley, incongruous elements with which it was adulterated, at first weakened and afterwards utterly destroyed its influence for good, and in less than two centuries after the death of Prince Vladimir it had ceased to appeal to the intellect, the conscience, or the feelings of the people. The Orthodox Church, even in its palmiest days, was never—as the Latin Church often was—a strong barrier against oppression, and it soon ceased to be even a source of consolation in misery or a safe refuge for the down-trodden and the wretched from blank despair. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Christianity, as a living organization, no longer existed; its place was taken by corruption of the coarsest and most repulsive kind—the hybrid offspring of the union of

¹ Supplement to Historical Documents, v. 473; cf. Schtschapoff, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

² Macarius, *History of the Russian Church*, vol. v., p. 257.

³ Macarius, *ibid.*

⁴ Cf. Schtschapoff, *Russian Schism*, p. 190.

some of the forms of Christianity with the beliefs, traditions and practices of Paganism. The slavish attachment to the letter of Christianity—or, perhaps, it would be more correct to say, to a certain portion of the letter—which distinguished the people and the lower orders of the clergy, was scarcely less characteristic of the higher dignitaries of the Church, and an archbishop of Novgorod solemnly proclaimed that whereas “many sing Allelujah twice instead of thrice, they sing unto sin and damnation to themselves.”¹ The Council of Moscow, which was convened in the year 1656 to decide some disputed points which had but little connection with theology, after mature deliberation invoked heavy curses on all who presumed to make the sign of the cross with two fingers instead of three,² although the Patriarch, Joseph, who died four years before, had countenanced this practice by his example.³ Indeed, so thoroughly did this worship of hollow forms permeate all classes of society that the very annalists, accustomed as they were to chronicle murders, intestine wars, and deeds of ferocious cruelty, considered it incumbent on them to make such important entries as the following: “In that same winter some philosophers began to pray thus: ‘O Lord, be merciful’; whereas others prayed thus: ‘Lord, be merciful.’”⁴

This scrupulous solicitude for the strict observance of the forms of Christianity extended, however, only to such of them as fitted in with the habits and inclinations of the age; for religion, or its substitute, far from permeating and moulding the character of the people, was itself modified and even wholly transformed by customs and traditions that had been handed down from pagan times. Thus in many parts of Russia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the clergy and the people had given up the practice of going to church, not only on Sundays and holy days but on such festivals as Christmas Day and Easter Sunday; so that at length Peter the Great in a ukase dated February, 1718, had to command his lukewarm subjects—ecclesiastical and lay—to appear in church on Sundays and to confess their sins once a year.⁵ Under such circumstances one can readily believe the statement of a competent historian, that “a countless multitude” were wholly ignorant of, and indifferent to, the teachings of Christianity, could not recite the Lord’s Prayer, and were unconscious of the difference between the Deity and the wretched daubs that disfigured the walls of their huts.⁶

¹ Cf. Schtschapoff, *Russian Schism*, p. 190.

² Macarius, *Hist. of Russ. Schism*, p. 157–158.

³ *The Four Annals of Novgorod*, 130.

⁵ Schtschapoff, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

⁴ Macarius, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

⁶ *Ibid.*

Other churches, no doubt, have their periods of darkness, of relaxation, of moral eclipse, and it would be unfair to lay too much stress on what are for most of them mere episodes in their history. There are depths and abysses which most of them have never sounded. But the Orthodox Church of Russia seems to have descended to the bottom of them all.

The Russian clergy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were steeped in the dregs of moral degradation for which no adequate name exists in our language. They frequently disposed of their churches to the highest bidder, as if they were private property; they continually took bribes to shield heretics and criminals from the rigor of the law; they eagerly sold the sacraments and prostituted their sacred functions to the most immoral purposes. Cupidity urged them to increase their income by engaging in worldly callings, and these subsidiary occupations were for the most part unworthy of a pastor, including the distilling of spirits, the practice of magic, and systematic robbery.¹ Their passion for drink was proverbial, and the ingenious devices to which they had recourse in order to indulge it, under the most unfavorable circumstances, bear witness to the wonderful inventive fertility of the Russian mind. The burden of several pastoral letters of Jonas, the Metropolitan of Rostoff, and of the Patriarch Joseph, as well as of certain ukases of the Czars, Alexis Mikhailovitch, and Michael Feodorovitch, was the drunkenness, the cupidity and the incontinence of the clergy.² Neither letters nor ukases, entreaties nor commands, however, had much effect on those to whom they were addressed. Abbots and priors and simple monks were continually under the influence of drink, and were frequently being reprimanded by their superiors for neglecting to sing the offices, for supporting their relations and families on the provisions of the monasteries, for stealing money and getting drunk with their own children—the fruit of broken vows.³

The state of the moral atmosphere throughout Russia during all those centuries was exactly what one would expect. The sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries mark a positive retrogression in the intellectual sphere, a retrogression which has no parallel in the history of European nations, and the retrograde movement in the domain of morality, which is equally in evidence, is in exact proportion. A painstaking Russian historian accuses his countrymen of a strong "inclination for gross unbridled license in matters of morals" and of a decided "taste for brutal debauch and listless loafing."⁴ It is always rash to hurl accusations of this kind at a

¹ Schtschapoff, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Documents of the Arch. Exped.*, vol. iv., No. 116, cited by Schtschapoff, *l. c.*, p. 211.

⁴ Schtschapoff, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

whole nation, even when they are one's own countrymen, and one would gladly gainsay the historian, or at least qualify his statement, if there were the slightest grounds for doing so. We know of none, and have therefore no choice but to accept it. It is, moreover, fully borne out by the testimony of enlightened foreigners like Olearius, Kempfer, and others, who saw the country for themselves and have left us vivid accounts of the extremes of immorality which were openly practised by both sexes in Russia.¹ The Patriarch Philaret, writing to Kyprian, Archbishop of Siberia, in 1622, describes the life of the people in cities in language almost too forcible for translation. The horrid crimes which were being constantly and calmly committed "are unknown," he says, "to pagan nations and unheard of among peoples ignorant of God."

Russian history is not rich in reformers in any department of public life, though it would be utterly incorrect to attribute this phenomenon to the operation of the law of demand and supply; and the only man known to the barren pages of that history during those dark ages who seemed in the least qualified to undertake the difficult task of battling with the ignorance and immorality of the clergy, was the Patriarch Nikon. He was gifted by nature with considerable insight and a high degree of physical courage, but he owed nothing absolutely to education or training, and his lack of that prudence which comes of experience, his intolerable arrogance and utter want of self-control, hindered him from permanently gratifying an ambition which was well-nigh boundless and from achieving even that limited measure of success which his influence and position at one time placed within his reach.

The task unsuccessfully undertaken by Nikon has been modestly called the Reformation of the Orthodox Church. It would be more correct, perhaps, to describe it as the conversion of Russia to Christianity. An enterprise of such magnitude, in the seventeenth as in the tenth century, could only be carried out in one of two ways: either by educating the people, whose obtuse minds were insensible to the arguments of reason, or by appealing to the strong arm of the civil power, which, even in the latter half of the present century, has often rudely torn the veil of error from the eyes of defenceless Christians—in some countries of the East. In the seventeenth as in the tenth century, force was preferred to education, and in both cases the results are what might have been expected.

In the beginning of his reign Nikon enjoyed the unbounded confidence of his sovereign, Alexis Mikhailovitch; and his pastoral letters and decisions were listened to with more respect and

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 182.

enforced with greater promptitude and rigor than the ukases of the Czar himself. He was entrusted with the administration of justice, was invested with power to visit prisons at all times and to set the prisoners free on his own authority, to receive or dismiss petitioners who appealed to the Czar for justice or for mercy, and the title as well as the substance of power was generously conferred upon him by his royal master.¹ We are not here concerned with the eventful life and sad end of the ambitious patriarch. It may suffice to remark that, after having been some years the virtual ruler of the realm, he fell into disgrace, lost the political power he had so long enjoyed and abused, was soon after deprived of his spiritual jurisdiction, and died many years afterwards, a querulous prisoner in a gloomy monastery.

The cares and pleasures of civil government did not wholly prevent Nikon, before his fall, from beginning the work of organizing the Church. His first step was to correct the liturgical books in use among the clergy, and it must be confessed that in respect of theology, grammar, and common sense, they were a disgrace to the country and the Church. So far Nikon's reform was undoubtedly called for, and to this extent, at least, his countrymen are indebted to him. Whether this measure can be said to redeem the numerous acts of cruelty and revenge which disgrace his reign, we need not stop to inquire; it is, however, now admitted on all hands that even this wise measure was carried out unwisely. He next forbade all Christians, under heavy pains and penalties, to make the sign of the Cross with two fingers or to recite the "Allelujah" twice instead of thrice,² and he declared several other equally impious practices heretical and punishable in this life and in the next. In 1656 a council of the bishops and archbishops of Russia was convened, less to discuss those questions than to lend to Nikon's decrees the authority of their names, and barbarous punishments were inflicted on all who refused or hesitated to acknowledge them.

This was the signal for an outburst of popular indignation such as has had no parallel since or before in the religious or political annals of Russia. The outcry was raised, and re-echoed in the remotest corners of the empire by the Dissentients, who received the name of Old Believers, that a new and impious doctrine was

¹ The Czar bestowed upon him the title of "Great Lord," which, of course, was personal. Nikon endeavored, but without success, to have it inseparably annexed to the office of Patriarch.

² After the prayer: "Glory to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost, now and forever and ever, Amen," it was customary to add, "Allelujah, Allelujah, Allelujah, glory to Thee, O God," and to repeat this three times. The Old Believers hold that it is to be recited twice only. This was one of the chief differences between them and the Orthodox Church.

being imposed upon the people; that the divine writings, by means of which their forefathers had saved their souls, were being wickedly tampered with, and that Antichrist had appeared on earth and was seated on the patriarchal throne in Moscow. From this time forth the Schism or Raskol in the Russian Church dates its existence.

Two distinct classes of persons swelled the ranks of the Schismatics: those who, from sheer ignorance and unreasoning, dogged conservatism, were opposed to any change whatever, religious or social, and who were quite as impervious to arguments as they were unmoved by threats of punishment. They made up by the comprehensiveness of their faith for the licentiousness of their morals; and the faults of copyists, the interpolations of translators, the spells and amulets of "magicians," and the prophecies of astrologers came to them invested with the same divine authority which they attributed to the Gospels, that were known to them only by hearsay. They clung with equal tenacity to the numberless superstitious customs that had come down to them from their pagan ancestors, and to the doctrines of a future state, of the two Allelujahs, and of the use of only two fingers in making the sign of the Cross. At the present day their descendants are to the full as narrow and one-sided in their views, as uncompromising in their opposition to what they still call the "new-fangled notions" of Nikon, as their fathers were two centuries ago. They eschew the use of tobacco, snuff, wine, tea, coffee, and most of the other comforts of life, which were unknown or condemned as sinful in the days of Nikon, and they would as soon think of defiling themselves by tasting of food which had been touched by a member of the orthodox faith, as a conscientious Brahmin would consent to drink from the vessel that had been rendered impure by the lips of a member of the Sudra caste. As they hold the priesthood to be one of the fundamental institutions of Christianity, which must be taken to mean their own Church, they are called Old Believers of the Sacerdotal Creed.

The other group of Dissentients, on the contrary, felt and owned the need of a sweeping change. They differed among themselves, however, on matters of detail. But they were all agreed that the bulk of mankind was reprobate, and doomed to undergo frightful torments in the life to come. As they had no means of comparing the religious and moral condition of their forefathers with that of their contemporaries, they set down the supposed degeneration of the latter to the wiles of Antichrist, who was already living and working among men. They accused the clergy of having grossly and wilfully misled the people and of being ministers of Antichrist, and they held them answerable for most of the evils that made the

earth an abomination in the sight of God. With these ideas, it was only natural that they should spurn the offices of the clergy and reject the sacraments of the Church; and from this circumstance they received the name of Old Believers of the Priestless Creed. It is only among followers of this sect, or group of sects, that religious suicide on a large scale has hitherto occurred.

Neither of these classes of Schismatics formed at any time a compact, united body. Fierce persecution, indeed, held them together for a short time, but a few years after they had withdrawn from the Mother Church they were split up into numerous sub-sects, many of which are still, for obvious reasons, imperfectly known in Russia.

II.

It is not easy to understand the origin, the nature, and the objects of certain of those extravagant creeds, and for the sake of human nature one would gladly disbelieve their existence, if it were possible to shut one's eyes to the facts. The psychologist seeks in vain to discover the standpoint from which they require to be viewed in order to appear the work of sane, not to say intelligent, minds, and in the end one is unwillingly forced to the conclusion that no such standpoint exists. It must not, however, be inferred that the Russian Raskol or Schism is entirely made up of such sects, or composed chiefly of fanatics, whose religion, like the highest order of genius, is closely akin to madness. On the contrary, most of the dissenting persuasions profess tolerant and refined religious principles, which most Protestants would willingly endorse, and practise moral and civic virtues which would do credit to any Church or country.

The mental process which led Origen to put the physical impossibility of sinning above the triumphs of reason over passion, whatever we may think of it as a piece of logic, is at least intelligible enough to most minds, and has been independently revived by the Russian Skoptsy. This strange sect seeks to justify its existence by appealing to an isolated text of the New Testament (Matt. xix., 12), which is interpreted literally, and held to be an absolute command addressed to all followers of Christ. The Skoptsy are, of course, unmarried, and their ranks are recruited from the poor, the unsuccessful, the greedy of all classes—chiefly, however, from among peasants, merchants, and small traders. Those whose fanaticism is less doubtful than their intelligence—and they form the great majority—voluntarily join this sect from motives which they deem religious; others are allured by the prospect of a life of comfort, perhaps of luxury. For the Skoptsy are generally in easy circumstances, while some are millionaires, who, during life, spend their wealth very freely in proselytizing, and in screening

their brethren from the periodical rigor of the laws, and, after death, cause it to be devoted to works which often have a much wider scope and can scarcely be refused the name of philanthropic. All the endeavors of the government to root out this sect, or even perceptibly to check its progress, have proved, hitherto, unavailing. It is needless to ask whether this result is exactly what might be expected under the circumstances. We are not here called upon to discuss the relative merits of education and coercion as a means of combating doctrines and practices similar to those of the Skoptsy, nor are we concerned with the question whether method and uniformity of treatment are not absolutely indispensable to success. It would seem, however, undeniable that mingled violence and weakness, such as characterized the measures of the Russian Government in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, always exasperate, never persuade, and seldom compel obedience.

Self-destruction from religious motives was probably far more common in pre-historic times than is generally supposed, and the religious codes of many ancient peoples, civilized and barbarous, seem to have sanctioned the principle in its most extreme, if not in its noblest application. In Russia, however, religious suicide was not the direct outcome of any such general principle. In that country it probably existed as a practice before it assumed the character of a dogma; it was a virtual necessity before it became a meritorious act; and the light which revealed it as a salutary precept to the fanatics of the Priestless Sect—though they might mistake it for the light of divine revelation—was the lurid blaze of the fires in which their brethren were burned by the upholders of orthodoxy.

Provocation of the worst kind, however, is of itself scarcely sufficient to explain a phenomenon for which we find no parallel in history, if we except the mania for martyrdom peculiar to some of the African Donatists. The intellectual and moral condition which the ready acceptance of doctrines of this kind pre-supposes, is the result of centuries of ignorance and suffering. The life of the Russian people of those times was of the kind which Solomon had in view when he "praised the dead which are already dead, more than the living which are yet alive." It was unmitigated, never-ending suffering from the cradle to the grave; suffering unsoothed by a ray of hope, a word of comfort, a dream of change; suffering which tinged the songs of the people with sadness akin to despair, which gave a deep tone of melancholy to their folklore and traditions, and armed them with that thorough indifference to death which is still one of their most striking characteristics. If life in those days brought only physical suffering to its victims, it is because they were incapable of feeling pangs of a more acute

description. All but the animal life had been killed out of man, and even that was an instrument of torture to its possessors. The only thing wanting to make this torture unbearable, to make death in any form seem a positive good, was the re-awakening of moral consciousness, and this was one of the results of the impulse given to mental and moral activity by the Schism.

Death by fire was the penalty in those days of resolute government for the holding of religious opinions. It is perhaps needless to state that the tenets of the "Orthodox" Church were not opinions, but revealed truths to be accepted *en bloc*, not only without explanation, but without enumeration. Church and State were leagued together for the purpose of compelling the scrupulous, the doubting and the despairing to tread the beaten tracts and take their chances of salvation with the nation at large—above all with their rulers. Fanatics who held that mankind in general was doomed to perdition, who trembled lest they should fall into the hands of Nikon's followers, less from fear of punishment than from a wild terror of being artfully cheated out of eternal happiness, were not made of stuff likely to yield to the pressure of severity. They were used to suffering, and misery was their constant bed-fellow. They had never set any value on life, and the belief that death was the stepping-stone to a state of everlasting happiness was enough to fire them with a desire to die. This desire became an uncontrollable impulse when the conviction gained ground that Antichrist was born and busily engaged spreading his snares throughout the earth. His seal was the joining together of three fingers in making the sign of the Cross, or it was the three Allelujahs. It was easy to fall a victim to his wiles, and difficult, well nigh impossible, to free oneself from his power again; in fact, the only sure means of breaking with Antichrist was death, voluntary death, equivalent to martyrdom.

Such would seem to be the most probable explanation of the origin of the suicidal sect. That it was a sect, or rather a group of sects, with self-destruction for their dogma, is a fact no longer open to discussion. Some years ago, it is true, a different thesis was broached, and ingeniously defended by a Russian writer, Mr. Yesipoff. According to him, suicide was a means, not an end; the last shift of unfortunate men hunted down by the government and the Church, with no hope of escape before them; and not a dogma, or even a practice adopted on its own intrinsic merits. "If it were a dogma," he reasons—and this is the only argument he brings forward worthy of the name—"it would have appeared spontaneously, whereas all the cases known up to the present (1863) go to show that the Old Believers burned themselves only when on the point of being seized by force, and always in presence

of the detachment of soldiers sent to take them."¹ It is clear that if the assertion were substantiated by the facts, one could no longer speak of suicidal sects, but only of the self-slaughter of proscribed sects in self-defence. A mass of evidence, however, much of which seems to have been unknown to Yesipoff, plainly points the other way, and it is now acknowledged on all hands that suicide by fire was a fundamental doctrine of certain of the Priestless Sects, and was practised independently of the action of the government or its representatives, as an effectual means of purifying the soul.

It is now impossible to say precisely at what time suicide from religious motives first began to be practised in Russia. The earliest chronicled fact occurred in Siberia in the year 1679. It is related in detail by a contemporary, Ignatius, who was metropolitan archbishop of Siberia and Tobolsk from 1693 to 1701. He is the author of three epistles, written in the Slavonic language, with a strong admixture of ancient Russian, in which he exposes and refutes the teaching of the Old Believers.² Ignatius is a most important witness, whose testimony has never been impugned, and whose hatred of the Schismatics took the form of imprecations and abuse rather than that of deliberate falsehood or wilful distortion of facts.

One of the most zealous apostles of the Priestless Sect in Siberia was a certain Dometian, who had himself been formerly a priest. He was won over to the new sect by a heresiarch who had abandoned the Armenian Church, in which he was born, for the "Orthodox" Creed of Russia, had then forsaken orthodoxy for schism, and died, many years after, an orthodox Christian. Dometian eagerly accepted his teaching that only two fingers must be joined in making the sign of the Cross, that the innovations of Nikon were the work of the devil, and that priests or other mediators between man and God were worse than useless. Dometian soon after made the acquaintance of a Schismatic monk, from whom he received the monastic habit and the new name of Daniel. Fired with the zeal of an apostle, Daniel traveled about from place to place in the government of Tobolsk, preaching the doctrines of his spiritual fathers. Laying great stress on the circumstance—which few doubted at the time—that Antichrist was born and already at work seducing mankind, he called upon his hearers to leave house and home and repair to the woods, there to prepare for the kingdom of Heaven. Many believed and followed him in his retirement, and Daniel was soon surrounded by a large number of fervent

¹ Cf. the Russian review, *Otchestvennaya Zapiski*, 1863, No. II., p. 606.

² *Epistles of Ignatius*, Metropolitan of Siberia and Tobolsk, published by the editors of the ecclesiastical review, *Pravoslavny Sobesednik Kazan*, 1855.

disciples, five of whom assisted him in preaching. We have the authority of Ignatius for saying that among the doctrines propagated by Daniel, and eagerly embraced by most of his followers, the necessity of suicide by fire occupied a prominent place. "This accursed Dometian," says the holy man, "and all the other vile teachers taught the followers of their loathsome creed to burn themselves alive, calling this their second baptism. For those who have been baptized by water lose their purity, inasmuch as they live [after baptism]. This accursed Dometian, however, and the others who preached suicide by fire and called it baptism, overlooked the fact that baptism by fire is merely excruciating, not salutary."¹

Ignatius has preserved a fragment of a letter written by Daniel, or Dometian, as he persisted in calling him, to his spiritual father Ivanischtsche, of which the following is a literal translation: "There are now many virtuous men and women, maidens and youths, gathered together around me, and all of them beg for the second undefiled baptism by fire. What does your holiness ordain?" To which he received the following pithy reply: "You have cooked this mess yourself, eat it now as best you may."² On this Daniel ordered his disciples to fill their wooden huts, which were clustered around his own dwelling, with whatever inflammable materials lay handy—rosin, the rind of the elm-tree, flax, sulphur and gunpowder.

Meanwhile, the metropolitan of Siberia, who had heard of the doings of the new sect, despatched certain "pious priests and virtuous men in order to save them from death by fire." The "virtuous men," it may be needful to explain, were armed soldiers. Unhappily for the success of the expedition, the Schismatics were not open to conviction. On the arrival of the deputation they reviled the Czar, the Church, and the bishops; and, in the picturesque language of Ignatius, "they began to bark like dogs possessed of the devil." While the priests and "virtuous men" were still exhorting them, they set fire to their huts and perished in the flames to the number of 1700.³

This number, large as it was, represented but a fraction of Daniel's followers. Of the remainder, some, less fervent than their brethren, put off for a time the day of "baptism"; others lived on for the purpose of preaching the doctrines of the sect and converting the unbelieving. Foremost among the latter was Basil Schaposchnikoff, or Vaska, as he was usually called, who, for many

¹ Ignatius, *Epistles*, iii., chap. 32, p. 128.

² Ignatius, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

³ Ignatius himself does not fix the number in this place. Bishop Macarius, the historian of the Schism, gives it as 1700. *Cf. Hist. of Russ. Schism*, p. 248.

years after Daniel's death, wandered about the city and the district of Tobolsk secretly propagating the teachings of the Schismatics. His teachings differed in no essential point from that of Daniel. He was a strenuous advocate of the joining of two fingers in making the sign of the Cross; he preached against the clergy as an institution, and exhorted his hearers to shun the churches of the Nikonites and refuse their sacraments. One of the most powerful inducements to join the new sect which Vaska duly held forth was the means it was said to afford of steering clear of Antichrist and his numerous army; for the faith of the common people in the success of the wiles of this arch-enemy of man was surpassed only by their terror of falling victims to them.

In the year 1693 Ignatius, metropolitan of Siberia, was informed by an old monk of the proselytizing work carried on by Vaska, and means were taken to have him arrested. An archimandrite was instructed to examine him and to report upon the nature and tendency of his doctrines. The cupidity of the archimandrite was stronger, however, than his zeal in the cause of orthodoxy, and he and the officer in charge of Vaska, both consented to take a bribe from the heresiarch, or as Ignatius, who anathematizes all three, delicately puts it, "a present of silver pieces," and set him free, on the ground that he had been grossly calumniated.¹

After this Vaska and his followers fled to the woods, chose a convenient place for their devotions, and erected three spacious modern buildings round which they piled up all the combustible materials they could find. The authorities were informed of the hiding-place of the Schismatics. They began to correspond with each other as to what measures should be taken, sending letters and messengers from Tomsk to Tobolsk and from Tobolsk to Tomsk in the dignified and leisurely way which is still characteristic of orientals. At length the metropolitan of Siberia bestirred himself and composed a pastoral letter for the edification of the Schismatics, and the Voyevod of Tomsk despatched it with a mixed company of ecclesiastics and horse soldiers. But persuasion and threats were equally unavailing. All discussion between the members of the expedition—who were accompanied by the friends of the Old Believers—and those whom they were sent to convert, was cut short by Vaska, who from the roof of one of the buildings made a short but telling speech to the soldiers and ecclesiastics: "We shall shortly burn," he said, "in fire that passeth away, but ye burn even now with fire that is everlasting. Retire to a distance, lest when we set fire to our dwellings, and the nitre and gunpowder explode, ye be killed by the falling of the beams and

¹ Ignatius, *op. cit.*, p. 131-132.

rafters."¹ Those words had the wished-for effect. The priests and soldiers hastily moved to a safe distance. Vaska then bade his followers let him down from one of the windows, that he might set fire to the houses from the outside. This, however, they refused to do. A little girl was lowered from one of the windows; she set fire to the combustible materials, and the master fared no better than his disciples, all perishing in the flames.²

Daniel and Vaska were not the founders of the suicidal sect in Russia, nor even in Siberia. They were merely two of its most zealous and most successful apostles. It existed before them and continued to flourish long after their death. They seem, however, to have been among the first to call suicide by fire the second baptism, and to have made it a condition of salvation. There can be no doubt that it was the firm belief of the suicides that by burning themselves alive they were cleansing their souls from the stain of sin, and were offering up to God a most pleasing sacrifice. Their own hymns prove as much. To save their souls from Hell was their first care, and suicide by fire was proposed to them as the swiftest and surest means by those in whom they placed unbounded trust. For the consideration of such as might doubt of the universal necessity of suicide, cogent reasons of expediency were submitted. To continue to live in the world, filled as it was with the snares of Antichrist, was to expose oneself to the certain danger of apostacy. Nothing was easier than to be seduced by the enemy of man. It was not even necessary to have consciously yielded to his promptings. Co-operation or consent was no more needful than it would be in the animals which a magician's wand might change to stones, or in the children who might be seen in every village pining away and dying from the effects of the evil eye. The only hope of safety lay in flight. Christ Himself had said so; for example, in the following lines—which may be offered as a sample of the hymns sung by the sectarians—in which he addresses the Schismatics, his "shining lights":

Perfidious Antichrist is born;
Already hath he spread his snares
In cities and in villages;

¹ Ignatius, *Epistles* iii., chap. 33, p. 133. Vaska appears to have told a deliberate falsehood on this occasion. The little girl who set fire to the buildings of the Schismatics and who was afterwards taken by the soldiers, informed them that Vaska filled several vessels with black seed which he sprinkled over with a handful of powder, which was all he had. Ignatius, *Ep.* iii., chap. 33, p. 135. Cf. also Macarius, *Hist. of Russ. Schism*, p. 249.

² We are not informed of the number of Vaska's followers who perished on this occasion, but from the general tenor of the narrative of Ignatius it would seem to have been little less—perhaps even more—than the number that perished with Daniel.

Hath set his seal upon the people;
 Hath sealed their heads and sealed their hands.
 Flee ye hence my shining Lights!
 To woods and far off hermitages.
 Cover yourselves with yellow sands;
 With sand and ashes cover yourselves;
 Give up your life, my shining Lights,
 For the Holy Cross, for prayer¹

The necessity for voluntary martyrdom, however, appeared in its most palpable and least abstract form, when the soldiers surrounded the hiding-places of the Old Believers. They well knew, as Yesipoff significantly remarked, what then awaited them. If they had faith in the doctrines of their sect, they were aware that once they fell into the hands of the authorities they could never again hope to practise what it taught them, if by any chance they were allowed to live. They were certain to be inhumanly tortured till they enrolled themselves in the army of Antichrist by making the sign of the Cross with three fingers, or died in frightful agony. And it is extremely probable that considerations of this latter kind acted more powerfully than all others in the beginning.

In reference to the cases in which the action of the Schismatics seems to have been determined by the attempts of the soldiers to arrest them, it will not perhaps be out of place to make two observations: The large proportion such cases bear to those in which no external force influenced the Old Believers, is in part, if not wholly, due to the circumstance that, in selecting only such instances as are well authenticated, we are obliged to rely chiefly on more or less official sources. And, as a rule, official accounts were possible only when soldiers or priests were despatched beforehand. The other remark refers to the nature of the influence exercised by the soldiers. In many cases, perhaps in most, priests and soldiers were not the cause of the Schismatics' resolve to destroy themselves, but merely the occasion. The doctrine of suicide was preached on its own merits, the community was formed and the condition—baptism by fire—accepted by each member long beforehand, so that the arrival of the military was merely the signal, seldom the cause. On the other hand, it is not to be denied that in some cases fear of falling into the hands of their enemies induced the Old Believers to have recourse to suicide.

In August, 1687, a monk, named Pimar, and 1500 of the Old

¹ Cf. Russian ecclesiastical review, entitled: *Pravoslavny Sobessednik*, Kazan, 1861, i., p. 430.

Believers burned themselves to death in the district of Olenetz.¹ In 1753 200 of the sect underwent the "baptism of fire" at Lutchenkina, in the government of Tobolsk.² Three years later there was another "baptism," with 170 victims, at Maltseva, in the government of Tomsk.³ Examples like these naturally kindled the enthusiasm of the Schismatics, for not only were they imitated, but held up to the admiration and imitation of all Old Believers. And it seems highly probable that the express approbation of men of influence and authority among the sectaries contributed very powerfully to the rapid spread of the *doctrine* of suicide. One of the ablest champions, and indeed one of the founders of the Schismatic Church, was the Archpriest Happakuk, who had been censor of the ecclesiastical press in Moscow under Nikon's predecessor, the Patriarch Joseph. His piety, no doubt, was far superior to his learning; but, on the other hand, his sincerity, earnestness, tolerance, and humanity won the involuntary respect of his most implacable enemies. Nikon deprived him of his office and had him transported to Siberia for refusing to use three fingers in making the sign of the Cross and to accept the revised liturgical books. In exile he acquired the reputation of a saint, and certainly the rude virtues he practised and the protracted sufferings he endured for several years before he was finally burned, seemed to give him a strong claim to the title, as claims then went.⁴ Now there are some very important passages in the writings of Happakuk which make it perfectly clear that he approved the practice of religious suicide. The following extract, in which he refers to voluntary "martyrs," speaks for itself: "They understood the lures of apostacy, and rather than expose themselves to the danger of destroying their souls, they gathered together in courtyards, with their wives and children, and of their own free will consumed themselves by fire. *Blessed be this resolve in the name of God.*" The effect of words like these from a man of Happakuk's position and reputation cannot easily be overrated, nor is one surprised to learn that in a very short space of time the suicidal sect had

¹ *History of the Vygodsky Hermitage of Old Believers* (St. Petersburg, 1862), p. 31; Prugavin, *cf.* review, *Russian Thought*, No. 1, p. 85.

² Prugavin, *op. cit.*, p. 89; Zagoskin, "Literary Selections" of the *Volga Messenger*, Kazan, 1884, P. I., p. 192.

³ *Complete Collection of Laws*, vol. xiv., No. 10,585, p. 599; *cf.* Prugavin, *Russian Thought*, 1885, I., p. 89.

⁴ Happakuk's "Autobiography," written in ancient Russ, shortly before his execution, is one of the most interesting records of that age. He unconsciously portrays himself with what seems wonderful fidelity, and the result is one of the most heroic and most amiable characters of his century. The title of the book is as follows: *Life of the Archpriest Happakuk (Avvakum) written by himself*. Edited by N. S. Tichonravoff, published by D. Koschartschikoff, St. Petersburg, 1862. This is an extremely rare book at present.

spread all over the north and northeast of Russia, from Archangel'sk to Siberia.

On the showing of their worst enemies, who never speak of them without calling down heavy curses on their souls, the Old Believers, in their struggle with the government, were of an extremely forbearing disposition, readily forgave their enemies, and lent a helping hand even to those who had wrought them irreparable evil. Their conceptions of justice and morality were, on the whole, immeasurably superior to those of most of their orthodox enemies; and however they may have exaggerated some of the forms of Christianity and laid undue stress on the latter, it cannot be denied that, in all their actions, they were actuated by an honest desire to live according to the spirit of the Gospel. In respect of unflinching devotion to what they deemed the cause of God, in respect of single-mindedness, modesty, and love of their neighbors, men like the Archpriest Hapstuk, the deacon Ignatius, or the brothers Denissoff, compare very favorably with the most honored of English or of continental "Reformers." The Schismatics of the suicidal sects resembled men with one fixed idea, who, on all other questions of private or public life, are not only perfectly sane, but exceptionally shrewd, well-informed, and honest.

To this rule there have been exceptions sufficiently rare to prove it. On one or two occasions the Old Believers were reinforced by a sprinkling of wild, adventurous spirits who, armed with guns, carbines, and whatever other arms they could lay their hands on, did not hesitate to take the offensive. But even these, it must not be forgotten, carried arms more for ornament than for use, and did very little harm to their enemies. Thus, on the 23d September, 1689, a band of Schismatics, headed by a monk named German, seized the orthodox monastery of Paleostroff, in the government of Olonetz, imprisoned the prior and thirteen novices in the cellar, and worshiped God according to their own rite in the church. An archpriest was despatched by the authorities, at the head of a company of soldiers, to bring persuasion or force to bear on the intruders, and to put an end to the occupation. As usual, the expedition failed. Against men who were thoroughly in earnest, and set no value upon their lives, little could be done by hirelings or dilettanti; the conditions were far too unequal. But there was another important reason to account for the failure. Many monasteries in those days were less spiritual than military strongholds, and the monastery of Paleostroff in particular was one of those which it was infinitely more difficult to attack than to defend, and probably if the soldiers sent in 1689 to storm it were twice as numerous as they actually were, they would have been unable to dislodge the Old Believers, who held out for nine weeks. Indeed,

there was no reason why they should not have held out for years as their brethren did in the Solovetsky monastery against the best generals of the day. German, however, who panted for the "martyr's" crown, proclaimed the time come for receiving the baptism of fire—the only sure pledge of eternal salvation for sinful man. His impassioned discourse kindled a wild, uncontrollable enthusiasm in his followers, who at once set fire to the monastery and perished in the flames, having forgotten or refused to set free the orthodox prior and his thirteen companions who were still willing to live. The most moderate accounts fix the number of voluntary "martyrs" at 500, while the Raskolnik historian, Denissoff, estimates it, and not without a good show of reason, at 1500.¹

Four years afterwards a monk of the Solovetsky monastery, at the head of his armed disciples, took possession of the Orthodox Church at the parish of Pudosch,² expelled the priests, consecrated it anew, and washed the church utensils with water. After a stay of a few weeks the Schismatics carried off the Gospels and some other books belonging to the church, and fled to a village called Strokinia, where they shut themselves up in four large wooden houses. Their hiding-place was soon discovered and a body of soldiers sent to capture them. In answer to the summons of the commanding officer they reviled the Orthodox Church and the cross with one transverse beam. The soldiers then rushed to the doors to break them in, and the Schismatics fired on the soldiers in order to keep them at bay till they burned down their dwellings. The soldiers strove hard to storm the houses, but before they could effect an entrance the fire had accomplished its work and the Old Believers had died for their convictions. The number of martyrs is variously estimated at from 800 to 1200.³

It would be a hopeless task to set about giving even an approximate estimate of the number of Schismatics who burned themselves alive between the seventeenth century and the present day. For such a calculation we can only take our data from sources of the most trustworthy kind, which are generally official documents. Now, official documents were compiled only when the soldiers or other representatives of the authorities were present at the scenes described, whereas by far the greater number of those who "baptized" themselves by fire did so in the depths of the forest and in other inaccessible places, far away from the gaze of the curious or the "reprobate." Of such events no records exist, or at most

¹ Macarius, *Hist. of Russ. Schism*, p. 253; *Hist. Documents*, v., No. 151, p. 255, 256.

² In the Government of Olonets.

³ Schtschapoff, *Russ. Schism*, p. 267; Macarius, *Hist. of Russ. Schism*, p. 353-354; *Hist. Documents*, v., No. 223, p. 388-390.

narratives compiled exclusively for religious purposes and devoid of that precision and objectivity which are the first conditions of authenticity. But even the official accounts do not always give us assistance, as they are sometimes couched in terms too vague to be of use in a calculation of this kind. Orders were generally given to the soldiers sent to arrest the Old Believers, in case they failed to prevent the suicide, at least to count the number of "martyrs," and on one occasion the government office of Novgorod, in answer to objections, actually commanded them to count the intestines, "because the intestines," explains this discursive document, "can never burn to a cinder in a fire, no matter how large the building."¹ But in spite of these precise instructions it often happened that no means were taken to ascertain the number of Schismatics that had perished. Thus we frequently find it stated that "so and so" burned himself alive with his whole flock, "or perished along with a large (or unknown) number of Schismatics." Thus in the year 1747, on the banks of the river Umba, Terence, a disciple of Philip—the founder of the most suicidal of all Russian sects—"died of fire," as it is euphemistically put, "along with his whole flock."² From the same source we learn that three years later, on the banks of the same river, Matthew, likewise a disciple of Philip, "burned himself alive with his flock."³ In the same year, 1750, in the district of Tumen, in the village of Zaïkova, "an unknown number of Raskolniks burned themselves alive."⁴ In the next year, 1753, in the district of Ustinga, "an unknown number of Schismatics set fire to their dwellings and perished in the flames."⁵ And so on; vague expressions of this kind meet us at every step.

If we eliminate all those cases in which indefinite terms are substituted for precise figures, and confine ourselves to facts based mostly on official accounts—which have a decided tendency to lessen the number of suicides—we arrive at a total of ten thousand seven hundred and four "martyrs" by fire. Now it is perfectly certain that this is but a very small fraction of the number of sectarians who burned themselves alive. The number of cases known from other than official sources is incomparably greater. To take one work alone, in the Obituary of the Old Believers, edited some years ago by a learned scholar, Mr. Pypin, we find the number of

¹ Yesipoff, in the Review, *Otetschestvennaya Zapiski*, 1863, No. II., p. 619.

² Memorandum-Book of the Government of Olonets for the year 1868-9, p. 195, cited by Prugavin; cf. *Russian Thought*, 1885, No. 1, p. 88.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Zagorskin, in the "Literary Selections" of the *Volga Messenger*, 1884, I., p. 192; cf. Prugavin, *Russian Thought*, 1885, No. 1, p. 89.

⁵ Cf. *Complete Collection of Laws*, vol. xiv., No. 10, 585, p. 599; cf. Prugavin, *op. cit.* p. 89.

Raskolniks whose self-destruction by fire is described in that book alone to amount to ten thousand one hundred and two. It would be interesting to sift and sum up all the other cases mentioned in various works and manuscripts scattered throughout Russia, especially in the Martyrologies and other religious books, which are still read with devotion by certain among the Schismatic sects; though even the idea which they could give us of the number of "martyrs" by fire would still necessarily be very inadequate. We are assured by Mr. Pavloff, who has brought some very interesting facts to light, that in Siberia, where the suicidal sects struck deep roots, piles of official documents touching on the self-slaughter of the Schismatics are mouldering away unedited, unknown, in the various archives of the cities.¹ The traditions still current among the people in various parts of Russia, the numerous tombs of the "martyrs" which are even now being secretly visited as places of pilgrimage, and the reminiscences of old men still living, attest the extensive development of those extraordinary sects. It should be borne in mind, however, that we have only looked upon one phase of their development—that death by fire was but one of several forms of suicide approved by the Old Believers. Some preferred drowning, others used the hatchet; fasting to death was the method employed by a large number of Raskolniks, while many who were loath to become their own executioners were smothered at their own desire by their brethren.²

In the year 1762 the Emperor Peter III. issued a ukase which allowed the Raskolniks breathing time. Violent persecutions—at least in so far as it was the work of the central government—ceased for a short time, and officials were advised to try the effect of the laws which we should, no doubt, consider extremely rigorous, but which for Russia were very humane. This innovation, short-lived though it proved to be, did much to diminish the fanaticism, to spiritualize and refine the religious views, of the Raskolniks; and the spread of enlightenment, which has been infinitely more rapid among them than in the ranks of any other body of men in Russia, has considerably abated the violence, without entirely removing all symptoms, of the suicidal mania.

There seem to be good grounds for believing that a few sects still exist at the present day which have a pronounced tendency to suicide, to which they give an encouragement which only stops short at compulsion. The tradition would seem to have survived

¹ Cf. review, *Russkaja Starina*, 1879, X., p. 336.

² Those Sects will form the subject of another paper. Smothering with a pillow seems to have been very extensively practised of late years.

in the form of a counsel rather than that of a precept, but of a counsel which circumstances may render obligatory, and which is sometimes conscientiously acted upon by the most scrupulous or the most fanatical members of the sect. Care, however, is generally taken to leave no clue which might enable the authorities to discover the motives of the act, and it certainly seems undeniable that a large proportion of those enigmatical suicides which are daily occurring in Russia would, if the truth were known, have to be set down as religious. The following are two, selected from several cases that have occurred in quite recent times, the religious character of which is not doubtful: In the year 1860, in the government of Olonets, fifteen Old Believers of both sexes burned themselves in the forest "for the Lord's sake,"¹ and in 1883, in Velimitcha, a peasant named David Schudruk, eager for the crown of martyrdom, filled his hut with straw and burned himself alive.²

The old hymns, that were as war-cries to the Old Believers when nerving themselves for the last struggle, have been faithfully handed down to their successors, and are still sung by them, especially when one of them is about to receive the baptism of fire. The hymns are, in many respects, curious compositions. They are relics, not so much of a definite period of Russian history, as of a social and religious state which one would gladly hear had disappeared for ever and left no traces behind. They contain the condensed history of centuries, if one only knew how to decipher it aright. We may get from them a fair idea of the cheerless philosophy of the masses of the people, and realize how utterly gloomy and hopeless were the views of life and human nature which underlay their dismal creed; we may thus catch a glimpse of the cold, cruel Moloch who had usurped the throne of God, and needed tremendous bribes—not merely immense human holocausts, but the self-slaughter of the whole human race—to purchase his good will; and we can imagine how terrible and how wide reaching must have been the injustice, the want and the misery that brought forth such despair as not even the consciousness of strength and numbers could dispel or modify.

The following is an extract from one of the hymns still in use among the members of a few Schismatic sects. Christ is supposed to be addressing his followers and urging them on to the sacrifice:

¹ Prugavin, *Russ. Thought*, 1885, I., p. 91; *Moscow Government News*, 1862, No. 26.

² Prugavin, *op. cit.*, p. 91. [This writer cites the *Moscow News*; but the number he quotes contains no allusion whatever to the case he describes. Perhaps the reference should be *Moscow Government News*, which is a different journal.] In most cases of suicide which have occurred of late years the Schismatics have generally preferred fasting to death, or being smothered to death by fire. As we are concerned for the moment only with those sects whose members burned themselves alive, we avoid touching upon any other phases of the movement in this paper.

Flee ye to the mountains and the caverns ;
 There heap up high funeral piles ;
 With inflammable sulphur sprinkle them ;
Burn thereon your mortal bodies ;
Suffer for me, my shining lights !
 Heaven's halls will I throw open to you—
 I will lead ye into the heavenly kingdom ;
 I will live with you forever and aye.¹

THE AVESTA AND ITS DISCOVERER.

THE SACRED BOOK OF THE PARSIS AND ITS DISCOVERER.

AT Nehavend, near Hamadan, the ancient Ecbatana, in the year 641, the Arabs attacked and cut to pieces the last great army that ever gathered to the standard of the Sassanian kings of Persia. The battle of Nehavend, called by the Arab historian Tabari, "the victory of victories,"² won all Persia to Islam. It was in vain that Yezdegird, its last Sassanian king, carried on for a while a desultory warfare against the conquerors. He died by the hand of an assassin ten years after his defeat, but already, even before his death, throughout a great part of Iran the people had accepted the Koran and abandoned the fire-temple for the mosque. Only a handful clung to the religion of their fathers. Exposed in later years to the persecution of their Mohammedan masters, who looked on them as idolatrous worshipers of fire, to whom no zealous Moslem could give toleration, the Guebres (as they were now called) were further reduced in numbers by the emigration of the more energetic among them to western India. They left the shores of Persia by sea about the end of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century, that is to say, within a hundred years of the battle of Nehavend. Many of their ships were lost in a great storm, and only a few reached the coast of Guzerat, where they landed at Sejam, some seventy miles south of Surat.³ Here they were allowed to form a settlement on certain conditions, the chief of which were that they should speak the Guzerathi language, and so far respect the prejudices of their Hindoo hosts

¹ Varentsoff, *Collection of Spiritual Songs of the Russian People*, St. Petersburg, 1860, p. 185. Cf. also Review, *Pravoslavny Sobesednik*, Kazan, 1881, I., pp. 429-430.

² Fattah-hul-Futtah. Rawlinson, "*Seventh Oriental Monarchy*," p. 575.

³ Hunter, *Gazetteer of India*, ii., 333.

as not to eat beef. From this time these fugitives from Persia were known in India as the Parsis.

At Sejam they began to devote themselves to that commercial enterprise which has gradually won for them the high position they now hold in India. They carried on a trade along the coast with their ships, and, rapidly increasing in numbers, began to form further settlements in the neighboring districts. At Cambay they at length outnumbered the Hindoos and took armed possession of the town. This is, it seems, the only recorded instance of a Parsi revolt. It had a disastrous end. The town was soon retaken and great numbers of the rebels were massacred by the Hindoos, who held it till the Mohammedan conquest in 1297.

In the first half of the fifteenth century we find the Parsis forming a settlement at Navasâri or Nosari, in what is now the native state of Baroda.¹ Several thousands of them are to be found there to this day, and they are a thriving and wealthy community. It was probably from this settlement that the Parsis threw off a colony to the new city of Surat, founded in 1540, at a distance of about fifteen miles from Navasâri. Surat rose rapidly to commercial eminence. It was in the last century the chief seat of commerce with the West, and probably the most populous city in India. Towards the end of the century, when trade declined at Surat, and Bombay began to take its place as a commercial centre, the Parsis were far-sighted enough to mark the change that was in progress, and they settled in large numbers at Bombay.

There are at present not quite 70,000 Parsis in British India.² Of these, upwards of 66,000 are to be found in the Bombay Presidency, nearly 50,000 being concentrated in Bombay cities, where, says Dr. Hunter, "they exercise an influence much greater than is implied by their actual numbers. . . . By the force of their inherited wealth, their natural genius for trade, their intelligence and their munificent charities, they hold the first place among the native community."³

About 6500 Parsis are still to be found at Surat, and there are some 7000 in the old settlement at Navasâri in Baroda. This last appears to be the only considerable body of Parsis in native territory.⁴ Thus of the 250,000,000 of India, not quite 80,000 are Parsis.

Their brethren in Persia who still cling to the so-called fire-worship are even less numerous. There are in all about 8000 of them, mostly settled in or near Yezd. Some few are to be found at

¹ Hunter, i., 450.

² Census of India, 1871. Hunter, *Gazetteer*, ii., 189.

³ Hunter, *Official Gazetteer of India*, ii., 212.

⁴ The census of 1871 returned 1223 Parsis in Bengal; 2 in the N. W. Provinces; 65 at Ajnere; 414 in the Punjab; 74 in the Central Province; 75 in Berar; 45 in Mysore; 10 in Coorg; and 39 in British Burmah. Hunter, *Indian Empire*, p. 549.

Teheran, at Shiraz, at Ispahan, and at Baku near the great mountain that is regarded as a holy place on account of its burning naphtha springs. They are a poor and ignorant people, but at the same time are said to bear a high character for honesty, general morality and industry. These two groups of men, the 8000 Guebres of Persia and the 80,000 Parsis of India, are the last fragments of a great people, whose religion is one of those that have had a wide-reaching influence on the history of the world.

The features of this religion that have, at all times, most attracted the attention of those who view it from without, are the exposure of the dead to the birds of the air on the summits of the *dakhmas* or "Towers of Silence," and the prominence given in the Parsi worship to the sacred fire. As a fact, the Parsi denies that he pays any direct adoration to the sacred flame, and declares it to be only a symbol of the presence of the Deity; but to superficial observers from without Parsis and Guebres appear to be fire-worshippers. Further, it has long been known that the central idea of the Parsi religion is the struggle between the rival lords of the two worlds of good and evil, Ormuzd and Ahriman (*Ahura-Masda* and *Angro-Maimyer*)—Ormuzd, maker and lord of all that is good, and Ahriman, the lord and maker of all that is evil, both moral and physical. Thus dualism, fire-worship, and the exposure of the dead appear, at first sight, to be the three chief points in the Parsi religion. It is really far more complex both in teaching and in practice than a mere outsider would suppose. The Parsis have always claimed for it a venerable antiquity,¹ linking its origin with the name of their prophet Zoroaster (Zarathustra). All competent authorities admit that, in its main features, the Parsi religion is the same as that of Persia under the Sassanian kings (A.D. 226–641). If the claims to antiquity made for it by the Parsis and by some European scholars are well founded, it must have also been the religion of that older Persia which conquered Egypt and warred with Greece; the religion not only of the last Darius, but of the first; the religion of Cyrus and of his fathers in their mountain home before Mede and Persian marched together to the conquest of Babylon.

However this may be, this much is certain, that at least the later Achæmenidæ professed a religion which had some connection with modern Parsiism; that the Sassanidæ, when they restored the Persian empire in the third century of our era, professed to be only the revivers of this ancient creed; and that through Gnosticism and Manicheanism the old religion of Persia played no small part

¹ Thus the Secretary of the Parsi Panchâyat at Bombay, Mr. Nussurwanjee Byramjee, said to Prof. Monier Williams: "Our prophet Zoroaster, *who lived 6000 years ago*, taught us to regard the elements as symbols of the Deity, etc." (Monier Williams, *Modern India and the Indians*, p. 62.)

in the conflicts of the early Church with eastern heretics and dissidents. There are some who hold that this old religion had a still earlier point of contact with Christianity, and that the Magi who knelt before the Babe of Bethlehem, and laid at His feet their gifts of gold and frankincense and myrrh, were members of the priestly caste of the ancient creed of Iran.

The religion of the Parsis has been called Parsiism from the name given to its adherents in India, and Zoroastrianism from its alleged founder. To these names that of Mazdeism or the Mazdean religion is, on many accounts, to be preferred. It is not, like "Parsiism," connected with a mere local class name, nor does it, like "Zoroastrianism," rest on a possibly false assumption. It is formed from the name *Mazda* or *Ahura-Mazda*, given to the Supreme God in the old sacred literature of Persia, and it recalls the name therein given to the religion itself, the "Law of Mazda."

The modern study of this religion began in the second half of the last century, when, for the first time, a European scholar devoted himself to the task of collecting, among the Parsis themselves, the necessary materials for research. This was the now celebrated Anquetil Duperron. Long before his time, Brisson had collected together all that could be found in classical writers on the subject of the old Persian religion;¹ and more recently Thomas Hyde, of Oxford, had published a book on the religion of ancient Persia, Parthia, and Media,² in which, to the materials used by Brisson, he added information derived from the writings of Mohammedan historians and European travellers. Some few manuscripts of the Parsi sacred books had already reached Europe. One was at Oxford, secured by a chain to the wall of the Bodleian Library, but there was no one in Europe who could read it. Duperron, while studying Persian and Arabic at Paris, read Hyde's book, and was shown a copy of some pages of the Oxford manuscript. He made up his mind to go to India, obtain from the Parsis themselves copies of their sacred books, learn from Parsi teachers to read and understand them, and, returning to Europe, immortalize himself by giving to the learned world the first edition of the long-lost books of Zoroaster, which were so often mentioned by ancient writers, and which he held to be probably no other than the books actually in the possession of the Parsis. He endeavored to obtain a passage to India, but, failing in this, he went to one of the recruiting depots where troops were being enlisted for the East, and, on November 7, 1754, he marched out of Paris as a common soldier in a party of recruits bound for the port of L'Orient, where

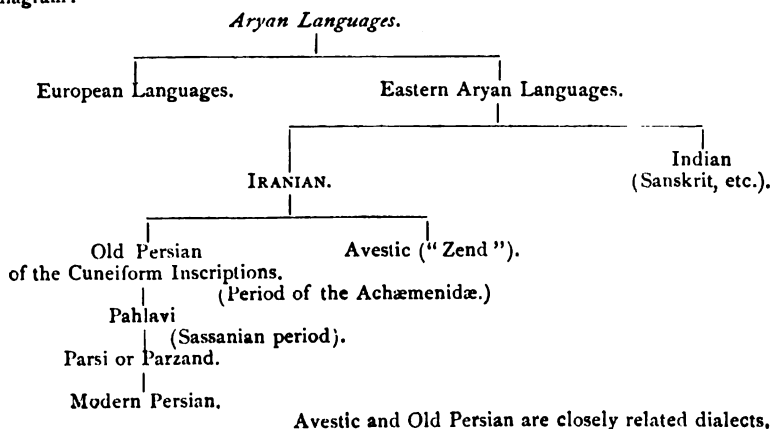
¹ In the second book of his work: *De Regio Persarum Principatu, libri iii.* Paris, 1590.

² *Veterum Persarum et Parthorum et Medorum Religionis Historia.* Oxford, 1700.

they were to embark for India. His friends, hearing of what he had done, exerted their interest with the government, and succeeded in obtaining for him a free passage to India, the cancelling of his enlistment, and the grant of a moderate annuity, nominally as pay for his services as interpreter to the French factors in India. He reached Pondicherry on August 10, 1755. He stayed there a short time in order to learn to speak Persian, and then went on to Chandernagore, where he hoped to learn Sanskrit. There he fell ill, and had hardly recovered when the place was attacked and taken by the English. Not without some difficulty and danger, Duperron succeeded in getting out of the town, and, after various adventures, he set off on a lonely march of a hundred days to Pondicherry. He had no baggage and very little money, but he succeeded in making this long journey mostly on foot, nearly always alone, under a burning sun, and without a map or guide. At Pondicherry he found one of his brothers just arrived from France, and on the point of setting out for Surat. This was the real beginning of his good fortune. He accompanied his brother to Surat, where he soon found himself in relation with the priests of the most important Parsi community in India. By a free expenditure of money he succeeded in obtaining from two independent sources copies of the Avesta, the sacred book of the Parsis, containing the law and liturgy of their religion. The language in which it was written, the Zend, as Duperron called it,¹ had long ceased to be a living tongue. Even the dasturs or Parsi priests could not really translate it, but, with the help of a later version in Pahlavi (the language of Persia under the Parthian and Sassanian kings, written with a mixture of Persian and Aramæan words),²

¹ Zend or (*Zand*) is really a term meaning the explanation or translation into the later Pahlavi. The language of the Avesta has sometimes been called Bactrian. This name rests on an assumption. The most correct term is Avestic.

² The position of these languages in the Aryan family is indicated in the following diagram:



they gave him the meaning of many terms and a translation which, though conveying sometimes the general sense of the passage in question, sadly misrepresented, as we now know, the greater portion of the original. In 1764, Anquetil Duperron returned to Europe, and deposited in the Royal Library of Paris a rich collection of oriental manuscripts, including his two copies of the text of the Avesta in the original, the Pahlavi translation and glosses, and his own notes for a complete French translation, these last being chiefly a version of what the dasturs had dictated to him. In 1771, after seven years' work on the materials he had brought with him from India, he published his translation, together with a narrative of his travels and an account of modern Parsiism as he had seen it practised at Surat. On his title-page he declared the Avesta to be the work of Zoroaster.¹

The work was immediately attacked by Sir William Jones in a French pamphlet, in the form of a letter to Anquetil Duperron, in which he maintained that the Avesta was nothing more than a forgery—and a clumsy forgery, too—of the dasturs, and that even if it were genuine it was such a worthless piece of composition that it was mere folly to publish it. His chief reason for asserting that it was a forgery was simply that so much of its contents being absurd and unreasonable, it could not possibly be the work of a sage like Zoroaster, whose wisdom had won the praise of all antiquity. The author of such a work as that now presented to the public, could never, he asserted, have secured such a reputation. Briefly, he left Duperron to choose whether he would be called a knave, a dupe, or a fool.² Sir William Jones was a very young man when he wrote this pamphlet. The splendid services which he afterwards rendered to Oriental science have won him more than forgiveness for it.

It was, however, the beginning of a long controversy as to the genuineness of the books of Zoroaster. Into the history and the

¹ The title of the work is: "*Zend-Avesta*, ouvrage de Zoroastre, contenant les idées théologiques, physiques et morales de ce législateur, les cérémonies du culte religieux qu'il a établi, et plusieurs traits importants relatifs à l'ancienne histoire des Perses. Traduit en François sur l'original Zend, avec des remarques et accompagné de plusieurs Traités propres à éclaircir les matières qui en sont l'objet. Par M. Anquetil du Perron, de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres et Interprète du Roi pour les Langues Orientales. Paris, 1771." The book is nominally in two volumes, quarto, but as the first is divided into two parts with separate titles, there are really three. Volume I., Part 1, contains the travels and introductory matter; Volume I., Part 2, the Yasna, Vispered, and Vendidad; and Volume II., the Yashta, Sirozah and Bundahish, this last being a comparatively modern Pahlavi work, and forming no real part of the Avesta.

² "Vous avez insulté le gout du public en lui présentant des sottises, où vous l'avez trompé en lui débitant des mensonges." Sir W. Jones, "*Lettre à M. A. . . D. . .*"

merits of this controversy there is no need to enter here.¹ It has long since been decided in the sense that the dasturs of Surat really gave to Anquetil Duperron genuine copies of the sacred books of ancient Iran—though the question of their precise age is still an open one, and a Zoroastrian authorship is more than doubtful. Anquetil Duperron is now recognized as the founder of a new branch of Oriental research, the man who gave to Europe the original documents for the study of the Mazdean religion. And he not only placed these books within the reach of the learned of Europe, but he honestly did all he could to provide a key to their hidden meaning, and it was no fault of his that the key proved in so many respects a defective one,² and that it was reserved for Eugene Burnouf to inaugurate the strictly scientific study of the Avesta by the publication of his *Commentaire sur le Yaçna* (Paris, 1833), more than sixty years after the appearance of Anquetil Duperron's version.

Now that the genuine character of his discovery is placed beyond all doubt, the controversy about it has only a historical interest; but though this makes it unnecessary to discuss in detail the objections once raised against the authenticity of the Avesta, it is still useful to take note of some of the reasons we have for feeling sure that we possess in it not a modern forgery, but a collection of some, at least, of the genuine sacred books of ancient Persia.

1. The Parsis have long given up that jealousy of strangers which made it so very difficult for Anquetil Duperron to obtain copies of any of their sacred writings. There are now several important collections of Avestic manuscripts in Europe. Their contents correspond perfectly with those of the manuscripts brought by Duperron from Surat. It is therefore certain that the dasturs gave him genuine copies of their books, instead of putting him off with a clever fabrication, as many long believed that they had done.

2. The books are mainly liturgical in character. When the dasturs gave them to Duperron they had long recited the formulas, prayers, and hymns they contained without really knowing their full meaning, as they understood them only by means of the

¹ Its history is told clearly and with sufficient detail by M. Darmesteter in the introduction to his version of the Avesta (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. iv.), by Dr. West in his introduction to Haug's *Essays on the Parsis*.

² Duperron's own estimate of his version may be gathered from the remarks which he prefixes to a very long list of errata (vol. i., pt. i., p. xvii.): "Je ne dis rien des fautes qui touchent au fond de l'ouvrage. Dans deux cents ans quand les langues Zendes et Pehlviées seront devenues en Europe familières aux Sçavans, on pourra, en rectifiant les endroits où je me serai trompé, donner une traduction plus exacte du Zend Avesta; et si ce que je dis ici, excitant d'émulation, avance le terme que je viens de fixer, mes fautes m'auront conduit au but que je me suis proposé."

Pahlavi version, and even this they understood imperfectly. Pahlavi was one of the languages of Persia under the Parthian and Sassanian kings. This we know from their coins and inscriptions.¹ We also know from history that Ardeshir (Artaxerxes), the founder of the Sassanian line (A.D. 226), was the restorer of Zoroastrianism as the state religion of Persia. Now the Pahlavi version of its liturgical books must have been made because Zend (Avestic) was already a dead language; and the version must belong to the period when Pahlavi was in use, that is, to the period of the Parthian and Sassanian kings, or to the period after the Mohammedan conquest, when Pahlavi was still familiar to the dasturs. Positive records of the existence of the version under the Sassanians disposes of this last supposition; and though the *exact* date of the version is not known, we have good reason to believe it was begun in the period of the Parthian rule and finished under the Sassanidæ. But however this may be, so far as the original text is concerned, the fact that the language in which it is written has been a dead one for at least sixteen centuries, makes it impossible that the Avesta can be a work of the modern period.

3. One objection to the genuineness of the Avesta was based on a theory that "Zend" was a dialect of Sanskrit. It was urged that it was absurd to suppose that the sacred books of ancient Persia could have been written in an Indian language, while it was easy to understand how the Parsis, living in India and speaking Guzerathi, might have taken up a cognate Sanskrit dialect as their sacred language. We now know, from the study of comparative philology, that Avestic (Zend) is not in any sense an Indian dialect, and that it belongs to a distinct group of languages from Sanskrit, though both Avestic and Sanskrit (with the allied Iranian and Indian languages) are members of the great Aryan family of speech of which they form together the eastern branch.² We have further proof that the Avesta is written in a language belonging to ancient Persia in the fact that the old Persian cuneiform inscriptions on the rocks of Behistur and the ruins of Persepolis, the work of Darius and the other Achæmenide kings, on being deciphered are found to be written in a language so closely allied to that of the Avesta that Avestic and the Persian of the inscriptions may be pronounced to be dialects of one and the same language.

4. The scattered notices of the old Persian religion in classical

¹ Thus under the Parthian Empire, on the drachmas and tetradrachmas of Vologeses IV., Vologeses V., Artaban V., and Artabaz, we already meet with Pahlavi titles, *i malkâ*, "the king," and *malkân malkâ*, "king of kings." Cf. De Harlez, *Introduction à l'Avesta*, p. xxxiv.

² The position of the Avestic language in the Aryan family is shown in a diagram in a preceding foot-note.

writers correspond very closely with what we learn of it from the Avesta. In the classical writers we have the testimony of contemporary witnesses, testimony to which the Parsis could have had no access. This correspondence between our two sources of information is an important confirmation of the previous arguments.

Thus we may be certain that the Avesta, as a whole, is a work of considerable antiquity. We have complete proof that it is, at least, as old as the period of the Sassanian empire (A.D. 226-641), and the probability is that it dates back to the days of the Achæmenidæ, whose inscriptions are written in a language practically the same as its own. Of course, it may have been retouched and interpolated in many places where it was officially recognized as the code of the Mazdean religion under the Sassanidæ.

The meaning of the word "Avesta" is disputed. It is most probably the same as that of the word *abasta*, which occurs in the great inscription of Darius at Behistur in the sense of *law*. The Avesta is therefore like the Jewish Torah, the "book of the law." Anquetil Duperron adopted, as we have seen, the term *Zend-Avesta* as the title of the Zoroastrian books under the impression that this was the name given by the Parsis themselves to the Avesta. But he was in error. Both the terms *Zend* (*Zand*) and *Avesta* are indeed in use among the Parsis, but with different meanings. *Zand* signifies the Pahlavi version and commentary; *Avesta*, the original text. When the two terms are used together the meaning is the text with its version and commentary (*Avestâ va Zand*; Pahlavi, *Avestak* or *Abastak va Zand*).

The Avesta, as we now possess it, probably represents only a portion of the sacred literature of the Mazdean religion. What we have has been preserved to us by the fact of its use in the daily worship of the Parsis, which led to the multiplication of manuscripts and to their safe keeping in the hands of the dasturs. Parsi tradition asserts that it originally consisted of twenty-one *Nosks* or books, each one dealing with a separate subject. According to this tradition these twenty-one books contained, in all, 832 chapters; the Avesta that we now possess contains 119. So far as its details are concerned, this tradition can hardly be said to be of much value; but so far as it simply asserts the former existence of Avestic books that are now lost, it is certainly well founded. There is proof of this in the fragments which are still preserved in the form of quotations in the Pahlavi commentaries.

The Avesta, like our Bible, is, properly speaking, rather a collection of books than a single book. It consists of three parts or books, namely:

1. The *Vendîdâd*, or book of legends and laws of purification.
2. The *Yasna*, or liturgy of the sacrifice.
3. The *Vispered*, a kind of appendix to the *Yasna*.

There is also a collection of prayers and formulas for private use known as the *Khordah Avesta*, or "Little Avesta." This holds much the same relation to the Avesta properly so-called, as a book of private devotions holds to the public liturgy of the Church.

We hope, in another article, to say something of the doctrines and the moral code set forth in these old-world books, in which we find the traditions, the liturgy, and the laws of what is probably the highest, in many respects, of all pagan religions. The story of how these books have been preserved to us is one of the most curious in history, and their discovery by Anquetil Duperron's self-sacrificing enterprise is one of those episodes in the history of research which shows that science, as well as war, has its heroes.

THE NEW CRUSADE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

WHEN that illustrious Pontiff, our Holy Father, Pope Leo XIII., in his remarkable Encyclical Letter of June 20, 1888, addressed to the bishops of Brazil, on Human Liberty, and issued on the occasion of the emancipation of the Brazilian slaves, used those remarkable words, "Liberty, the highest gift of nature," he touched the cord of Christian philanthropy and charity in the best and noblest hearts of Christendom. And when he proceeded to say that, "as the Catholic Church declares in the strongest terms the simplicity, spirituality and immortality of the soul, so, with unequalled constancy, she asserts also its freedom," he infused new life, energy and zeal into the present wonderful crusade, which, in the most fervent prayers and efforts of noble men of every Christian society, is destined to crown the nineteenth century with its brightest glory, the complete extermination of the African slave trade.

Cardinal Lavigerie summoned the Great International Anti-Slave Trade Congress to assemble at Lucerne in October, 1889, to concert measures among the Christian powers of the earth for the extinction of this inhuman and deadly traffic. A distinguished

philanthropist and English representative in the proposed congress has visited our country in order to awaken interest in the cause among Americans and secure an American delegation to attend this earnest and august assembly. His mission was very generally received with favor, and the secular press re-echoed with appeals to our countrymen in behalf of the unfortunate Africans, born as free by nature as ourselves, but constantly captured and dragged from his home, with circumstances of the most appalling cruelty, to slavery, despair, death. We desire to interest our Catholic countrymen, prone to slowness in such matters, in this great and exalted Crusade of the nineteenth century. What Catholic in America will hesitate to join in this great Christian movement, when the Vicar of Christ, the exalted, the good, the learned, and humane Leo XIII., and many princes of the Church, members of his senate and council, are leading the way? There are Catholic features in the movement which we will endeavor to relate with directness and accuracy, and which, we sincerely hope, will interest American Catholics in this holy cause, and secure American Catholic co-operation in the work of this Congress of Human Freedom, over which Cardinal Lavigerie, the Catholic Primate of North Africa, Metropolitan of Algeria and Archbishop of Carthage, will preside. At the same time we will not omit those general features in the progress and practice of this sickening and humiliating traffic, the relation of which is now rallying men of every nation and creed to the redemption of our race and age from so foul a disgrace. Let not the century pass without accomplishing the final extermination of the African slave trade!

Great as are the horrors and detestation with which all Christians and civilized men and women regard the slave trade, its unsparing cruelty, remorseless murders, diabolical separation of families, its wanton waste of human life, its degradation of our race, its destruction of property, its gigantic proportions, its desolation of happy homes, its ravages of a fair and sunny land, its outrages on human rights, its insults to our religion and to our civilization, still there are few who know the full measure of these direful calamities; few who know how this great crime against God and man is heightened and intensified with unnecessary evils; few, in fact, who know what the slave trade is.

Explorers, scientists, especially such as geologists and astronomers, have long visited the Dark Continent, as Africa is called, and the influx of such in recent years has greatly increased in numbers; yet it is strange how little is known of this interesting part of the earth. Where the great traveller or the geologist has made his passage across the continent, his published descriptions have given us only a faint idea even of the direct route pursued. Such infor-

mation relates only to lines, routes, or natural highways. But such data give but an imperfect knowledge of the country, its geography, its civil governments, its moral status and social life. Desolate and dark as most of this mysterious continent is, there have been many happy and comfortable homes, many thriving and attractive villages, well populated towns, many regions of exceeding beauty, fertility and plenty, umbrageous forest and mighty rivers, and the sure indications that Africa might yet be made a useful and thriving member of the family of continents. Near the equator, as elsewhere, are interesting and happy urban communities, with peaceful, simple and happy inhabitants, living from generation to generation in harmless ease and gentle industry. Not only are their gardens well cultivated and productive, but some of their industries are excellent and artistic, as shown by their fine cloths, neat pottery, useful iron-ware, ingenious wood-ware and many other accompaniments of civilization. The people are gentle and pleasant, their countenances expressive and mild, and their movements simple, firm and graceful. Beneath the palm and other native shade, or within their neat and comfortable cabins, a happiness was enjoyed not always experienced or known in Asiatic, European or American palaces. No firearms had ever resounded within their forests, no hated Arab slave-capturer in turban and flowing white raiment had ever desecrated the virgin soil. We may imagine we see this peaceful and happy community at its morning routine; the fathers and brothers are tilling the gardens, the mothers and sisters are chanting the crude melodies of the tribe at their domestic tasks, the young and gay are dancing on the green, and the little ones are playing and struggling with each other and with their domestic animals. Would that such scenes in the Dark Continent might have continued until the good and heroic missionaries sent by the Holy Father, and by the illustrious Cardinals Lavigerie and Massaia, had reached these interior equatorial communities, won their simple hearts, and guided them to the light of the Gospel which leads to the final home of the elect!

The sudden appearance of the Arab slave dealers and capturers changes this peaceful and happy scene into desolation, suffering, hunger, cruelty and death. Two methods of approaching a town or village prevail, or are followed by different noted Arabs engaged in this cruel business. The one pursued by the famous Tippu Tib we shall describe first. Dressed in turbans and long white robes after the Arabian style, Tippu Tib and his chief slavers come upon an innocent and unsuspecting community in the garb and manner of merchants. After gaining the confidence of the innocent inhabitants, they commence the work of stealing the women and carrying them off to a distant rendezvous. Next they com-

mence seizing and running off the children, and finally the men. We will not now describe the sufferings and cruelties of the route, nor at the rendezvous itself, where all are crowded in the most torturing and stifling pens and almost starved to death. The most alert of the Africans fly to the forests, and these are scoured by the Arabs for the capture of the fugitives. In this cruel work many are murdered. The Arabs, having ceased to find more natives to seize, lay waste and burn everything left, from a cabin to a fence, and continue their march. Those who have escaped to the woods gradually but fearfully return to their desolated homes, re-erect their cabins, and attempt to cultivate the fields for food, all gardens being destroyed. But, alas, they are doomed victims of the slave catchers. After three months the Arabs suddenly reappear and capture all who have returned, and the village is again burned and the lands laid waste. A third scene like this occurs, when the Arabs, watching the return of fugitives, come down upon them again after a similar period, and there is no one left of the inhabitants of that once happy African village. This is not confined to a few villages. Whole regions are thus ravished and depopulated, and the roads are strewn with the decaying bodies of those who are murdered, or who, from hunger or weakness, fall fainting or dying on the passage, or who, for falling behind, are struck dead by the poles of the guards. The country becomes desolated with pestilence, and misery reigns supreme. Small-pox and other loathsome epidemics carry off such as have not been forced away in the slave gangs. Thousands will not suffice for the numbers; they have now reached millions. Such scenes have been witnessed in the region of the Beneki and other parts of Africa, and are enacted *to this day*.

Take the fertile and beautiful region of the African lakes, and from the accounts of eye-witnesses we derive the data of our sad narrative. We will describe a slave capture which took place in the fine and beautiful valley of the Lofu between Nyassa and Tanganyika. A noted Arab and slaver, Kabunda, long residing in the country, being desirous of carrying his slaves, his ivory, his cattle and his rich collections of many years to Zanzibar and turn them into cash, with Arab cunning sought and found cause for quarrel with the neighboring chief, and seized his flocks and drove them off. He next arranged for a concerted and precipitous onslaught through the valley, and seized most all the inhabitants, men, women and children, and few escaped. Pillage and fire reigned. Thus the desolate region of Africa was expanded in size by the addition of the charming valley of the Garden of the Tanganyika. Seldom, if ever, do such regions, once made desolate, ever become restored to living man. But now, the captures being

completed, the slave march, the most cruel part of the cruel traffic, begins. The din of the approaching procession is heard, and now are seen in advance the armed Arabs employed to lead the march. They move with dancing, violent contortions of the body, and are tossing and catching their guns in the peculiar manner of the Arabs. The discordant music proceeds from drums and other harsh instruments. Behind these comes the arch-fiend himself, Kabunda, accompanied by his relatives and chief retainers, dressed in the richest fabrics of Arabia. He wears the gold-embroidered joho, silver sword, silver daggers, a turban of fine silk; and his countenance is serene and complaisant, as only the saints of Mohammedanism know how to look. Next come the Arab wives, the servants and rabble, indulging in levity and noise, and these carry the baggage of the master and his family. But such a contrast in what follows! Who would recognize them as human beings, the body and the soul made after God's image, our co-heirs of heaven? Now see the crowded groups of unhappy beings, already slaves; nakedness, filth, desolation, disease; the mingled sexes, fainting, falling, dropping, weeping, lamentations, despair and death; every misery that human language can name or describe, are witnessed in the passing swarms of new-made African slaves. The slaves are tortured with unbounded cruelty. The men are yoked or tied in twos with the terrible taming-stick, or in dozens tied, collared in iron, and chained together. So great is their load that scarcely has the procession started when the most robust men are exhausted in the very beginning. The cruel slave-sticks, or poles, are plied by the guards to torture the unfortunates who may fail or lag from prostration, and in many cases they are struck dead and left to rot on the way. The strongest men, such as might resist or escape, have also their hands and feet tied so as to make walking most torturing, and withal the yoke is on their necks. The march continues all day. The women are held by chains or heavy bark ropes. Men and women are forced, in such a plight, to carry heavy burdens of grain, ivory, or other merchandise; and mothers, in addition to these, carry their babies in their arms or on their backs. If any grow faint and lag, however slightly, the poor mother has her infant torn from her and cast aside to die, while the Arabs' goods are left upon her breaking back. At night the direful procession halts, and to half-dying slaves a miserable quantity of *sorgho* is cast among them in such a way as we would not feed our cattle. No other food is given to them, and hunger and thirst are added to their sufferings. In the early morning they start again, but not rested or refreshed. Their sufferings are doubled by their exhaustion, but if any should fall behind or halt from exhaustion or from the calls of nature, the heavy bar is hurled against

their necks with such violence and cruelty that the exhausted one, with a deadly shriek, falls in the agonies of death, and is left on the road a corpse. An English gentleman, connected with the African Lake Company, witnessed such a spectacle in the Lofu Valley, and he adds to his account the following :

“ One poor old woman I could not help noticing. She was carrying a biggish boy, who should have been walking, but whose thin, weak legs had evidently given way ; she was tottering already ; it was the supreme effort of a mother’s love, but all in vain ; for the child, easily recognizable, was brought into our camp a couple of hours later by one of my hunters, who had found him on the path. We had him cared for, but the poor mother would never know. Already, during the three days’ journey from Liendwe, death had been freeing the captives at once of their lives and their agonies. It was well for them ; still, we could not help shuddering as, in the darkness, we heard the howl of the hyenas along the track.” So also Cardinal Lavigerie in his great speech at the London anti-slave trade meeting in 1888, where he and Cardinal Manning, two princes of the Catholic Church, sat on a public platform with the Archbishop of Canterbury and with Mr. Edmund Sturge, the distinguished Quaker and philanthropist, said : “ The terrified group immediately resumes its march (after a halt for the dying to fall to the ground and be abandoned). Terror has imbued even the weakest with new strength ; each time some one breaks down the same horrible scene is repeated. At night, on arriving at their halting-place, after the first days of such a life, a not less frightful scene awaits them. The traffickers in human flesh have acquired by experience a knowledge of how much their victims can endure. A glance shows them those who will soon sink from weakness ; then, to economize the scanty food which they distribute, they pass behind these wretched beings and fell them with a single blow. Their corpses remain where they fell, when they are not suspended on the branches of the neighboring trees ; and it is in close proximity to them that their companions are obliged to eat and to sleep. But what sleep ! It may be easily imagined. Among the young negroes snatched by us (by Cardinal Lavigerie’s missionaries) from this hell and restored to liberty there are some who, long afterwards, wake up every night shrieking fearfully. They behold again in their dreams the abominable and bloody scenes which they have witnessed. In this manner the weary tramp continues—sometimes for months, when the caravan comes from a distance. Their number diminishes daily. If, goaded by their cruel sufferings, some attempt to rebel or to escape, their fierce masters cut them down with their swords, and leave them, as they die along the road, attached to one another by their yokes. There-

fore it has been truly said that, if a traveller lost the way leading from the equatorial Africa to the towns where slaves are sold, he could easily find it again by the skeletons of the negroes with which it is strewn."

From another account of the African slave trade, in *Demorest's Magazine* for May last, we make the following extracts. The writer, after speaking of the two kinds of slavery, domestic and foreign, says: "In the latter case the slave is torn from his home, carried away among an unknown people, to a climate and country of which he knows nothing, and made the servant of a master of different color, with whom he has nothing in common.

"At first, ivory was the excuse. On the beautiful inland plateaux of Africa it was found in such quantities that elephants' tusks were used to fence in the gardens and to support the poles of the natives' tents. This ivory was the ruin of the country. The trader was not satisfied to buy it for a trifling sum, or to take possession of it without payment; it must be carried to the coast; so when the Arab traders became acquainted with the country and gathered quantities of ivory, they seized upon a slight pretext to quarrel with the negroes; in other words, they organized a premeditated massacre. The villages were burned, captives taken,—men for porters, women for the harem,—all who resisted were slain, and the caravan of slaves and ivory proceeded to the coast, where the human beasts of burden were sold, together with the ivory they brought.

"This was the beginning. Every year the merchants of Khartoum sent armed expeditions into this region to collect ivory. These expeditions ascended the Nile to the Soudan and the lake region. It was, at first, a fine time for the Turkish speculators. Glass beads, copper dishes, and armlets were articles eagerly sought after by the negroes, and for half a dozen or so of "dove eggs," large, milky-white glass beads, an elephant's tusk weighing eighty pounds could be purchased;—yes, a slave might be bought at that price!

"But this state of affairs did not last long. The Soudan was fairly flooded with glass beads, etc., so that these articles became almost worthless; but the value of the slaves increased, and this induced the speculators to send out armed expeditions almost entirely for slaves. They established stockades at short distances apart, which served as the basis of their operations. These stockades are called "seribas"; and though at first they were presumably only stations where the Arab traders and Metis bought ivory, they soon became centres of slave hunting when the elephant hunt became unprofitable.

"The seriba of the ivory trader, which is surrounded with strong palisades or thorn hedges, composes a sort of citadel; and many

of them are so strong that they can defy even the Egyptian government, which has forbidden the slave trade. By degrees these markets have been opened everywhere beyond the Bahr el Ghazel and the other provinces once constituting Egypt's equatorial empire, but now under the rule of the Khalif Abdullah of Khartoum, successor to the Mahdi and known now himself as the Mahdi. The only obstacles to the traffic are Emin Pasha at Wadelai, the Christian missionaries, and the English trading-stations at the Lakes Victoria Nyanza and Tanganyika. The Mahdi is aiding the slave-traders in efforts to destroy Emin Pasha and to expel the missionaries and all Europeans, and religious fanaticism is united with the greed of the slave trader to drive the Christians from the lake region.

"The methods which the slave traders make use of to secure the human cattle they deal in are perfectly ferocious, and the wantonness with which many of the tribes are destroyed is frightful. If the ruler or pasha of a large tribe is called upon for tribute by his superior, if he wishes to build himself a palace, to replenish his harem, or to put himself in funds, he sends his soldiers, armed with guns and ammunition (imported from the Christian countries of Europe), against a negro tribe armed with bows and spears, and captures slaves enough to supply his wants.

"At present the principal victims of slavery are women and children; the men are killed. The negro traders of the interior are not dealers in ivory. They are employed by great Arab slave traders, or by the native chiefs, like the lately deposed M'wanga of Uganda, who hunt slaves simply for their own caprice.

"The slave hunters surround the village of the tribe at midnight, when all the residents are asleep, or creep upon it from the surrounding thickets at a time when most of the men are known to be absent. The few men who endeavor to defend their homes are soon made to see how useless are their efforts, and their cries of terror, despair and agony mingle with the murderous fusilade of their fiendish assailants, who shackle the terrified, helpless women and drag them away, while the screaming children follow, if they can, leaving the men dead or dying amid the ruins of their home; for if the barbarous executioners do not set fire to the village in the first place, smoking their prey out, they burn it after their captives are secured.

"A trader's camp, where the fettered captives are confined for the night, is a heart-rending sight. There the poor, naked creatures are huddled like sheep, too close for comfort in the hot equatorial climate. Row upon row crowd the dark, nude forms of the captives; youths with iron rings around their necks, through which a chain is rove, securing them by twenties; three copper rings are

used to secure the children over ten, a ring on each leg being fastened to a ring between ; the women are fastened in droves, with shorter chains than the youths ; but the little children and infants are unbound, save by the ties of maternal love, and they cling to the necks of their captive mammas and cluster round them, hiding the cruel links of iron which hang in loops or festoons over their breasts. Among a fold of 2300 women and children there was not a single adult male captive, yet the inhuman dealers had devastated 118 villages, and killed at least 2500 men. And after the slave drove has reached its destination, many of them will have succumbed to the hardships of the march, for the stoppages give them no relief, and they often die of hunger on the way.

"They are compelled to walk on, at the point of the spear, even when they are dying ; and although iron shackles are not always used, heavy wooden forks are placed on their necks, as we put a yoke on our oxen. If a poor creature can no longer put one foot before the other, instead of removing the fork the trader leaves it on, so that the slave who falls by the way cannot escape death. Sometimes they are devoured alive by wild beasts not more savage than the brutal trader, who will break a child's neck before its agonized mother's eyes, when, fainting and exhausted, her weary arms can no longer uphold the double burden of her load of ivory and her infant.

"Slavery is worse than death to these poor women of Africa ; death sets the men free ; but slavery holds a thousand deaths in reserve for the women and children. They are delivered defenceless into the hands of their masters, slaves to the vilest debauchery, and victims to every deed of wanton and atrocious cruelty."

From the same writer we give the following extract, showing some of the fruits of slavery :

"At the negro court of Uganda from 1200 to 1500 women are slaves to a brutal tyrant's caprice. Not a day has passed, an eye-witness says, without my seeing one, two, or even three of these unhappy women, who make up Mtesa's harem, led to death. Drawn or dragged along with a cord around their wrists, by the body-guard which leads them to the slaughter-house, the poor creatures, with eyes full of tears, utter cries that break your heart. 'Hai Minange!' (Oh! my Lord!) 'Kbakka!' (My king!) 'Hai N'yavis!' (Oh! my mother!) In spite of these piteous appeals to public pity, not a hand is lifted to save them from the executioners, though here and there one hears a remark, made in a low voice, on the beauty of the victims."

Other fruits of slavery, besides concubinage, are polygamy, the foulest disesteem of chastity ; the lowest degradation of woman that is possible ; the purchase of wives like cattle ; utter heedless-

ness in regard to marriage; the recklessness of human life; brutality, tyranny and depravity of the lowest types; the larceny of wives by the poor, who are not able to purchase them, and thus steal from the rich, and this with the connivance, frequently, of the wife herself, who may be anxious to escape from her present dispirited and cruel tyrant. The usual price of a wife is three or four oxen or their value in money.

Our religion is struggling against these infamies. But where is our civilization, our manhood, our chivalry, our courage, and the power of the Christian nations? Are these all contained within, and exhausted by, the armed peace which Europe now imposes on herself and her nations through motives of mutual jealousy, hatred of each other, ambition, distrust, lust of power, and utter disregard of the overtaxed masses of the people? Is the life of the nineteenth century exhausted in trade, mechanical invention and luxurious living? Would that we had a united Christendom, hearkening to the voice of the vicar of Christ? For then we should behold the success of the new crusade and the extinction of the slave trade.

The statistics of the slave trade and the estimate of philanthropists have placed the mortality among the victims of this inhuman traffic, on the fatal and cruel march from their desolated homes and from the slave pens to the coast, at fifty per cent., and, in many cases, more. The market has its laws of demand and supply. In some cases the men are preserved, and the women and children are tortured and brutally treated unto death. Whereas, when the needs of the market call for women and children, these are preserved, and the men are either shot down in their own homes and villages when the capture is made, or are left to fall and perish on the way, or are murdered on the march; where it is cheaper, they are allowed to escape. In order to carry out these details, the destruction of the victims destined for death by cruelty, starvation, fatigue or murder, is hurried up in order to save the miserable handful of food they might require if left to live a few days longer.

The country, once beautiful, in which the slave raid is made, is left desolate and ruined to such an extent that its recovery is almost impossible. This barren region is increasing every year, and maps have been prepared to show what extensive portions of this great continent have been taken from hope and given over to ruin. Stanley, in his work on the Congo, gives an account of one of these slave expeditions, which had started on its dread work sixteen months previous to the time when he saw the cruel procession pass from Wane-Kirundu. For eleven months the raids had been successfully prosecuted between the Congo and the Lubiranzu, and now they were prosecuting the same outrages between the Biyerre and Wane-Kirundu. The territory they had desolated amounted

to 34,700 square miles, or 2000 miles larger than Ireland. A million of people were thus scattered or stolen into slavery; 300 desperadoes, accompanied by about 600 followers or domestic slaves and women, accomplished this work. He thus describes a slave camp: "The first impressions are that the camp is much too densely peopled for comfort. There are rows upon rows of dark nakedness, relieved here and there by the white dresses of the captors. There are lines or groups of naked forms, upright, standing or moving about listlessly; naked bodies are stretched under the sheds in all positions; naked legs innumerable in the perspective of prostrate sleepers; there are countless naked children, many mere infants, forms of boyhood and girlhood, and occasionally a drove of absolutely naked old women, bending under a basket of fuel or cassava-tubers or bananas, who are driven through the moving troops by two or three musketeers. On paying more attention to details, I observe that mostly all are fettered; youths with iron rings around their necks, through which a chain, like one of our boat anchor-chains, is rove, securing the captives by twenties. The children over ten are secured by these copper rings, each ringed leg brought together by the central ring, which accounts for the apparent listlessness of movement I observed on first coming in presence of this curious scene. The mothers are secured by shorter chains, around whom their respective progeny of infants are grouped, hiding the cruel iron links that fall in loops or festoons on their mammas' breasts."

It is estimated that in the raids now in question, and referred to by Mr. Stanley as extending over sixteen months in a special district, 118 villages were raided, and yet the number of slaves was only 2300, so that 2500 were murdered, 1300 men perished by the way, and untold numbers died in the forests or dropped in death from an overwhelming sense of their calamities. "These captors of slaves in sixteen months obtained 5000 slaves altogether, at an expense of 33,000 lives. Look and shudder at the mortality! In many cases an entire family of six souls is destroyed to obtain a single child-slave." Mr. Stanley continues: "Every second during which I regard them, the clink of fetters and chains strikes upon my ears. My eyes catch sight of that continued lifting of the hand to ease the neck in the collar, or as it displays a manacle exposed through a muscle being irritated by its weight or want of fitness. My nerves are offended with the rancid effluvia of the unwashed herds within this human kennel. The smell of other abominations annoys me in that vitiated atmosphere. Now how could these poor people, bound and riveted together by twenties, do otherwise than wallow in filth? Only the old women are taken out to forage. They dig out the cassava-tubers and search for bananas, while the

guard, with musket ready, keenly watches for the coming of the revengeful native. Not much food can be procured in this manner, and what is obtained is flung down in a heap before each gang, to at once cause an unseemly scramble. Many of these poor things have been already months fettered in this manner, and their bones stand out in bold relief, with attenuated skin, which hangs down in thin wrinkles and puckers."

Will some of our gentle readers close the book and cast it away from them, exclaiming: "Spare us the heart-sickening recital—our souls are harrowed with its repulsive details, our minds are wearied with the mass of cruelties you relate, our hearts are broken at the relation of such atrocities of man to his fellow-man! We would wish to live and die without knowing so much of human horrors—spare us, spare us!" If such there be, to them we answer: "Your knowledge must be recent; you have been spared the recital all your lives and you have lived incongenial ignorance. But, alas! in the meantime, the atrocities have increased, and, unworthy as the fact may be of the nineteenth century, *THE SLAVE TRADE is increasing.*" The philanthropic world would not believe this fact at first, but now it is proved and admitted by all—the sorrowful fact is but too real.¹ The philanthropic societies, which for years have labored against the slave trade, societies chiefly organized in England, have earnestly labored for years; but such methods and such means are inadequate to cope with so well organized, powerful and wealthy a system of cruelty, murder and slavery. If with past efforts the slave trade is increasing, let the world know it, that other and more effective means of resistance may be adopted. Official reports, evidence taken from the eye-witnesses in Africa, and the written statements of English consuls, and the relations of such African travellers as Stanley and others have convinced the philanthropic world of this appalling fact. The year 1888 witnessed the greatest increase in the slave trade ever known, and the maximum ever reached in its extent, number of raids, capture of slaves carried to the markets and its results of profit. The English consul for the Somali coast has informed his government that in September, 1888, he noticed and received evidence of great increase in slave captures. The consul at Zanzibar writes to the Marquis of Salisbury, that "there is a marked increase in the slave traffic carried on under the protection of the French flag." The same reports are received from the military authorities, such as that of Brigadier-General Hogg to the Government of Bombay, in which the General says: "I have the honor to bring to the notice of the government

¹ This statement we believe is correct—it is only of late years that the *fact* has become well known that the slave trade is on the *increase*.

that I have from time to time received reports of the activity of the slave trade from the neighborhood of the Gulf of Tajourra, and I deem it my duty to inform the government of the fact with the view to such action being taken as may be deemed advisable." From the coast of Mozambique, Mr. Consul O'Neill, in his official report to the Marquis of Salisbury, states: "I have the honor to say that with the opinion that the East African slave trade has received some considerable impulse, and has greatly increased and strengthened, I am compelled regretfully but entirely to concur. The evidence I have myself received from the interior is the same." So, also, the Portuguese officials in Africa render the same testimony, and the Portuguese commandant at the military post of Mji Mkwali, Mozambique, in his report to the government at Lisbon, sums up his entire report, under the head of "Commerce," thus: "The sole trade of this district, at present, is in slaves." The same general statements came to Cardinal Lavigerie from the Catholic missionaries; and this appalling fact has given new life to the new crusade against the slave trade. It is not necessary to ask why this increase in the slave-trade. The answer is too obvious: First, it is most profitable; second, it is prosecuted with impunity. And well has it been said by Mr. Harry Drummond in his article on this subject in *Scribner's Magazine* for June, 1889, "*The Arab never retires from business.*"

But why and whence this demand for slaves? We will answer: The mortality on the route in the slave marches is enormous, several hundreds or thousands per cent. The losses are replaced to a considerable extent by new captures on the route, or new raids on peaceful villages. The domestic slaves of Africa on the coast, for slavery has always prevailed in Africa as a domestic institution, are depleted by shipments to foreign parts, and their places, too, must be supplied. Slaves are numerous in the African families on the coast, and the aggregate of slaves on the coast is enormous. They form a ready supply for shipment, and the caravans from the interior of Africa are required to keep up the supply of domestic and agricultural servants. In Africa herself, too, and on the neighboring islands, there are a number of slave markets, and these must be kept supplied by the caravans. The agricultural slaves of Mozambique are worked on plantations in the most unhealthy regions, and the death-rate is almost as great, and yet unceasing, as that at the capture and marching off of the slaves from the interior to the coast. In the Comosa Island and in Madagascar slaves are always in demand for domestic service and for agriculture. Abyssinia, too, is the great possessor of slave markets; carried overland to Raheita, on the south of Assab bay, and shipped at night to Jeddah, Hodeida and other Arabian towns,

cities and districts; slaves are abundant in those regions. In Morocco, within the very spiritual dominions of the illustrious Cardinal Lavig rie, one can scarcely leave the soil of Europe, which is consecrated at least to human liberty, and step his foot on Mohammedan soil than he begins to see slavery in its varied and disgusting forms, and everywhere south of the European boundaries, in all the Mediterranean provinces, the markets for human souls and bodies abound. Among Arabs, wives are slaves, purchased in the markets and used only for the vilest purposes, and then cast away or murdered. The eastern harems make great demands for slaves, and not a few of such places of debauchery contain many hundred slave wives. Among these Arabs a man's wealth is estimated by the number of his wives, and the poorer Arabs never rest in their aspirations until they acquire by purchase, or even by theft, at least one wife. The very poorest and most despised are such as cannot possess a single wife. The female population predominates in these Arab communities; woman is an article of trade. She has no rights whatever that a man is obliged to respect, and the Arab chief may doom to-morrow to an ignominious and cruel death the favorite wife of to-day. It is due to our civilization, to our refinement of education, to our humanity, to our Christian faith, that Christians throughout the world should know these dreadful truths and become aroused.

Mohammedanism is the religion of slavery. It has degraded woman and kept her in a state of degradation for centuries. It is a corrupt and immoral religion, if I may use such a paradox. Voluptuous, impure, lustful, cruel, tyrannical, proud, contemptuous and stoical, the Mohammedan is the enemy of the human race—the foe of God and man. To his hatred of the Christian he adds a national, religious and traditional contempt of the African. He has for centuries waged a war of extermination and enslavement against the colored races of the Dark Continent, who have never offended him. And, unlike most invaders, he does not occupy the conquered lands, but leaves them behind him in smoke, ashes and desolation, while the inhabitants are led off into slavery, and auctioned off in the slave markets of every Mohammedan land.

Christianity is the religion of human liberty. It elevates woman in every land and in every age, and places her under the protection and guidance of that illustrious and noble Lady, type of her sex, so pure and good that she was deemed of all women to be worthy to become the Mother of God. It is the religion of purity, justice, and humanity—the religion that has sanctified marriage and warred against polygamy and the degradation of woman. Her missionaries have gone to every land in every age to redeem the most abject of our race from barbarism to civilization and

Christianity. She respects the natural rights of the lowliest woman in a pagan land as much as she respects those of the queens of Europe. The poor Africans she takes to her bosom as brothers of the proudest races, and esteems their souls as valuable as that of the proudest Caucasian potentate. Her children in the early Christian ages have gone into slavery to liberate slaves, and her sons have given their lives for the souls of the rudest barbarians. When one steps within the realms of Christendom, he sees that the land is consecrated to human liberty.

Catholic missions have long existed in the Dark Continent. Pope Gregory XVI. was energetic, on his elevation to the Papacy, in starting Catholic missions in many remote parts of the world. He resolved to found a mission in Abyssinia, selecting the Capuchins for this great work, and at the head of the missionaries of his order, in 1845, stood Padre Massaia—the same illustrious missionary who received the Cardinal's hat from Pope Leo XIII. on November 10, 1884, for his saintly missionary services in Africa for the last nearly half a century, and who lately closed his noble life at Naples at the age of eighty-one. When sent by Gregory XVI. to Africa, he received the title and authority of Bishop of Casia *in partibus* and Vicar Apostolic of Upper Ethiopia. For forty-five years he devoted himself to the African missions, especially among the Gallas. In the struggles of European powers for dominion in upper Africa, Cardinal Massaia and his missionaries suffered incredible hardships—prison after prison became the home of these apostles, and no less than eight decrees of banishment had been issued by the Ethiopian emperors at English instigation against the venerable Cardinal missionary. His great work, "My Thirty-five Years of Missionary Work in Upper Ethiopia," written at the request of Pope Leo XIII., and published at the expense of the Holy See, in 1886, is a work of charming interest and fascination and of immeasurable importance.

Cardinal Lavigerie, the greatest living champion of human liberty, is Primate of North Africa, Metropolitan of Algeria, and Archbishop of Carthage. Cardinals Massaia and Lavigerie were colleagues and co-laborers in the great crusade of our day. Cardinal Lavigerie was for nineteen years Archbishop of Algeria, and no man living knows better how to get along with the Mohammedans, or knows more of the African slave trade, or has done as much to resist its nefarious work. Numerous Catholic missionaries are doing a great and good work under his guidance and authority, from Algeria and Carthage on the Mediterranean, to the most distant regions of the Dark Continent. In March, 1886, when Pope Leo XIII. celebrated the eighth anniversary of his coronation, Cardinals Lavigerie and Massaia being both present then in Rome,

and members of the august assembly of cardinals, archbishops, bishops and prelates, who had expressed their congratulations to the Holy Father, the Holy Father in the *conversatione* which followed made special mention of Africa—the despised of lands, but dear to the heart of the Vicar of Christ. Father Bernard O'Reilly thus describes this great and pregnant event in one of his letters to the New York *Sun*: "It was uppermost in the mind of Leo XIII. to use every possible effort to spread the Christian faith in Africa, and to do away with the abominable traffic in slaves which yearly depopulated some of the fairest districts in the region of the great lakes. The Pope asked Cardinal Lavigerie to describe to the assembled dignitaries the main features of the vast field committed to his care and the chief difficulties which lay in his path. Cardinal Massaia was there to confirm what the Archbishop of Carthage said, and to supply new facts to illustrate his explanations. It was a striking scene; Cardinal Lavigerie is a man of commanding stature and extraordinary eloquence, and for more than an hour he held the Papal Court spell-bound by his thrilling narrative, while the great Abyssinian apostle, in his Capuchin robes of brown serge, and with his stooped figure and white beard, nodded assent to the Frenchman's vivid descriptions, and interjected many an *e vero, e verissimo*.

"That day Leo XIII. resolved on the vast anti-slavery crusade, and the active and wide-spread missionary organization which now attracts the attention of the whole civilized world."

The Arab slave captors have tried every device for expelling the missionaries from Africa, for these have been the most powerful opponents and enemies of the slave trade. Missionary efforts alone have proved unequal to the accomplishment of this herculean task. From the want of efficient means, and especially for want of some international concert of action, and from the causes we have mentioned above, it is that the slave trade has of recent years greatly increased, that last year was especially noted for the vastness of the proportions this evil has assumed, and the evil is still increasing.

The great question is as to the best and most effective means of accomplishing the annihilation of the slave trade. With the Pope at his back, Cardinal Lavigerie has commenced the great crusade. Societies have been organized throughout most of Europe for this noble work, and the Cardinal has succeeded in organizing them in Germany, France, Belgium, Italy, Spain and other European countries. The funds needed are pouring into the treasuries of these philanthropic societies, the subscription list having been headed by Pope Leo XIII., with three hundred thousand francs. These societies have not yet formulated or published to the world their proposed plans or measures, but they are at work, and results must soon

follow. In the meantime Cardinal Lavigerie has visited almost every country in Europe, and by his eloquence and fervor has aroused the zeal and fired the heart of the modern crusader. Last year a remarkable public meeting was gotten up in London on the occasion of the Cardinal's visit to that great metropolis, and the London *World* thus alludes to the occasion :

"Like most really able men, he (Cardinal Lavigerie) is very reluctant to say much about himself, and the best way of obtaining the required information is to lead the conversation into the great question which now absorbs nearly all his thoughts, namely, the suppression of the slave trade in Central Africa. It was to plead this cause that Cardinal Lavigerie came to lecture in London last year, when, for the first time in history, two Cardinals of the Roman Church sat side by side on a public platform, with the Archbishop of Canterbury and Mr. Edmund Sturge, the distinguished Quaker. Cardinal Lavigerie refers with evident complacency to the reception accorded to him on that occasion, and describes with covert humor how, upon Lord Granville, who occupied the chair, being compelled to leave before the meeting was over, his place was taken by the Quaker, who thus found himself with a Cardinal of 'the Pope of Rome' upon each side of him. Cardinal Lavigerie expresses himself very hopeful that his enterprise of mercy will be a successful one, and upon his writing-table lie piles of letters from eminent men of all countries, offering him co-operation. Among them is one of which he is especially proud, as it comes from Madrid, and is to the effect that a committee has just been elected to further his work, and that this committee consists of men so widely divided in politics and religion as the Archbishop of Toledo, Señor Castelar, Señor Canovas del Castillo, Baron Sangarren and Señor Carvajal, the two last named of whom are Republicans."

Our gentle readers will, no doubt, expect some account of the remedies proposed and the plans held in view for arresting the African slave trade. We shall have to confine ourselves to a very few of the plans that have been divulged. That of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society is set forth in the following clause of its constitution : "That so long as *slavery* exists there is no reasonable prospect of the annihilation of the *slave trade*, and of extinguishing the sale and barter of human beings ; that the extinction of slavery and the slave trade will be attained most effectually by the employment of those means which are of a *moral, religious* and *pacific character*, and that no measures be resorted to by this Society, in the prosecution of these objects, but such as are in entire accordance with these principles."

Other measures proposed are either of a military or police char-

acter, such as a general and organized permanent system, with branches and co-operative action in every part of the continent affected by the slave trade, whereby armed boats are to be maintained on the great inland lakes, with depots of men here and there, who would act as a sort of police-patrol. Such measures are proposed to be international, and firm and zealous co-operation of all nations and their agencies and men in Africa would be required. Military measures of a like character are advocated by some, but the current of favor runs for the police rather than the military method. It has been feared by some that a military force from Europe, so far away from home and in a wilderness, would be as apt to raid the country as the Arabs themselves. But this proposed measure is, in fact, a blended police and military system. It embraces a limited occupation of the country—as limited as possible—by picked men, under the command of experienced officers, with conservative education, deliberation and generous sentiments. This force, especially the officers, would cultivate the most friendly relations with the African tribes and their chiefs, would make known and understood their friendship for the natives, their purposes, their aims, their measures and expected results. The Arabs would be plainly made to understand that nothing less than the total extermination of slave raids, and the most speedy, prompt and condign punishment of slave raiders and traders were aimed at. The natives could themselves be enrolled in this military police, and trained to the work of their own protection. There would be depots at convenient places where munitions of war could be stored and dealt out to the military police and to the natives as needed. The natives would be skilfully handled in organized co-operation with the European military police, and no independent measures or irregular operations on their part would be permitted. It is expected that these measures would be only preliminary, and not permanent. That great moral and physical forces thus put in action would, in a measure, nationalize the Africans, would start movements of civilization, colonization, commerce and missions, all of which would receive the support of the international military police organization, and thus the natives would be trained in the end to support themselves. The leaders and men organized in this movement would be carefully selected, and from the thousands of volunteers none but the best men would be accepted. But no man unfit for the task would be taken. Not only Europeans would be accepted on the crusade, but men of Africa and India would be chosen and trained to the use of arms.

While many consider that no international plan would succeed because of international jealousies and rivalries, it is difficult to conceive how a plan that is not international would ever succeed,

because the nations would never permit one of their number to undertake the task alone for fear of a conquest of Africa, and no private or individual measure would have the same strength, means and general support that might be expected from co-operative and international governmental aid and backing.

We will close this article with an account of the plan proposed by Cardinal Lavigerie. His plan consists in calling and holding an international congress at the city of Lucerne. This congress was to have been held at an earlier date, but the Cardinal found it necessary to postpone it to October. The reasons for this postponement were two-fold. First, it was recollected that the time first appointed for the congress occurred about the time of the French elections, and as this would prevent France from having an adequate representation in the congress, it was thought best to postpone the session until the French elections were over. Second, the dampness of the Swiss atmosphere so seriously affected the health of the Cardinal, which had already been impaired by long and many years of labor in the Algerian climate, that his strength gave way, his voice failed and his life was in danger. But he has now recovered his health, and in October this great Cardinal and Christian philanthropist was ready to assemble the congress, conduct and lead its proceedings, and lay before the representatives of the nations his plans. October passed without the assembling of the congress. But in November another International Anti-Slave-Trade Congress has assembled at Brussels, apparently under the immediate auspices of the Powers. This congress is in session at the present writing. We are not advised of the means by which this congress has been substituted for the congress which has previously been called by Cardinal Lavigerie, nor of the motives of this change. Can it be that the political Powers are jealous of the Church? We hope not; for the Lord, whom we all adore, has said, through the mouth of His apostle, "*Charity envieth not.*" Let the Brussels Congress do its work and adjourn—the world will await its results. But of one thing we are certain—the blessing of God and of His Church will be needed and sought before the slave trade is abolished. The congress called by Cardinal Lavigerie will yet be held, and the Powers represented in the Brussels Congress will be again represented therein. No great international moral movement like this can ever succeed without the Catholic Church as prime mover. Europe has no international arbiter. The Papacy is the only element which is at once truly international and Catholic. It is the embodiment of moral power. There is no other.

So far as known, and that but partially, each nation is to be requested to occupy a part of Africa, and will pledge itself to sup-

press the slave raids and slave trade within its own territories. Military means are expected to be used for this purpose ; and, while each occupying nation will have and maintain an army within its own occupation, there will be auxiliaries, for the recruiting of which the Cardinal has already received five thousand applications. These auxiliaries will be distributed among the States, and form a part of their active and operating force. One of the first efforts of the international military system will be to cut off the approach to Lake Tanganyika from the Arabs and their raiding expeditions. This congress and its proceedings will be looked to with intense interest by philanthropists in all civilized countries. Of all living men who have expressed their sympathies for the movement, there is no one who will watch the measures and results of this great international congress more earnestly and sympathetically than he who has, in fact, set in motion this new crusade of the nineteenth century, our Holy Father, Pope Leo XIII.

THE FIRST PERIOD OF ANTI-IRISH BRITISH DIPLOMACY AT ROME.

IT has been a long and desperate struggle between British Protestantism, backed by all the power and influence of the greatest empire on earth, and the hierarchy of the Catholic Church in Ireland ; and the struggle is not ended yet. Protestantism incarnate in the British government, having failed, after centuries of legislative oppression and sanguinary persecution, to ingraft on the Catholic Celts of the Green Isle the tenets and practice of the " Reformation," used the sword of Cromwell and the terrible machinery of the penal laws to exterminate where it could not convert.

The land laws of Ireland alone, effectively aided by a judiciary, a magistracy, and a constabulary skilfully devised for the purpose of the legislator, have exterminated by death, by eviction, by emigration, greater numbers than ever perished in the wars of Napoleon and of Genghis Khan.

Still the sturdy old Celtic stock, won to Christ by St. Patrick thirteen hundred years ago, clung to their baptismal faith with such invincible firmness that when the victorious Saxon fancied he had extinguished the ancient faith in the blood of its professors, a new

generation sprang up of a sudden from the slaughter, the widespread ruin, the utter desolation, and confronted conquerors and persecutors with a new nation as enthusiastically wedded to the old creed and the inherited national aspirations as the men who defied Essex and Carew, Cromwell and Mountjoy.

The Catholic Celt has survived the penal laws and the fearful massacres of '98, and swiftly successive famines of the present century, down to "Black '47" and the great clearances which wrought more havoc in Ireland than '47 and the dreadful years which followed. He stands in Ireland to-day braving the worst that Salisbury and Balfour can do with their boasted TWENTY YEARS of vigorous coercion and pitiless extermination.

The Celt will prevail in the end; his endurance will blunt the edge of coercion's sword; his ever-green youth and his overflowing vital energies will triumph over the rage of the exterminator.

Ireland will number, ere the coming twentieth century is twenty years old, ten millions of Catholic Celts within her borders,—ten millions of prosperous and happy freemen,—on one condition, that she does not allow the Imperial government to enslave the Irish hierarchy—bishops and priests. For the enslavement of the priesthood would mean the enslavement of their people, the extinguishing of their faith, and their entire assimilation with Protestant or unbelieving Great Britain.

This two-fold enslavement is the great purpose which Salisbury is pursuing now, and which every administration that has ruled the Three Kingdoms for more than a century has pursued with consistent and inflexible purpose. This purpose could only be accomplished by getting the Holy See to work with them. And one of the most interesting studies for both statesmen and publicists is to follow government after government in the dark and unsuccessful intrigues so persistently kept up by the authorized agents of the cabinet of St. James in Rome.

Thank God, the aim of this odious policy has been baffled until now, not only by that lofty sense of justice which we believe to be one of those instincts created in the Supreme Pastor by the perpetual assistance of the Holy Spirit, but by the watchful and determined resistance of the Irish prelates and people.

It is a wonderful history.

I.

One who had been educated in Rome, and who spent there many years as rector of the Irish College, Dr. (afterwards Cardinal) Cullen, wrote to the Archbishop of Tuam on May 29, 1836, regarding the busy intermeddling of the then Lord Clifford in Irish ecclesiastical affairs: "Lord Clifford has been kept quite in the

dark regarding what has been done, and I hope the Propaganda will continue to keep him so. Every little English lord would wish to have a hand in managing Irish affairs, of which they know nothing. *What would become of the Church in Ireland* IF GOVERNMENT HAD ANYTHING TO DO WITH IT?"¹

Government manifested early enough this disposition to meddle with the Irish Church; and in the endeavor to control not only the management of Church affairs, but the selection and appointment of Irish prelates, the government found willing and zealous assistance from the English Catholic nobility and gentry. We shall have to give some striking examples of such unnatural interference during the present century.

Writing on September 11, 1844, and during the first stage of the infamous Charitable Bequests Bill, Dr. Cullen says: "I was delighted to see Your Grace declare so decided a warfare against the new Charities Bill. It is a most abominable insult to Catholics to pretend that it is a great boon. God send that no bishop will accept office in the commission. I hope the opposition will be so strenuous that the government will not be able to advance a step. What a sad thing it is that any prelate should hesitate to declare his opinions openly in such an important case! Ireland is now all united, and we might dictate our own conditions. . . ."

"I fear there are some steps being now taken to have an English ambassador here. The penal laws being abolished, the government may send one if they wish, and it will be difficult for the Pope to refuse him. *His business will be to intrigue in Irish affairs.*

"I have been examining these days back some old papers about Ireland. In one of them—it is a letter written about 1650 by a Jesuit—I find that a few years before it was written an agent was sent to Rome from the court of Charles I. to induce the Pope to appoint none but *English* bishops in Ireland. How delighted Sir Robert [Peel] would be if he could carry such a measure now. When proposed under Charles I. a report was spread in Ireland that the Jesuits were in favor of it, and the Irish threatened to burn *their* (the Jesuits') houses if it should be carried. Such determination put an end to the mad project. It would have been fatal to religion in Ireland."

Whatever there may have been of truth in the scheme thus fathered on the English Jesuits, it is certain that neither their influence nor the authority of Charles I. could prevail on any one of

¹ The italics are in the original. The letter from which we here quote, and the other letters of Dr. Cullen mentioned in the course of this article, are all from the unpublished correspondence of the late illustrious Archbishop of Tuam.

the three illustrious Pontiffs who reigned from 1621 to 1655 to grant to the house of Stuart—notorious only for its cruel persecution of the Irish Catholics, for the wholesale confiscation of their property, and the abridgment, if not the annihilation, of their civil rights—such an extraordinary privilege as that of nominating to vacant sees and benefices. This privilege in the Church never has been conceded but to Catholic sovereigns and governments distinguished for glorious achievements in favor of religion, or for extraordinary benefits conferred on the Church. It was a privilege granted as a reward for great services to the Catholic body, not a right inherent in the civil ruler or government of any state.

The Stuarts never did anything to deserve it. Yet we find that Cardinal York, the last of the line, who died at the close of the last century, claimed the right of approving the nominations to Irish bishoprics. This good man, who called himself king of England and Ireland, was humored in his innocent pretension by the court of Rome.

But the Hanoverian dynasty, who filled the throne of the Stuarts, never ceased to assert the right to nominate to all vacant sees and benefices, just as the present usurping and anti-Christian government of Italy claims the same privilege, bitter persecutors though they are of Pope, bishops and priests.

The question of *veto*,—that is, of controlling the nomination of Irish Catholic prelates, and of *vetoing* and setting aside any nominee or candidate obnoxious to the government, was quite an active and living question at the end of the last century both in Ireland and in England. The British government pressed it on Clement XIV. as well as on Pius VI., because these Popes were bitterly persecuted, the one by the sovereigns of the House of Bourbon, the other by Joseph II. of Austria, and by France, become a furious anti-Christian revolutionary agency.

The comparative freedom which the British government, following in the footsteps of the United States, began toward the close of our war of independence to grant to Catholics, seemed the best of arguments to urge on the Holy See for obtaining the power to enslave the Irish priesthood, under the fair pretence of protecting the liberty of the Church in Ireland, and of helping on its free development. The establishment of Maynooth furnished a plausible instance of the new-born liberality toward Catholics of the cabinet of St. James; the freedom granted to the French Catholics of Canada was another. But we know, to-day, how little British statesmanship is to be thanked for toleration and liberality in Canada. The Declaration of American Independence was the real charter of Canadian civil and religious liberty.

But the Irish clergy resisted as vigorously the granting of the

veto as did every bishop of Quebec from the cession of Canada to the death of the great Bishop Plessis, who won the final victory for Church liberty in Canada, in all British North America.

Then, when Pius VII. put on the crown of thorns just laid down by the exiled Pius VI., the British government renewed on the prisoner of Fontainebleau the pressure brought to bear on his predecessors. It were useless to inquire at the present day how the Quarantotti rescript was obtained, what agents and specious representations were used to extort from the much-tried Pontiff, so cruelly used by the crowned soldier who aspired to universal domination, the privilege for the British sovereign, or his ministers, to *veto* episcopal appointments in Ireland. We can only remember with gratitude that two British prelates—the learned and saintly Bishops Milner and Hay—were the most earnest and eloquent in denouncing the rescript, which they believed to be surreptitious, obtained from the Pope by surprise or misrepresentation. Dr. Milner crossed over to Ireland and sped from one end of the island to the other, arousing the zeal and indignation of the Irish prelates against a measure which was a fatal blow aimed at their independence, at Catholicity itself in the United Kingdom.

In Dublin, the archbishop profited by the solemn recurrence of the Holy Week celebrations to denounce from the pulpit on Good Friday a transaction which would have delivered the Church, as Pilate did our Lord into the hands of Herod, bound hand and foot into the power of the English prime minister.

Thus, for a memorable service above all praise and beyond all price, we must place the revered names of Milner and Hay by the side of those of their English brother prelates, Manning and Newman, Briggs and Bagshawe.

So was the independence of the Irish hierarchy saved from mortal peril in what we must call the memorable Quarantotti conspiracy. Pius VII., better informed and freed from the solicitations of powerful friends and unwise counsellors, allowed the rescript to become a dead letter.

But none the less did the British government continue, in season and out of season, to pursue its traditional purpose of obtaining effective control of the *personnel* of the Irish episcopacy and beneficed clergy. If it could not, because the existing laws of Great Britain expressly forbade it, establish a Concordat with the Holy See, stipulating in return for a fuller measure of freedom and liberality toward Irish Catholics, the right of vetoing the appointment of prelates and beneficiaries whom ministers disliked, perhaps by authorized, though not avowed, diplomatic agents in Rome, they could attain the same results.

Certain it is that such agents never ceased to be sent to Rome

from that day to this; and that in open day, or by secret intrigue, these diplomats have industriously conspired against the dearest liberties of the Church of St Patrick.

Let us go back to the date of the last letter of Dr. Cullen quoted above (September 11, 1844). The writer says: "I fear there are some steps being now taken to have an English ambassador here. . . . *His business will be to intrigue in Irish affairs.*" Now place side by side with this letter of Dr. Cullen the following passage from Greville's "Memoirs," dated December 29, 1843:¹ "I asked Lord Melbourne about a thing he had once before told me, which is the connection which subsisted between our government and the court of Rome, and a particular appointment which he had solicited the Pope not to confer. It was that of Dr. MacHale as Archbishop of Tuam. Melbourne caused a request to be made to the Pope not to sanction it; but the Pope would not comply, and appointed MacHale. He observed on that occasion that ever since the relief bill had passed, the English government never failed to interfere about every appointment as it fell vacant. On another occasion Melbourne begged the Pope to confer some piece of preferment on a priest whose name I forget, who had supported the government candidate very zealously in some election.

"This state of things and such communications between the Holy Father and the English Government are curious. Palmerston said there was nothing to prevent *our* sending a minister to Rome; but *they* had not dared to do it on account of their supposed Popish tendency; Peel might."

The details of what occurred on the occasion of the appointment of Dr. MacHale to the See of Tuam are contained in most interesting letters of Monsignor (afterward Cardinal) Wiseman and Dr. O'Connor, afterward Bishop of Pittsburgh, to the archbishop. They will be given in the authentic life of Dr. MacHale, now in preparation for the first centenary of his birth.

But the intrigues which the British government did not blush to employ in 1834, and which the stout-hearted Gregory XVI. resisted all through his pontificate with such invincible courage, received a fresh stimulus in 1837, during the administration of the Duke of Wellington, as we shall see from the following letter of Lord Mahon, who had more than once tried his hand and failed in this sort of crooked diplomacy:

LONDON, GROSVENOR PLACE, 8th May, 1837.

TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

My dear Duke: I beg leave to call your attention, as I shall also Sir Robert Peel's, to the following notice given last Friday in the House of Commons:

¹ Greville's *Memoirs*, Part II., London, 1885.

Dr. Bowring: That an address be presented to "His Majesty, praying that he will be graciously pleased to appoint a diplomatic agent to the court of Rome."

(Thursday, June 1st.)

Might it not be desirable that your Grace and Sir Robert should consider of this proposal before it comes on? I own I have long been inclined to think that such a measure would be of great advantage.

The king of England is in precisely the same position as the king of Prussia,—a Protestant sovereign with several millions of Roman Catholic subjects—and the court of Berlin has long employed and found great service in employing an accredited agent at Rome.

Your Grace may remember the message through Sir Frederick Lamb in November, 1834, apologizing for MacHale's appointment to Tuam, on the ground that he was not known at the time to be such an unprincipled agitator as he has proved, and you will, I think, conclude from this that a resident English ambassador might obtain considerable weight in preventing political and objectionable appointments in Ireland. . . .

There would be also great encouragement and benefit to the fine arts by the residence of an English ambassador at Rome, as is strongly proved by the instance of a French one. However, I only throw out these brief suggestions for your Grace's consideration, and I have the honor to remain, etc.

MAHON.¹

As to the "apology" or "message through Sir Frederick Lamb, in November, 1834, apologizing for MacHale's appointment to Tuam on the ground that he was not known at the time to be such an unprincipled agitator," this much can be said, that no such apology ever came from Gregory XVI., or from his Secretary of State, or from Cardinal Franson, then Prefect of the Propaganda. There were English and Irish busybodies in Rome at the time, as there are in November, 1889, who were ever ready to boast of their influence in the Papal court, and to pour into the ears of "diplomatic agents" their own utterances as semi-official "messages."

In the first of the two letters of Dr. Cullen above quoted, that of 29th May, 1836, the writer says, referring to the scandalous quarrel between Dr. O'Finan, Bishop of Killala, and his clergy: "Lord Clifford wrote to Dr. O'Finan in answer to his communications, and I believe wrote in such a way as to make the Doctor believe that every one here was in his favor. But the Doctor will be sadly annoyed at the difference which passes between Lord Clifford's letter and those of the Propaganda."

The Archbishop of Tuam who, as metropolitan of Connaught, had to take cognizance of this unhappy quarrel, and who was deeply interested in putting an end to it, as he had been Bishop of Killala when elected by the diocesan clergy and the bishops of the province for the vacant see of Tuam, was obnoxious to Lord Clifford, who had taken Dr. O'Finan under his wing. This well-meaning, but not very judicious, nobleman belonged to the family of Cardinal Weld, and lived for the most part with him in Rome.

¹ Lord Mahon, "Conversations with the Duke of Wellington."

In spite of his mischievous interference with Irish Church affairs, Dr. MacHale and his brother prelates in Connaught, aided by the arbitration of Dr. Crolly, the Primate, succeeded in having Dr. O'Finan recalled to Rome, where he died several years afterward. This, of course, did not please Lord Clifford, who had also been very active in opposing the appointment of Dr. MacHale to the metropolitan see of Tuam in 1834.

We mentioned Cardinal Wiseman as bearing witness to the bitter opposition made in Rome to the translation of Dr. MacHale to Tuam. Here is the letter itself:

ROME, August 25, 1834.

My dear Lord: If I have delayed so long answering your kind letter, it has not been for any want of due attention to the commission it honored me with; and I have gained one point, at least, by my seeming neglect, the being able to congratulate you upon your merited elevation to a situation where your means, if not your desires, of doing good to religion will be ample and more conspicuous.

Immediately upon the receipt of your Grace's favor, I spoke to Cardinal Pedicini on the subject, and was assured by His Eminence that no objection of the character you apprehended, nor indeed of any sort, had been proposed to the Congregation.

I understood that when the cardinals met, such an objection was raised, the consequence whereof was that Mgr. Mai, in presenting the report of their decision, stated to His Holiness that, in the meantime, he had written, or was writing, to Ireland to ascertain how far your political views might have rendered you obnoxious to the government. The Pope instantly expressed his disapproval of this step, ordered him to declare the bishops' choice confirmed, and added that he knew you too well to fear anything, and that he never would allow it to be suspected that the English government or its sentiments could have the slightest influence on the nomination of bishops.

This was on Sunday; on Wednesday a cardinal waited on His Holiness to urge the same point, on the authority, I was told, of a letter from some Protestant gentleman in Ireland. The Pope, however, refused to listen to anything of the sort.

This is the history of the transaction, as far as I have heard it; and I think it right to communicate it confidentially to your Grace, that you may know your footing and see your way in any other affairs here.

You will have heard that our friend Dr. Cullen has been named coadjutor to Dr. England, a step which I suppose only places a transatlantic mitre instead of an Irish one on his modest brows. A Mr. McAvoy died at the Irish College, and a Mr. O'Reilly¹ maintained a thesis with great ability; both within these few days.

With great regard, I am, my dear lord,

Ever faithfully yours,

THE MOST REVEREND JOHN MACHALE, D.D., Tuam.

N. WISEMAN.

Dr. Cullen, who happened to be in Ireland while these intrigues were carried on in Rome, gives, in a letter written after his return to the Eternal City, the clearest possible account of the nature of the charges alleged against Dr. MacHale, then Bishop of Killala, and the manner in which such charges were received by Pope Gregory XVI. Be it remarked that what the Pope said to Dr. Cullen must have been said at the very date of the pretended "message

¹ This is the Very Rev. Edmund O'Reilly, D.D., afterward Professor of Theology at Maynooth, and later a Jesuit and Provincial of his Order in Ireland.

of apology" sent from Rome to the English government, as mentioned in Lord Mahon's letter.

"When I visited His Holiness since my return," writes Dr. Cullen, "he inquired most particularly for you, and gave me a long account of the efforts which were made to hinder your appointment. The account which Dr. England gave was quite accurate.¹ I do not know, however, whether I mentioned that several speeches of your Grace were accused of being seditious. The Pope, on hearing that accusation, said he could not credit it; and ordered the papers in which the seditious speeches were contained to be given to him. He then got them translated, and, on reading the translation, said: 'that it was the plain truth and had no trace at all of sedition.' He then made the appointment *proprio motu*, without referring the matter again to the Congregation. And he now applauds himself for having done so."

Dr. Michael O'Connor, first Bishop of Pittsburgh, whom Dr. Cullen had left in charge of the Irish College during his absence in Ireland, thus corroborates what the latter says about the conduct of the Pope on the occasion of His Holiness's satisfaction, long after the date of the supposed "message of apology," at having made so wise an appointment.

ROME, February 28, 1835.

My Lord: Your letter of the 2d instant duly arrived, and I immediately applied for an audience from His Holiness and gave him the letter enclosed.² I delivered it the other day, and it gave him (the Pope) infinite pleasure. He read it while I was there, and to the statements regarding your election to the See of Tuam he added many an *e vero*, and would often add to the other things a hearty *va benissimo*.³ He was highly pleased, and did not fail to pride himself on the part he took in your election, manifesting the resolution to pursue the same course for the future, which he felt was imperative, particularly in that case, as he was personally acquainted with your Grace's merits. You can scarcely imagine the zeal with which he took the thing up at the time, and the pride he feels at having done so, which he manifested almost every time I saw him. I remember his saying, on one occasion, that he could not see why people were opposed to your nomination; *the reasons adduced to him were rather for than against you*. It is unnecessary for me to give your Grace a more detailed account of the particulars of that affair, as Dr. England has already done it, and his information on that point was correct.

I feel happy in having this opportunity of congratulating with your Grace, which, though it comes rather late, would have found me most warm even from the beginning. Then, of course, I not only felt warmly on the subject, in common with all other lovers of our country, both on account of your Grace's person and the public principles that were involved, but I was also extremely affected lest my insufficiency might have been the cause of what I would have considered a most grievous calamity for our

¹ This account, which Dr. Cullen heard in Dublin from the lips of the Bishop of Charleston, we may consider to be, substantially, what we now have from the written testimony of Drs. Cullen and O'Connor.

² This was a letter asking for the Pallium.

³ *E vero*, "that is true;" *va benissimo*, "very good!"

Church at large, and which could have been averted by the worthy individual whose place I held for the moment, had he been on the spot.

In union with your Grace's letter I presented to the Pope a translated account of your Grace's entry into Tuam. He was highly gratified, and desired me to present you his congratulations and compliments in the meantime, and to say that he would shortly answer your letter himself.

Believe me, my Lord, etc., etc.

M. O'CONNOR.¹

MOST REV. DR. MACHALE, Archbishop of Tuam.

So much for the supposed "apology" through Sir Frederick Lamb "that Dr. MacHale *was not known at the time to be such an unprincipled agitator as he has proved.*"

Whether the "apology" was Sir Frederick's own invention, or whether he only repeated what was reported to him by some officious personage in the Quirinal—it is another of those diplomatic lies, reflecting on the character of a Pope and an Irish Archbishop, which we hereby nail to the counter as a LIE.

The diplomatic campaign against the Irish Church was organized with such skill and far-seeing sagacity, and carried on with as much patient resolution as Russia has displayed, since the time of Peter the Great, in advancing the outposts of her vast empire, till she touches India on the one hand, and threatens Constantinople on the other, from Armenia and the Balkans. The education question was the great move on which the British government calculated to divide the Irish bishops, priesthood, and people. And the movement, to a very great extent, was successful.

The primary government schools, known as the National Schools, were formally introduced by Lord Stanley in 1834, the Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Murray, as we have said, accepting a place on the Board of Commissioners, and continuing ever afterward to co-operate heartily with Dr. Whateley, his Protestant rival and neighbor. The Archbishop of Tuam opposed the "National System," as it was called from the beginning, just as he ever consistently opposed every scheme of education devised for the Catholics of Ireland which was not thoroughly Catholic and controlled by the bishops, the divinely appointed guardians of the faith and morality of their flocks.

But this national system found ready and zealous advocates among the English Catholic aristocracy. Their support was always a great encouragement to the government. Unhappily, also, the example of Archbishop Murray found more imitators among the Irish prelates than that of the inflexible and incorruptible John of Tuam. The division created among the hierarchy by this school question was so great, and the passionate discussions

¹ From the original letter in the MACHALE MANUSCRIPTS.

and antagonism of opinions it awakened in the public, were so acute that the Archbishop of Tuam and the minority who followed his leadership appealed to Rome. The majority of the bishops, including the two primates and the Archbishop of Cashel, were opposed to this appeal to the Holy See, declaring that it was a question that should be settled among themselves in Ireland; that, in fact and in practice, it had been settled, since two-thirds at least of the prelates had, with the co-operation of their clergy, settled the matter by accepting and supporting the National Schools in their respective dioceses.

In 1841 the Holy See, after a long and careful examination of the evidence on both sides, decided that the national system should be tolerated, since so many bishops declared that its operation had wrought no evil to their flocks; that all that was unorthodox and heretical in the manuals used in the schools should be excluded; and that both bishops and priests should watch with renewed care that the faith and morals of the children should receive no taint from the un-Catholic or anti-Catholic rules and methods of the system.

Evidently Gregory XVI. and the Congregation of Propaganda were unwilling to condemn a system which three archbishops and an overwhelming majority of their suffragans upheld against a single archbishop and a mere minority. Moreover, France, Austria, Spain and Prussia, where the system of neutral primary and secondary schools, or what is now called undenominational education, prevailed, and was supported by the various governments, followed the proceedings at Rome with no heedless eye. The whole diplomatic influence of the representatives of these countries near the Holy See was used to support the views of the British government, and cast with Dr. Murray and his supporters, as against Dr. MacHale and purely Catholic education.

So here was a victory for British diplomacy in its grand strategy of dividing the Irish bishops, and of getting a majority of them to adopt, in principle and in practice, a system of primary education which was, at best, neutral, but which required sleepless watchfulness to keep from becoming anti-Catholic and immoral.

II.

It was but a short-lived triumph, however.

The government was now determined to push their advantage with energy, and to increase still further the split in the ranks of the Catholic hierarchy. Two measures rapidly followed the decision of Rome on the national school question. These were (1) the introduction of a bill placing all charitable bequests in Ireland under the control of a board of commissioners appointed

by the Crown, and excluding from the benefit of all such bequests and legacies the Jesuits, and all other monastic orders existing in Ireland; and (2) the passage of a bill providing for the higher education of the middle and other classes in Ireland, by the erection, equipment, and endowment in every province in Ireland of what is known as the "Queen's Colleges."

The introduction of the Charitable Bequests Bill occurred about the time when Mr. Greville had with Lord Melbourne the conversation related above about keeping up irregular (and illegal) diplomatic intercourse between the courts of Rome and St. James. Evidently, the men in power at that moment were sorely anxious to substitute regular diplomatic relations with the Holy See for the long system of irregular and underhand intrigue and meddling which they were even then carrying on.

Of their designs—both as to what they disclosed and what they fancied they concealed—the Archbishop of Tuam was quite aware; and, as usual, he warned his brother bishops, and the whole nation, in no uncertain or timid tones. The Charitable Bequests Bill meant persecution—a disguised renewal of the detestable Penal Laws. To the astonishment and horror of all true Catholics, the two primates and the Bishop of Belfast were appointed commissioners to administer this unholy and most tyrannical law,—and the three prelates accepted the government appointment!

But, at once, the great majority of the bishops adhered to Dr. MacHale, and, with the Archbishop of Cashel, Dr. Slattery, declared openly against the bill, and as openly censured the act of the prelates who had accepted the government commission.

It will be remembered that these measures—as well as a further yearly grant in aid of Maynooth College—were put forward by ministers while the great movement for the repeal of the Union was culminating in the monster meetings, and then utterly breaking down in the impeachment, trial, and imprisonment of O'Connell. The Repeal movement must have succeeded had Dr. MacHale's policy prevailed of unity of sentiment and action among the bishops in support of O'Connell, and of rejecting every government instalment of justice till the Irish nation was restored to herself by resuscitating her native Parliament.

But neither when the Charitable Bequests Bill was flung into the arena of national politics, nor when, soon afterwards, the "gigantic scheme of godless education" was forced upon Ireland in her hour of prostration, did John of Tuam lose his head or his heart.

The majorities then came round to his side.

"We were all delighted," Dr. Cullen writes from Rome on October 3, 1844, "at O'Connell's liberation; it is a glorious triumph. I will present the opinion on the Charitable Bequests Bill to the

Pope as soon as he returns from Castle Gandolfi, where he is at present. Would it not be well to introduce the matter to the assembled prelates at their next meeting? There are some canons and decrees of the Council of Trent that appear to excommunicate persons assuming the functions to be attributed to the commissioners. It should be well to make Catholics aware of the existence of such decrees."

Again, on December 7, 1844, Dr. Cullen writes: "The Pope is still quite well, and also unchanged in his opinions regarding Ireland. I suspect the English government is plotting something against our Church, and expects to gain over Rome. The English agent here is very busy about Irish affairs. Austria is also doing something. Were the bishops united, there would be no fear. But, as things are, the English ministry may be very successful."

Dr. MacNally, Bishop of Clogher, throws additional light on the intrigues carried on at that moment in Rome:

DECEMBER 23, 1844.

My dear Lord Archbishop: I have had this day a letter from Dr. Cullen, which has filled me with the deepest affliction. After adverting to the activity of the English agent at Rome, a Mr. William Petre, in reference to our present controversy, to the interference of Austria, *to the great things promised by England for religion in the Colonies*, to the efforts of some of the English clergy to persuade them at Rome that England would be converted "*were it not for the movement in Ireland*," he concludes by saying, that *he would not be surprised if a veto or something worse were soon granted.*

English influence is at length in the ascendant and likely to prevail, if something be not done to counteract it; evils without remedy will be brought on a people whose attachment to their religion and to the Chair of Peter has, I believe, never been surpassed.

A deputation, lay and ecclesiastical, should be sent forthwith to the Holy Father. I have only a moment to say that I am, with the greatest and sincerest regard,

My dear Lord Archbishop,

Most faithfully yours,

C. MACNALLY.

MOST REV. DR. MACHALE.

The national sentiment in both laity and clergy was thoroughly roused against this bill, and found expression in public meetings held all over the kingdom.

In Rome, also, the Pope and the Congregation of Propaganda were very decided and outspoken in their condemnation of the Bequests Bill and of the conduct of the prelates who had, without waiting for the judgment of the Holy See, ventured to accept the government commission, and who persisted in retaining it after the supreme authority had spoken.

But their conduct was somewhat overlooked or forgotten amid the fiercer struggle occasioned by the Queen's Colleges, and this supreme struggle for pure Catholic university education was, un-

fortunately, carried on by Dr. MacHale and his supporters all through the years when famine and fever stalked like twin giant-spectres through the blighted fields and among the plague-stricken homes of Ireland's rural millions.

The moment was favorable to those who administered the government to build their godless colleges, to equip them with costly furniture, and fill them with a well-appointed staff of professors and officers.

Meanwhile, the people who should have been saved from starvation and pestilence by all the means known to a provident government in an empire whose wealth was incalculable, were given over, on the one hand, to an army of foreign officials appointed to superintend public roads that no one wanted and were never completed, or to the pitiless oppression of workhouse and poorhouse guardians, and, on the other hand, to the merciless law of the evictor.

What a time to build splendid colleges,—mocking a starving people with these fair monuments of stone, when it behooved the rulers to spend their millions in giving them bread to eat, when a Christian land cried out imploring the exercise of Christian charity.

But it was a grand opportunity for the government to make new and more energetic efforts than ever before to win the bishops over to the new scheme of academical education, as it was sometimes called in official circles. The two primates, Dr. Crolly and Dr. Murray, were consistent with themselves, and declared for the colleges. These opened out for the best educated and most aspiring of the inferior clergy a vista of good government salaries, honorable and permanent positions, with such preferment as the government could bestow, or obtain by its influence. And, to what was at bottom, as judged by men who saw the system at its inception and throughout its continuance—a bald godless scheme of instruction—fair promises of amendment and improvement were held out.

And so the inferior clergy were divided as well as their superiors. And all the while the people perished, or were driven to emigrate by the hundreds of thousands yearly; or, those who could not or would not fly from their native land were, of set purpose, reduced to such a condition of abject pauperism, to a helotism so degraded that nothing like it disgraced any Christian country since the Gospel was first preached.

And all through these years of worse than Egyptian oppression,—when Fanaticism walked through the desolated west and south, aye, and through the very streets of Dublin, tempting the famishing with bread in exchange for a sacrilegious denial of their baptismal faith,—English diplomacy plied its arts in Ireland, as well

as in Rome, to obtain the mastery over the Irish clergy, and through them over the souls of the Irish people !

And all that time, too, eloquent voices went forth from the Irish bishops and priests denouncing the conspiracy against the liberties of the Church and the very life of the nation.

These are strong words, giving utterance to a startling affirmation. And yet, what is here affirmed is not only historically true, but not overstated.

III.

From the second part of Greville's "Memoirs," which we have already quoted, we here take another extract which will throw no little light on this phase of our subject.

At the date of December 7, 1847, while the famine was doing its worst in Ireland, while the controversy about the Queen's Colleges was at its fiercest, and the ministers were stirring heaven and earth to prevent Rome from condemning their system of mixed education, Mr. Greville writes: "A few days ago I met Dr. Wiseman, and had much talk with him about Rome and the Pope's recent rescript about the Queen's Colleges in Ireland. He said it was all owing to there being no English ambassador at Rome, and no representative of the moderate Irish clergy; Irish ecclesiastical affairs were managed by MACHALE through Franson, head of the Propaganda, and Father Ventura, who has the Pope's ear, and he (Wiseman) strongly advised that (Archbishop) Murray and his party should send an agent to Rome, and that Lord Minto should communicate with Father Ventura, who is an able and good man, deeply interested in Irish affairs, and anxious for British connection. He talked a great deal about the Pope, who, he said, had not time to inquire into these matters himself, and took his inspirations from the above-named personages; that he is of unbending firmness in all that relates to religion, but liberal, and anxious to conciliate England."¹

Under date of December 15th, Mr. Greville again writes: "I called on Lord John Russell three days ago, and told him what Wiseman had said, and also about (sending) Normanby (as ambassador) to Rome. He said he had ordered a bill to be drawn up to legalize our intercourse with Rome."²

The Archbishops of Cashel and Tuam, aware that there was in Dublin, in the winter of 1848, a Catholic prelate belonging to one of the British dependencies abroad, who was acting as a go-between for the government, drew up a memorial, which was signed by all the bishops who were opposed to the godless colleges, as well as to the degrading and ruinous policy of subserviency to the British govern-

¹ Greville's *Memoirs*, vol. iii., p. 107.

Ibid., p. 108.

ment, and to the fatal "place-hunting" mania which was the bane of all parliamentary independence.

It was urged on the Archbishop of Tuam, by his colleagues, that he should go to Rome to confront there the enemies of his country and faith, and present Pius IX., then desperately beset by the revolutionists in league with Lord Minto, from giving any countenance to those who were conspiring against the liberty of the Church in Ireland. This journey to Rome had been recommended to Dr. MacHale by Dr. Cullen himself, who, doubtless, only expressed the wish of Cardinal Frasoni himself.

"I do not know," writes the Rector of the Irish College on February 28, 1848, "what to recommend about your Grace's coming to Rome. It is difficult to say whether anything will be attempted or not by the government. At the same time, it would be well to have some one here to watch the progress of events. . . . The Pope is in such difficulties that it would be (for the government) the fittest moment to get him to do something.

"If your Grace could get a meeting of the bishops to depute prelates to act in their name, their representations would be more efficacious. Or even if you had a provincial meeting, and passed resolutions, and sent an address to His Holiness by one or two prelates, the effect would be very good.

"I do not well know what to recommend. A bishop might come to Rome, and afterwards find that the government had proposed nothing. At all events, taking everything into consideration, I think it would be desirable that your Grace should come to Rome. It would be better that Dr. Maginn or Dr. Derry, or some other bishop, should accompany you.

"The Radical Italians here, who are sending away the Christian Brothers, and crying out 'Death to the Jesuits,' are shouting 'Evvivas' to England and a British ambassador. England, indeed, and Lord Palmerston seem to have carried everything before them.

"Austria and France are despised in Italy.

"The Radicals have expressed great displeasure at the condemnation of the godless colleges in Ireland. They have reported that the Pope will modify his condemnation. They have set all kinds of rumors afloat to please the English.

"I do not think the Pope will take any step in the matter. He told me that he was very well pleased with what he had done. However, the Radicals here, who are obtaining everything, by, threats and violence sometimes, and by fair means at other times might have more effect on His Holiness. This is not, I hope, to be feared. *At home (some of) our own bishops are working to get something done.* They will aid in any mischief that is to be done.

"You well understand how things are here. It comes to this:

The (Papal) government is weak ; the irreligious are most powerful and active. England is triumphant in Italy, and she is directing all the movements of the mob and the government. A poor prospect for religion."¹

Meanwhile, Lord Clarendon, the Irish Viceroy, having secured the co-operation of the two primates, Drs. Crolly and Murray, had chosen Dr. Nicholson, coadjutor of the Archbishop of Corfu, as the authorized agent of the two primates and the British government, to bear to Rome the amended statutes of the Queen's Colleges, and to obtain from Pius IX. a reversal of the decree by which he had, in October, 1847, condemned the colleges. It was well-known also, a bill having been prepared and introduced into Parliament for renewing diplomatic intercourse with the Holy See, that Dr. Nicholson would aid the government in forwarding this measure in Rome.

It was a conspiracy, therefore, a most powerful and well-planned conspiracy, against the purity and independence of religion in Ireland. Nicholson was himself an Irishman ; and other Irishmen, high in ecclesiastical office, were as deep in the plot as he, the prime counsellor of the government in their scheme of godless university education.

Let us not forget, also, that these were the months which witnessed Lord Shrewsbury's atrocious attack in the English papers on the character of the Irish priesthood, and especially on the Archbishop of Tuam and the Bishop of Ardagh, Dr. O'Higgins. He, too, was most anxious to have a *nuncio* resident in London and a British ambassador in Rome. Not so the late Duke of Norfolk (then Earl of Arundel and Surrey), to whose respectful private letter the Archbishop of Tuam wrote an eloquent and timely answer.

It is a marvel to see what Dr. MacHale was able to undertake and achieve at that momentous crisis of his country's fate. He seemed to stand alone, towering above all his associates, conspicuous in the front of the enemy as the defender of the Irish clergy and people, and drawing on his own devoted head all the shafts of their adversaries. But he was equal to the emergency.

On March 15, 1848, the Archbishop of Cashel wrote to Dr. MacHale : " This morning I had a letter from Dublin informing me that Dr. Nicholson goes forthwith to Rome bearing a letter to himself (Dr. Nicholson) from Lord Clarendon '*Greeting*,' wherein he is requested to assure His Holiness of the anxious desire of the British government for the well-being of the Irish Church, both as a conservator of public order and because it is the religion of the

¹ *MacHale MSS. and Correspondence.*

great majority. That for this purpose they have altered the statutes of the colleges to suit the wishes of Rome, etc.

"Dr. Nicholson goes armed with those credentials, and, fallacious as I believe them to be, if no one goes to oppose him, our hard-earned victory will be filched from us by intrigue."¹

Drs. MacHale and O'Higgins, at the earnest solicitations of the great majority of the bishops, at once resolved to set out for Rome and prevent the consummation of the infamous purpose of the British government and their abettors in Ireland.

On March 21, 1848, Dr. MacHale, while making his preparations for leaving his suffering flock, wrote to give Cardinal Frasoni notice of his journey:

"I write this letter," he says, "in order to apprise your Eminence of a report current here, which fills nearly all our bishops, priests and people with the greatest anxiety: it is to the effect that the Most Rev. Dr. Nicholson, in the name of the government and of a few among our bishops, has started for Rome for the purpose of obtaining from His Holiness to recall his condemnation of the Queen's Colleges in view of some new statutes which are apparently favorable to the Catholic religion.

"We entertain the strongest confidence that no such revocation will take place.

"If the judgment pronounced on these colleges by the Holy See is maintained firm, unchanged and unalterable, the cause of Catholic education will also in future remain, I trust, free and secure, while, with the end of our present great distress, will arise on our schools an era of prosperity.

"If the Pope, on the contrary, could be induced to cancel or modify his judgment to suit any arrangement offered by the government, either through their promises or through statutes, no matter how speciously framed, such a new decision would only give a fresh stimulus to the wicked designs of these non-Catholics; it would shake the confidence of Catholics; Protestants would endeavor to get possession, or control of the schools, academies and colleges; nor could Catholic priests, if once you set aside the decree which until now kept Catholic pupils apart from Protestants, keep our Catholic youth away from these colleges.

"I am not writing this, your Eminence, for the purpose of reviving a controversy set at rest by the authority of the Holy See. But I do pray and beseech most earnestly that no modification be made in the judgment which caused so much joy to our clergy and people, and which added so much security to our long-tried faith.

¹ *MacHale MSS.*

"And if—a thing which, for the sake of religion, I hope will not happen—this affair should be once more submitted to discussion, we pray that no proceeding shall take place until some of our bishops be given an opportunity to expose, in the presence of His Holiness, their reasons for not reopening the controversy.

"From my letter, written a few days ago, your Eminence can understand how irksome and serious a step it is for me to undertake so long a journey in the state in which I leave my faithful people. But famine is only a temporal calamity, while the loss of faith, or the placing it in peril, would be an almost irreparable misfortune.

"Therefore, since no one else among the prelates, who are better able to manage this weighty matter than I am, would undertake it, I shall, in a few days hence, after finishing the visitation of my diocese in which I am now occupied, set out for Rome, with God's blessing, and there, prostrate at the feet of the Holy Father, beseech him not to give ear to men who seek only the ruin of our faith.

"And, if he entertains any doubt as to their aim, then let them tell him why they manifest such extraordinary zeal for the education of our people, at the very time they allow that people to die without succor and without pity."¹

Before leaving Ireland, however, the two prelates had prepared a joint letter or memorial signed by the Archbishops of Cashel and Tuam and the majority of their brother bishops. It rehearsed the bitter trials to which, apart from famine, pestilence, evictions, and emigration, the Catholics of Ireland had of late years been subjected to, the campaign of slander undertaken against bishops and priests by the Protestant press, and in which the premier earl of England had made himself so conspicuous by his unprovoked attacks on the ministers of his own religion. The bishops then come to the immediate object of their appeal:

"No sooner has one peril ceased for us," they say, "than a greater peril looms up. While famine and pestilence are desolating Ireland; while our people are losing all heart; and while their bishops are divided among themselves; while the revolutions which disturb not only Italy, but the whole of Europe, fill people's minds with alternate hope and dread; at this critical juncture, when the fatherly heart of your Holiness is naturally oppressed by increasing cares, the British government deem the present moment a favorable one to use their most powerful exertions to extort from your Holiness, *per fas et nefas*, certain concessions the direct tendency of which would be, *not only to seriously impair the*

¹ *Ibidem.*

freedom of our ancient Church, but to utterly destroy its independence.

"Scarcely had the rescript of your Holiness condemning the scheme of the government colleges for Ireland been made public, when the agents of the government, as well as some of our own body, who are absolutely devoted to the government in this as in many other matters, formed the resolution to reopen the controversy about the colleges, and to besiege your Holiness with the most assiduous importunities, till they had induced you to recall your former decision.

"Could this purpose be effected, then might a few bishops boast that they had, with their own hands, bound the Church, their Mother, and given her over, thus fettered and vanquished, to wear the yoke of heretic masters.

"We know it to be a fact, Most Holy Father, that the British government have, at this very hour, as their agents in Rome, not only Protestants, but Catholics, not Catholics merely, but priests, and not only Catholic priests, but Catholic bishops, who devote their whole energy to this nefarious business!

"Among these government agents, the foremost is an archbishop, whose name we should not presume to utter to your Holiness were it not that our most vital interests are involved in the object of his mission. This is the coadjutor archbishop of Corfu, the Most Rev. Dr. Nicholson, who is going to Rome on this business, and who is said to be the bearer of a letter from Lord Clarendon, Viceroy of Ireland, filled with fair promises, and to be kept with that puny faith with which Great Britain always fulfils her promises, especially such as are made in favor of the Catholic Church.

"Pardon us, we beseech you, Most Holy Father, if we make bold here to inquire who and what is this Dr. Nicholson, who meddles so officiously with the business of our Church, not, assuredly, for the purpose of advancing the cause of religion, but of helping the government to usurp the rights of religion."¹

We omit the enumeration of this mischievous personage's qualities and qualifications for his office of intermeddler. The prelates end by begging the Pope "to send him speedily to Corfu" to mind his neglected business there, while they attend to their own weighty concerns in Ireland.

Dr. Cullen informs the Archbishop of Tuam, in a letter from Rome, that Pius IX. did not hesitate a moment to send Dr. Nicholson away from Rome, and far on his way to Corfu—to Naples, namely.

Drs. MacHale and O'Higgins succeeded in defeating, on every

¹ *Ibidem.*

point, this great conspiracy. Not only was no modification made in the former sentence of the Holy See regarding the Queen's Colleges; but they were condemned once more, and more solemnly, being declared to be *intrinsically perilous to faith and morality*, the Pope adding with his own hand the word "intrinsically."

It was a great triumph over the insidious and far-reaching schemes of British anti-Catholic diplomacy.

MAGNA CHARTA AS IT IS.

King John.—Thus have I yielded up into your hand
The circle of my glory.

Pandulpho [giving John the crown].—Take again
From this my hand as holding of the Pope
Your sovereign greatness and authority.

—SHAKESPEARE, *King John*, Act V., Scene I.

IT is a common thing to hear the Magna Charta of King John described as the bulwark of English liberties, the palladium of national rights, the foundation of nearly everything good in the jurisprudence of the English-speaking world. These commendatory platitudes always refer to the charter of Runnymede obtained from King John of England in 1215; it is an old charge that this charter was annulled by Pope Innocent III., thus illustrating the assertion that the Church is the enemy of civil and religious liberty. It is the purpose of this paper to prove that this popular conception of the charter is entirely erroneous; that the Church, far from interfering with the liberties of Englishmen, maintained the people in the possession of their ancient rights, and confirmed the great charter such as it is now on the statute book in England.

The able explanation given by Cardinal Manning, showing that it was the manner in which the charter had been procured, and not the liberties contained in it, that was condemned, will not be here adverted to at any great length; the reader will find it more profitable to recur to the essay on "The Pope and Magna Charta" than to have the substance of it at second-hand. Here, attention will be drawn to other circumstances of legal and historical importance,

that, so far as the writer is aware, have not yet been fully put before the public.¹

The reader who is not versed in legal history may be easily misled, if, in considering a charter or Act of Parliament, he concludes that the subject matter in it is to be regarded as new law at the date of its enactment. Nothing is so common, in early statutes, as to find them declaratory of the common law. In the same way the charters were in most cases the embodiment of rights long existing. This is especially true of the Magna Charta of King John, and true also of the charters before and after him. No writer has pretended that the great charter gave to Englishmen more than they already had, in an unwritten form; and no one can truthfully say that this charter of Runnymede was necessary, if the king had obeyed the laws as a king is obliged to do. The rights of Englishmen had been contested by tyrannical rulers, and for more than a hundred years before the time of King John there were laws, in charters and otherwise, that were a sufficient safeguard, if kings could be found to respect them. These charters had been brought about mainly by the efforts of the Church; and so there was a constant struggle between the king, on one side, and the Church and the people, on the other. This extended long after John was in the grave; the fact that one charter was annulled, and many others confirmed, by a paramount power recognized by both king and people, is not a matter of very great moment when all the surrounding circumstances are taken into account. History makes light of substantial advantages obtained for Englishmen by the Popes, but magnifies and seizes readily on what appears otherwise. In the Magna Charta of King John, a Pope annulled a written agreement between the king and his people, though all the benefits of that agreement were equally binding if it had never been reduced to writing. These benefits were confirmed by one Pope in John's reign, and confirmed thereafter by another Pope.

During the century and a half prior to the date of the charter,

¹ Besides consulting Cardinal Manning's essay, the reader will do well to look into Bishop England's works, vol. ii., and a valuable note in Archbishop Spalding's *Miscellanea* (Appendix). Otherwise, Catholic writers have not discussed the question. Hergenröther attempts no explanation of the annulling of the charter, and Canon Flanagan passes it over altogether. Lingard gives the dry facts with a leaning apparently in favor of Englishmen generally. Of Protestant writers, Mosheim disposed of it in eight lines, but his translator devotes a great deal of space to make out the case against the Pope as unfavorable as possible. The text of Magna Charta as it stood originally, and as it was subsequently varied, is given in Creasy's *Constitutional History*. The correspondence between John and the Pope may be found in Aubrey's *England*, a bigoted book, but useful for the authorities it cites. The general history is taken from Matthew Paris and Wendover. See Rymer's *Fœdera*, and Stubbs's *Documents*, illustrated; also Hürter's *Innocent III*.

England, as a conquered nation, had experienced not a little the fate of the vanquished. The valor and immense wealth of the first William had made him a ruler in every respect. Baron and peasant, Jew and Christian, were alike at his mercy when his sovereign will required to be satisfied. He brought over from France Lanfranc to help him in the Church, but he defied, as far as he could, the Papal authority. His son, the second William, deemed himself not free until the death of that primate, and he subsequently exiled the great Anselm, so that the barons alone stood in his way. The Church saved England in the reigns of Henry I. and Stephen, but Thomas à Becket was not, on that account, nor on his own, to be spared by Henry II.¹ If Richard can be called King of England, there is another name before one reaches King John in the last years of the twelfth century, the king against whom the bitterest reproaches to be found in history are still repeated.

"As Anselm had withstood William the Red," says Green in his "History of the English People"; "as Theobald had rescued England from the lawlessness of Stephen, so Langton prepared to withstand and rescue his country from the tyranny of John." Langton was Archbishop of Canterbury, and was the first Englishman who had filled that see since the Conquest. It is to him that historians very generally ascribe the qualities of patriotism and courage not often equalled in the warrior bishops of his time; it is to him that credit is liberally bestowed for the part he played in obtaining Magna Charta, especially as he refused to obey the direction of Pope Innocent III. in condemning it. So that, while the head of the Church did one thing, the English Archbishop of Canterbury and Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church did another in opposition to it. It may here be said that the archbishop admitted he was wrong, and was punished for his contumacy; but, at the same time, it is not at all improbable that if the Pope knew the exact state of affairs in England at the time, he would not have interfered, but would have left the charter to its operation. The Pontiff reasonably thought that when John had agreed to the freedom of the Church in one charter, he might possibly be coming to a better state of things and sincere in a second charter, so he believed that the king was telling the truth. The primate, who knew John better, never forgot that John was incapable of telling the truth or keeping to it. However, this is anticipating. The reader must be detained for a moment or so to understand the relations of the English king, barons, and Church in the first decade of the thirteenth century.

¹ See the able paper in the *Dublin Review*, 1878, on this period of English history.

The character of King John, without recurring to the terrible verdict of his contemporaries, may be taken from the summary of Archbishop Spalding: "Perhaps a worse monarch than John never sat upon the English throne. Innocent had excommunicated him for his excesses, particularly for his sacrilegious oppression of the Church. He was as mean in adversity as cruel in prosperity. Finding that matters were going against him, and that his crown was in danger, he now professed repentance, took the cross as crusader, and placed himself as a vassal, his kingdom as a fief, under the special protection of the Holy See, thus becoming, of his own choice, a vassal of the Pope."

His reign was a warfare with the barons, with the local Church and with the Pope. In his day, as will be remembered, a good part of France, of Scotland and of Ireland were under the sway of the English crown; but by wars and insurrections a great deal of his territory was wrested from him, and, on several occasions, he was in danger of losing his crown. His defeat at Bouvines gave the French a great ascendancy over him, and there is no knowing what might not have happened had he not put himself under the protection of the Roman Pontiff, and claimed, and obtained, the protection of the Holy See. When the barons and bishops withstood him at home, he appealed to the Pope; when the Pope excommunicated and deposed him, he endeavored to rally his own people to his side. When these could not be forced to submit, he employed foreign mercenaries, and actually made war on his own people by means of outside troops.

He ravaged the country, going up and down England like a pestilence, committing all manner of excesses—he despoiled the monks, opposed the bishops, and, as fortune favored him, he opposed the Pope; when fortune deserted him he laid down his kingdom and became the Pope's vassal. A good deal is said by Lingard and others about the suzerainty of John to the Roman see; but the truth is, that kings much nobler and more powerful than John were tributaries of Rome in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. John, in this respect, was no worse than many others in Europe at the time, and, as will be seen presently, he was better, if anything, than his own much-lauded subjects—the iron barons of England.

Let us first consider for a moment the relations of the English Church with the king. Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, died in 1205, and thereupon the monks of St. Augustine hurriedly named their sub-prior to the vacant see, and sent him off in the night to Rome for approval and investiture. On his way he could not be restrained from making known his expected dignity; and all England was aware of the nomination before the worthy prior reached

Rome. The king was offended because he had had nothing to say in the election—a right which he stubbornly claimed, and he, with equal haste, named the Bishop of Norwich as the future archbishop, and sent him across the water to the Roman Pontiff. Then did the suffragan bishops of Canterbury bestir themselves to assert their claim; they lodged a solemn appeal at Rome against both nominations. After considerable delay the Pope decided that both nominations were invalid, though he admitted the ancient right, exercised for four hundred years, of the monks to make the appointment in question. He then called on the monks to make another nomination, and they appointed Stephen Langton, then rector of the University of Paris. So far as John was concerned, no more objectionable name could have been mentioned, and he declared he would not allow Langton within the realm as primate.

The ceremony of consecration was performed at Viterbo by Innocent himself, and Langton was obliged to remain out of England for some time, leaving the see and the monks of Canterbury to the tender mercies of the king. The latter was now at enmity with the local Church, with the head of the Church and with the barons, and had a war on his hands with the French kings.

The barons of Runnymede have come in for a good deal of that common and cheap laudation which is bestowed on all historic adventurers who have opposed the Church temporal or spiritual. Given any man, or set of men, in history, who has or have defied the Church as rebels, or as heretics, and you have liberty-loving heroes or conscience-loving martyrs. The English barons were as ready to betray England to the French king, as their English king was to betray it to the Pope. They did in fact make arrangements for Louis, son of the king of France, to take England; and they stood up against John only when Langton and the other bishops led them on.

It was Langton that produced the old charter of Henry I., and that rallied the barons at Runnymede. It was Langton and the other bishops whose names, with the cardinal-legate, are on the first page of the Magna Charta, and in the first place in that much-talked-of document. When the bishops stood up for the ancient rights of Church and people, the barons joined with them; and when the barons were left to themselves they did nothing, unless it was to offer the crown to the French king. John was a bad monarch, but he was king of England. The barons were disloyal to the king and country; they were rebels, and broke faith with their king, as well as he broke faith with them. They worked and fought, it is true, but it was chiefly for the barons, for the noble classes, they labored; they were forced to recognize the rights of freemen and secure it to the common people, but they little

dreamed, as a French historian says, that they were securing the liberties of common Englishmen, when they were in treaty with John.

The excesses of John had brought on him the severe displeasure of the Pope. Innocent III. counselled and threatened the king. Then he put England under an interdict which lasted for over six years; then he defied the king. The crown of England was in subjection to the Roman Pontiff, and the crisis of the nation had been reached. John was bound to pay one thousand marks per annum to the Pope, and he paid the first instalment of it. At the distance England was from Rome, and without further employing the assistance of the French, it was impossible to restore perfect peace, and there was no peace. A civil war was going on during this time. John and his subjects were fighting one day, and making compacts the next—compacts that in the nature of things could not be kept. In January, 1215, the bishops, by a solemn charter with the king, secured their ancient liberties of election, and the Pope confirmed it; but, in that document, the barons had been left out in the cold. In June, with the armies facing each other, another compact was entered into, in which the barons obtained all they wanted, and more than John would have agreed to, could he have helped himself. After it was signed the war went on as before. Now, this was the great charter, and without dealing with the part played in history by the Pope, let us for a moment see what followed after the 15th of June, 1215. The king never intended to abide by the charter, and the charter never contemplated that the war was to be at an end. Section 51 of the charter is as follows: "As soon as peace is restored we will send out of the kingdom all foreign soldiers, cross-bowmen and stipendiaries, who are come with horses and arms to the prejudice of our people." When the great charter was signed, and while the king's messengers were hurrying off to Rome to see if he might be relieved of it, these foreign soldiers, "incited by a cruel and enraged prince," as Aubrey says, "were let loose against the estates, tenants, manors, houses, parks of the barons, and spread devastation over the face of the kingdom." These ravages were carried on for nearly three months, and these the most dreary of the whole year. During that time the barons were chiefly in London, where the citizens remained true to the national cause. The only man competent to assume the leadership in the crisis was Langton, and he was at Rome prosecuting his appeal against the sentence of suspension. Many and anxious conferences were held, and, at length, it was resolved to offer the crown to Louis, the son of the

king of France, whose wife was connected in blood with the Plantagenets.

Not to weary the reader, Louis, though opposed by the Pope, accepted the offer, declared war, landed in England, captured Rochester, and received the homage of the iron barons at London. After some further warfare the position of affairs was changed by the death of John. Louis being subsequently defeated at Lincoln, the barons forsook his cause, and the cardinal-legate of the Pope crowned Henry III. as king of England at Gloucester on the 28th of October, 1215. When peace was restored a new charter was prepared and signed by all parties in a manner to which no objection could be made. Let us now return and see what became of the charter of Runnymede.

By the cunning of the king it was not to take effect for two months. On the day it was signed he hurried off messengers to Rome, detailing to his lord, the Pope, how his subjects had treated him; the demands they made; the indignities they had heaped on the Holy See, and on one who had taken up the cross to go to Palestine; and, in fact, he used every argument, true and false, that could be made do duty for him. The Pope, looking at the charter, saw nothing in it for the Church, or for the people of England, that was not already the law of their land, and, looking only at the improper way in which it had been procured, annulled the charter, and absolved king and people from adherence to it. It was as if some great landlord quashed an arrangement entered into by his quarrelling tenants without his consent and approval. All parties—king, barons and bishops—owed allegiance and obedience to the Pope. Here was a case that, being in the midst of war, they made peace, and then went on fighting as before. It must have appeared a ludicrous thing at Rome. "What!" the Pope is supposed to have said; "Have the barons of England presumed to dethrone a king who has taken the cross and placed himself under the protection of the Apostolic See? Do they transfer to others the patrimony of the Church of Rome? By St. Peter, we cannot leave such a crime unpunished." John had promised to aid the Church against the Saracens, and this was an affair that prevented the king from assisting the Church. The rules and code that applied to a promise of that kind, in the Middle Ages, would not be easily understood now, but it had a significance that overbore all domestic local troubles. Other causes are set out in the letter of cassation of the Pope, but there is, no doubt, a good deal of importance attached to this one. It was particularly annoying to the Pope, at the time, to find that the barons had levied war on the king; and that while all parties were asking the Pope's assistance, and an appeal had been laid before him by the barons, a treaty of

surrender should be forced on the king, his vassal, instead of dealing directly with him, the head of Christendom.

Of the numerous important matters in the charter, there is no doubt but the great bulk of it was the terms of a hard bargain about duties and taxes, privileges and personal rights, all of which were of concern to the barons then living, but of no earthly use or interest to Englishmen or their liberties.

The rights of the Church, as to freedom of elections, were confirmed by the Pope in a prior charter. There was little in the second charter for the rights of Englishmen that was not already the unwritten law of the land. The charter of 1215 is valuable as a written document, as a declaration of existing rights, as a statute declaratory of English law. It did not contain new law nor new liberties. It reduced the existing laws into writing. The first clause refers to the Church, and is as follows:

"1. That the English Church shall be free, and shall have her whole rights and her liberties unhurt; and I will this to be observed in such a manner, that it may appear from thence, that the freedom of elections, which was reputed most necessary to the English Church, which we granted, and by our charter confirmed, and obtained the confirmation of it from Pope Innocent III. before the rupture between us and our barons, was of our own free will. Which charter we shall observe, and we will it to be observed, with good faith, by our heirs forever."

The remaining sixty-two clauses, when shorn of the local temporary matters that were in dispute between the barons and the king, are reduced by Creasy to five short paragraphs:

"The government of the country by an hereditary sovereign, ruling with limited powers, and bound to summon and consult a parliament of the whole realm, comprising hereditary peers and elected representatives of the commons.

"That without the sanction of parliament no tax of any kind can be imposed, and no law can be made, repealed or altered.

"That no man can be arbitrarily fined or imprisoned, that no man's properties or liberties be impaired, and that no man be in any way punished, except after a lawful trial.

"Trial by jury.

"That justice shall not be sold or delayed."

The letter of Pope Innocent condemned the action of the barons in the mode of procuring the charter, but Cardinal Manning has well shown that no liberties of Englishmen were condemned in it or by it. The Pope was displeased at the action of the English primate, and punished him for his contumacy. Subsequent events establish, beyond question, the good will of the Pope towards the preservation of the liberties set out in the charter. As will be seen

presently, it is to the Pope that the English people owe their present charter.

King John and Pope Innocent died within a few months after the affair at Runnymede. Henry III. was a child of eleven years, and it became necessary to obtain another charter. The Magna Charta of 1215 died with King John. In 1216 the first charter of Henry III. was confirmed by Jualio, the Pope's legate, and this, with three or four exceptions, contained all that is to be found in the one of the previous year. In 1225, while Henry was still a vassal of the Roman Pontiff, the Magna Charta of England was drawn up and confirmed by Pope Honorius; this is the charter of English law that to-day stands at the head of the statutes of the realm. It has been confirmed dozens of times by succeeding kings of England, and never failed to secure the people in their rights until the time of Henry VIII., when the power of the Pope could no longer be counted on to preserve the liberties of Englishmen. The student of history may sum up this period of history in this way: Before and after the year 1215 the people of England were in the habit of securing or wresting from their kings certain charters of liberty, either for the people at large, or for the Church, or for certain towns, or otherwise, as charters were used in those days. In the year referred to, and for some time prior and subsequent thereto, the king, with the aid of foreign and local troops, was at war with the great bulk of his English subjects. Things had reached such a crisis, a couple of years before 1215, that the Pope, who was then the common lord of Christendom, interfered, deposed the king, took the people under his protection, and sought, by peaceful or hostile means, as seemed best at the time, to restore order in the country.

In January, 1215, the king signed a charter freeing the Church in England from his interference, and this charter had been confirmed by the Pope. In June, 1215, while the king, who was a vassal of the Pope, and his subjects were having their case heard at Rome, these subjects rose up against the king and forced him to sign a second charter of their liberties. The Pope, being made aware of a second charter from a point of view favorable to the king, annulled the same at once, and put back the king and the subjects to the former position. When peace was restored a new charter was obtained, signed, and confirmed by the Pope; that is the Magna Charta of to-day. The second charter by King John was never valid, was never acted upon by king or by people, was improperly procured, and, from a legal point of view, was properly set aside. A binding treaty can be made only when the parties are free to act; and it is idle to talk of a treaty in time of war unless it put an end to the war, and render further hostilities

unnecessary. One might as well say that the treaty of Versailles, 1783, could have been made in 1776 or 1780, leaving the events of the succeeding years to determine its validity. The charter of 1215 might have been good if John had lived long enough to have been defeated, if the barons could have defeated him in his lifetime; but if John had been victorious in the camp he would not have cared much for the charter in the parliament. If the charter is to be deemed of great value, there is all the more reason why its procurement and confirmation should be free from every possible objection. No private individual would care to have the title to his estates depending on an instrument obtained by illegal or unjustifiable methods, and surely Englishmen have much reason to be grateful to Innocent III. for annulling a charter of their liberties obtained by methods equally objectionable.

THE HIGHER AND LOWER EDUCATION OF THE AMERICAN PRIESTHOOD.

IT is the purpose of this article to review in a very prosaic and matter-of-fact manner that interesting subject of the education of our clergy, which has recently called forth so many brilliant outpourings from tongue and pen. The writer hopes he may be pardoned for taking a hand in the current discussion; first, because he has been a pretty hard student from early childhood, and secondly, because it was his fortune to devote several years of his ministry to the honorable and laborious task of aiding in the preparation of young men for the work of the Lord in one of the most prominent seats of ecclesiastical learning in this country. Now, both these claims to a hearing, which he thinks it advisable to put forward as an extenuation or justification of his writing, are of such a nature as to assure the reader that this paper will aim at being intensely practical rather than emotional or brilliant. In fact, to one who has himself consumed a few gallons of midnight oil, be he ever so avid of learning, the acquisition of knowledge is anything but poetical. It is too closely associated in his memory with lonely vigils, with disagreeable headaches, and with

Faust-like discouragements. To him it is a heavy burden laid upon the fallen children of Adam, and he is taught to feel the full significance of that inspired utterance: "He that addeth knowledge, addeth also labor." Knowledge and Virtue, when viewed at a respectful distance, are a pair of goddesses, ineffably gracious and beautiful, whom poets love to serenade and orators to eulogize; but to their devotees they must be said to show themselves a brace of haughty, imperious coquettes, bestowing upon occasion a niggardly smile as the sole recompense of a life-long tantalizing, persistent wooing. As for the poor drudge of a teacher, to expect him to write grandiloquently about his dreary routine, would be as unconscionable—if this grave QUARTERLY allows homely illustrations—as to ask a weary father who has walked the floor all night with a teething babe on his arms to indite a glowing idyl on the "Charms of Infancy." Let the youth in his first fervor write eloquently on this theme; for he sees the "mount of learning" standing out before him in its majestic proportions, bathed in the morning sun-light; and small concern it gives him when travellers speak of the toilsome ascent, the interwoven brambles, and the blinding mists! Let orators declaim and grow pathetic. Sensible men! They have traversed the realms of science like gentlemen, as if with horse and chaise, taking their full night's sleep, and avoiding all regions that were rough or unexplored.

Now, without further ceremony, we shall set to work, and we think we shall be able conveniently to group all the remarks we wish to make under the following heads:

I. What is the present intellectual status of our American clergy?

II. How shall we most effectively improve and expand the actual system of clerical training?

III. What practical advantages may be expected to flow from that "broader scholarship" which we anticipate as about to distinguish our successors in the Vineyard?

We are not unaware that it will be almost impossible to trench upon this aggregate of grave and delicate subjects without running great risk of being pronounced presumptuous, and we really do not remember what started us to write. But it is too late to get scrupulous now; for, as Eliphaz the Themanite sagely remarked: "Who can withhold the words he hath conceived?"

We shall feel more at home if we be allowed the preacher's privilege of speaking to a text, to which intent we beg to introduce the following conversation with the late Mgr. Corcoran, whose paternal affection for him the writer now looks back upon as one of the dearest reminiscences of his life.

"Doctor," said we to him one day, when he had spent many an

hour and nibbled at many a tome in the investigation of some minutia or other, "when are you going to give us the benefit of all this study by writing a big book?"

"Write a book!" replied he. "I will write you a book larger than this folio, when you have read the hundredth part of those already printed."

"But do you not remember," we insisted, "what happened to a certain man who hid his talent in a napkin?"

"I do not remember," he replied, "having ever hidden one penny in a napkin. I endeavor to teach my classes as well as I know how, and I do but exercise a Christian's right when I devote my leisure moments to *innocent amusement*."

"So, you look upon study simply as an innocent amusement?"

"Exactly; it is an amusement, and certainly an innocent one. Let us be thankful that so many men have been willing to submit to the drudgery of *composing* books, and let us look on it as *our* vocation to *read* them."¹

Now, we do not conceive that the revered theologian's pronouncement was the casual expression of a passing sentiment. We are convinced that it was the deliberate summing-up of a sexagenarian's experience; it was an acute observer's appreciation of the proper function of the "higher learning" among the American priests of his generation. It suggested a national condition of affairs for which he was nowise responsible, which he was constitutionally disinclined to criticize, and which he assumed he had no divine mission to modify—a condition which has engendered in our clergy a general aversion to engage seriously in literary composition, and fostered what may be designated as a spirit of isolated individualism. We adopt his words as our text; for the feeling which prompted them will be found to flow like an under-current through the whole circuit of our remarks. But, for the benefit of those who may lack the time or the inclination to plod through a long article, we will try to sum it up in one brief sentence: It is our earnest conviction that if any one of our readers feels that he is called by the Lord to the sublime office of *re-formator cleri*,² he ought to consecrate his main efforts, not so much to increasing the volume of the intellectual currency (to borrow a phrase from the financial world) as to devising ways and means whereby to put into general circulation the untold amount which already exists, "locked up" and stagnant.

I. By this time, no doubt, the sagacious reader has a presenti-

¹ A circumstance which made this declaration of the doctor's views all the more enjoyable was that a short time previously the author of *The Church in the Carolinas* had been taken sharply to task by an English Catholic reviewer for "indulging in exaggerations" relative to Dr. Corcoran's learning and reputation.

ment that the answer which we shall give to the first of our questions will be a little more favorable to our clerical brethren, and we trust considerably juster and better fortified than many another which he has read or listened to. We think it very unreasonable to become so enamored of a future, contingent *optimum*, as to be thereby led to despise and depreciate the actually existing *bonum*. The Church has already existed long enough in these United States to have acquired a character and a physiognomy peculiarly her own. She has had her fathers, her doctors, her councils, her customs, her ways of thinking and her ways of expressing her thoughts. "Her renown has gone forth among the nations for her beauty;" and although she will doubtless continue to grow in strength and stature, yet her well-known features will remain essentially unchanged; and nothing is left for her children to do but to add accidental graces to her innate loveliness.

Now, sooner shall we believe that water can rise higher than its source, than we shall be induced to acknowledge in a national Church all the great qualities which are universally recognized as distinguishing our own, without predicating every one of those qualities of its clergy; and the very fact that no one amongst us monopolizes the attention of discriminating men, that no one is particularly singled out as an Aquinas, a Chrysostom, or a Thaumaturgus, demonstrates the more forcibly that learning, eloquence, and piety—which collectively form the motive power of Christianity—are pretty equally distributed throughout the whole body of the American priesthood. It is not necessary, therefore, that we should summon the eight thousand priests of the nation individually before us for examination: "By their works ye shall know them." Indeed, they are sharply examined and closely scrutinized every day by a shrewd and inquisitive public; and whether we attend to the judgment of those who pay them the friendly homage of admiration, or of those who pay the unfriendly homage of fear, we must, unless we wish to be more captious than strangers are or enemies, conclude that they possess every qualification, intellectual as well as moral, requisite to the proper discharge of their divinely imposed duties.

Without doubt, the severest, and, we must add, the most peevish and unreasonable critics of the priesthood are to be found among the Catholics themselves; nay, in the ranks of the clergy. As regards the clerical critics of their brethren, we ought not to construe their animadversions too literally, but rather take them in a rhetorical, hyperbolical, parenthetical sense. What comes so natural to a preacher as to censure? It is his *raison d'être*. At the mention of the very name, there springs to our mind's eye the figure of some Hebrew prophet in the act of fulminating terrific denun-

ciations. These sorrowing Jeremiaeses and thundering Ezechiels of ours are not aiming their shafts at any particular person or grievance; it is simply a zealous way they have of "lifting up the voice." It is the outward expression of that chronic dissatisfaction at the imperfections of ordinary mortality and that yearning after the impossible incarnation of some superhuman ideal, which are characteristic of the typical "reformer," especially in his more atrabiliary moments. Keep on, then, my brother; make known to us our short-comings and spur us on to greater exertions; but if thou wishest to make thy admonitions efficacious, be candid and generous enough to give us some credit for whatever little measure of excellence we have already achieved. Of what value are sweeping assertions that are not based on an extensive and accurate knowledge of facts? Which one of those who talk so flippantly about our needs and deficiencies can claim a personal acquaintance with a tithe of the Catholic priests scattered through this vast continent? For our part, having the good fortune to enjoy a pretty wide circle of acquaintance among priests laboring in different dioceses and provinces and educated in different seminaries, we have learned to form a very high idea of the intellectual and moral gifts of the clergy of the whole country. We have fallen in with erudition, acumen, and studious habits in the most out-of-the-way and unlooked-for places. We must acknowledge, too, that we have been overthrown in argument, corrected in citations and redressed in statements of fact on more occasions than we care just now to enumerate. We would not advise thee, therefore, honest critic, to be hasty in judging, much less to exclaim with the despondent Thesbite: "I ONLY remain a prophet of the Lord!" For all thou knowest to the contrary, there may be "seven thousand men in Israel" less pretentious possibly, but not less gifted, less learned or less diligent than thyself. We could well afford to despise arrogant and narrow-minded criticisms upon so large a body of able men if these ill-natured utterances, in addition to being ridiculous, were not positively mischievous. But deplorable mischief they invariably work; for they are taken up with avidity and repeated with many exaggerations by the enemies of the Church, to the great annoyance of the faithful. Who can estimate, for instance, the harm done by that unfortunate rhetoric of the great Bellarmine in the notorious passage of one of his sermons where he inveighs with bitter unfairness against the clergy of the fifteenth century,—a passage which Protestants are much fonder of quoting than any from his admirable *Controversies*?

The strictures of the lay critics of the clergy need not detain us very long. These critics are comparatively few in number, and their animadversions bear, as a general rule, not upon the *higher*,

but the *lower*, departments of education. The vast majority of our people are justly proud of their priests. Coming into almost daily contact with them in their official capacity as teachers, confessors, guides, dispensers of the divine mysteries, and stewards of the temporalities of the Church, they know them to be men upon whose sober judgment—the united product of intelligence, piety, learning, and experience—they can safely rely. Assured that their clergy possess these sterling priestly qualities, the people are well-content, and would not exchange their pastors for all the poets or orators the world ever produced. We have often observed that it is rather in his *social* than his *intellectual* qualities that the priest comes within the sphere of lay criticism. He is commented on rather as a *gentleman* than as a *theologian*. In fact, the judgments which “laymen” pass upon the members of any of the learned professions are necessarily very imperfect, having, as a rule, no other foundation than the fallacious one of fame and reputation. It requires the keen eye of a brother in the profession to discern with any nicety the relative worth of his colleagues; hence, the *popular* and the *professional* ratings, as well of theologians and scientists as of physicians and lawyers, are oftentimes seen to be far from coincident. Our clerical readers, no doubt, are already, theoretically at least, in possession of the easy recipe for gaining a popular reputation as “distinguished, eminent, learned and eloquent divines.” The ingredients are extremely simple and “sold by all druggists.” They consist essentially in a gentlemanly bearing, a faultless grammar, a graceful elocution, with possibly a few other “simples” which do not at present occur to our mind,—accomplishments which we are not attempting to ridicule, for with St. Paul we “wish that the man of God may be perfect, furnished to every good work”; but we desire to emphasize the fact that the accomplishments upon which the laity are apt to lay greatest stress, as being those they are most competent to pass judgment on, are either such as one ought to have acquired at home or in a primary school before entering a seminary, or else those which occupy a very elementary position in the process of ecclesiastical culture. They are, moreover, accomplishments which, like singing or piano-playing, if they are to be acquired satisfactorily, must be attended to in early youth.

Now, we see no reason why we should not pronounce that the Catholic clergy of the United States are a highly intellectual, well-educated body of men. They undoubtedly have enjoyed very exceptional advantages; in a certain sense they may be said to represent the combined efforts of all the Catholic talent of our age. We are not armed with statistics, but we believe that we number amongst us students from every university in Europe, and it would

be difficult to name a professor of eminence, secular or regular, in any part of Christendom, who did not have among his disciples either an American, or some one destined by the Lord to labor with us. Now it is certainly inconceivable that this constant accession to the ranks of our secular and regular clergy of zealous men, bringing with them priceless treasures from so many temples of learning, should have failed to issue in the gradual formation of a national priesthood, who, while assimilating the peculiar excellences of each, should be further distinguished by the largeness of mind necessarily resulting from the combination. If the character of the American people has been perfected by the amalgamation of many dissimilar elements, why should we not look for a like result in the case of our priesthood? We believe that this result has really followed, but the amalgamation has not been as thorough-going as we could desire, owing to the prevailing "isolated individualism" mentioned on a preceding page. However, in spite of every difficulty, *bonum est diffusivum sui*. Learning, like fire, light, and every other beneficial agent, has an irresistible tendency to exert its power, and cannot be entirely hidden in the most secretive bosom. A virtue goeth forth from a learned priest, and his influence is felt and perpetuated, not only in his more labored efforts, in his books or academic lectures, but also in the ordinary routine of life, in his homilies, his catechetical instructions, and in that quiet and constant intercommunication of ideas among the clergy, which reminds one of the interchange of manuscripts among the mediæval monks. In consequence it is no longer imperative that we should cross seas and mountains in the quest of wisdom; and though a transatlantic education retains the twofold advantage of forcing the student to acquire some foreign tongue and of widening his mental horizon at an age when perception is keenest, yet so far as school work is concerned, it seems to us to make no perceptible difference whether a student be educated for the priesthood in Rome, Paris, Overbrook or Troy. Whatever difference a microscope may be able to reveal in him at the age of twenty-five, will surely have disappeared before he reaches thirty.

It is undeniable, therefore, that a grand aggregate of intellectual riches is in the actual possession of our priesthood. If we cannot state the exact total, the reason is that, instead of depositing our savings in some public common fund, each one chooses, in imitation of his lamented grandmother, to hoard it up jealously in a stocking. This general reservedness, intellectual niggardliness or reticent coyness of our clergy is the more remarkable as it stands in very striking contrast with that ambitious longing to gain full scope and recognition for their abilities and acquirements which forms the salient feature of the character of our countrymen. .It

is, however, the natural consequence of our training and environment. Our clergy may, indeed, and ought to "shine before men" by their good works, by their zeal and energy; but their education has not been conducted along the lines best calculated to enable them to shine with brilliancy in point of scholarship in the midst of a population but slightly tinctured with classical lore, and unspeakably averse to metaphysical and theological investigations. Their time and efforts, during the long years of their novitiate, were preponderatingly—one might almost say, exclusively—devoted to the cultivation of those very branches, humanizing, profound, inestimably sacred though they are, for which there happens *hic et nunc* to be a lamentably scant demand in the public market. This is not the fault of the Catholic system of education; the fault lies with the materialistic fashions of the day. But the more decidedly the outside world tends to materialism, all the more energetically ought the Catholic scholar to explore and defend that spirit-world which is his fatherland. We mention these truisms because they are sometimes overlooked by those who descant glibly on the "intellectual status of our clergy." It is hard enough that unbelievers should despise what we adore, without compelling us to hear their flippant jibes repeated by Catholic tongues. In the view of the generality of non-Catholics, our seminarians are simply wasting precious time, expending their youthful energies upon subjects as jejune and unreal as those which give a laborious but ineffably childish occupation to the mystics of Mohammedanism or Buddhism. A Catholic theologian can now hope to gain a hearing and a name in learned circles, not so far forth as he is a theologian, but in some amateur capacity,—as an amateur astronomer who has chanced to discover a new comet, or an amateur chemist who has stumbled on a new element, or an amateur archæologist who has had the luck to identify a mummy. It was in a similar manner that the amiable Dr. Holmes achieved his world-wide reputation, not by his prescriptions, but his poetry. Until the days are revived when Catholic truth occupied a prominent place in the love or hatred of men,—the days when people forgot their dinners in their eagerness to solve exegetical puzzles, or lay awake at night revolving abstruse problems, or fought like knights in a tourney over some burning question of religious controversy, meagre and insignificant must remain the efforts exacted from the theologian's powers. As things are now, the moderate degree of ability which will enable him to preach a fair sermon, answer a trite objection put in a half-hearted manner, or compose a sparkling article for a magazine, seems to be quite sufficient for all practical purposes; any surplus that may be in his possession must lie uninvested in his soul. This is, to be sure, a distressing

condition of affairs and should be changed; but as it transcends the powers of any individual to change it, no individual is so foolish as to make the attempt. We verily believe that if any one of the intellectual giants of former times were resuscitated to live in the existent conditions of clerical life, he would do pretty much as we are doing,—“teach his classes” or administer his parish, as the case might be, and “devote his leisure moments to the innocent amusement of reading,”—unless he chanced to possess some powerful adventitious advantage, such as the interest attaching to, and the authority derived from, an exalted dignity in the Church, or the organized assistance of some able, zealous and widespread religious order.

Now, it is only natural that a course of study and reading indulged in as a mere intellectual amusement should partake, more or less, of the qualities inherent in amateurship. It cannot help but be somewhat desultory, nonchalant, and shifting to and fro, as circumstances or the momentary caprice of the scholar shall determine. Instead of preparing him for the office of authorship, it will have the contrary tendency to make him look upon composition as a waste of time and an intolerable drudgery. Even the subjects with which he is most conversant are not known to him *in modo communicabili*. Fastidiousness, moreover, will suggest to him a thousand deterrent arguments against venturing upon a literary career. In Church history he lacks access to original documents, without which he is powerless. In canon law he lacks the mastery which practice alone can impart. In the speculative regions of theology and philosophy he lacks, if nothing else, the presumption to encroach unbidden upon subjects which have been exhaustively treated by the sublimest intellects. And so the scholar grown selfish and sluggish beholds, in whatever direction he casts his eyes, a “lion without” ready “to slay him in the streets.”

Analyze the causes as we may, the fact is patent to all that a great proportion of the intellectual wealth of our priesthood lies hidden away somewhere uncirculated. And as to their disinclination to write books, it is amusing to notice that, either from the contagion of their example, or through the operation of the same causes, this disinclination soon extends to the strangers who join their ranks. It has happened more times than a few that zealous priests, emigrating from foreign parts, and bringing with them the book-making traditions of their native land, have taken to publishing, sometimes before mastering the English language; but, learning before long the ways of the country, and despairing of overcoming single-handed the universal listlessness, they have subsequently lapsed into the endemic taciturnity of “learned leisure.” Thus in some public

library where sat the venerable book-worms, each at his several task, have we at times beheld an unsophisticated stranger enter and desecrate the awful stillness by uttering an incautious sound. Straightway was each spectacled eye levelled at the audacious man. He, thereupon, abashed, sank into the nearest vacant seat, and silence resumed her sway. Thus, too, unless poets narrate a mendacious tale, did the Attic nightingale forfeit her liquid notes whenever she crossed the frontier into stolid Bœotia.

This attitude of reserve maintained by our clergy suggests at least one compensatory reflection. Silence, they say, is golden. It is better we should be charged with negative than with positive faults; better be too unostentatious than run the grave risk of falling into the opposite extreme; better we should write nothing than load your shelves with books and pamphlets teeming with crude theories, erroneous assertions and dull platitudes. What a relief in this age of verbiage to fall in with a body of intelligent men who are content to read and listen! If there is a reward laid up for those "who could do evil things, and have not done them," shall we receive no recompense for our self-restraint, forasmuch as we might have scribbled, and we scribbled not? Blessings on thy head, sacred bird of Minerva! O, songless, undemonstrative, uncommunicative Owl!

II. We proceed now to hazard a few remarks on the second inquiry proposed in the beginning of this article, to wit: How shall we most effectively improve and expand our present system of clerical training? This problem, which formerly seemed to be of interest to few, except the hierarchy and those who were actively engaged in teaching, has begun to occupy the thoughts of all earnest ecclesiastics, owing mainly to the impulse given by the Holy Father in his revered encyclical, *Æterni Patris*. The subject has been handled with so great skill and copiousness by many profound and accurate thinkers, and the objects specially aimed at are so lucidly set forth in the admirable Title V. of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, that we shall limit ourselves to a few practical observations suggested by some little experience of professorial work.

It has impressed us as very regrettable that, in the public discussion of a question so eminently technical, the share taken by the reverend professors, who certainly ought to be best qualified to deliver an opinion, has been comparatively insignificant. But in this, we presume, we do but encounter one phase more of that clerical reticence, or coyness, or modesty, repeatedly touched upon above. Since, however, they are loth to speak for themselves, we deem it expedient that somebody should put in a good word for them, lest the unwary, hearing and reading so much about "the

higher advancement of theological culture," and "much-needed improvements upon current methods of instruction," might be misled to surmise that the writers and speakers are casting a slur on the labors or abilities of our present staff of teachers. Nothing could be more unjust than such a conclusion; for with the possible exception of a few who seem to entertain no precise notion of what is really desiderated, or how it is to be supplied, or who, like the small boys, measure the worth of everything by the amount of noise it makes in the world, we believe it to be the universal sentiment among those who have treated the subject, that the professors in our seminaries merit all possible esteem and reverence both for their intellectual gifts and for their enlightened and unwearying industry. Surely no section of our clergy can be said to have battled so bravely and cheerfully with very disheartening difficulties. Unsupported by that encouraging contact with public sympathy which nerves the priest on the mission to strenuous efforts, fettered by the poverty-stricken condition of their institutions, which left them but ill-supplied with the tools and appliances requisite to the satisfactory discharge of their duties, over-burdened, moreover, and distracted by the multitude and heterogeneousness of their classes, they have, notwithstanding, struggled on buoyantly, endeavoring to make up for material deficiencies by moral courage and patient endurance. The very fact that their manners have been so unassuming and their labors so unostentatious ought to be an additional reason for securing for them in our hearts "a depth immense of endless gratitude." Indeed, the most convincing evidence that they have done their work ably and faithfully is this: that amidst the expressions of the general desire to perfect and enlarge that work, no voice is raised to propose the reversing or undoing of any portion of it. The improvements in contemplation are to be based upon the broad foundations which they have laid, and will be directed chiefly towards easing their heavy burdens and bringing their office more prominently into the light of public recognition.

So much by way of prelude. Now, addressing ourselves directly to the question under consideration, we shall, without entering upon minute particulars, return an answer which we judge to be at once comprehensive and compendious: The best plan for this desired improvement and expansion of our methods of clerical training is, in our opinion, to give effect as speedily as practicable to the admirable injunctions and provisions of the Third Plenary Council, and then entrust the management of studies and the arrangement of necessary details, under the supreme direction of the episcopate, to the professors themselves, who no longer, as heretofore, shall remain in unorganized isolation, but be formed into a confederation

of thoroughly and, as nearly as possible, uniformly organized faculties.

The palmary enactment of the Council on the subject of clerical training, the one which educators will look on as the most fundamental in its character and the most far-reaching in its influence, is, beyond doubt, that which decrees the establishment in each ecclesiastical province of a preparatory institution entirely separate not only from the theological seminary, but also (where it is feasible) from colleges destined for the education of the laity. If we could believe that our readers needed arguments to make them apprehend the reasonableness and wisdom of this ordinance which disjoins the preparatory seminary from every other educational institution whatsoever, we could count them off reasons as plenty as blackberries; but we should consider it an impertinence to set about proving that which is all but self-evident. What is most imperatively demanded now, is that we should pass beyond the inceptive stage of talking, repeating, hesitating, sighing, doubting, waiting, on to the resolute step of realizing and effecting. The stage of cautious deliberation, as Sallust taught us many years ago, is an important element in the success of great undertakings, provided it give place in due time to the quick and energetic execution of our resolves. It seems, therefore, to be definitively determined, ordained and sanctioned that *puerorum seminaria* shall be erected and maintained for the sole and exclusive purpose of preparing clerical candidates for entrance into the theological seminaries. In accordance with the express desire of the Council of Trent, the boys are to be admitted at the age of twelve upon the termination of their rudimentary studies, thus securing for the entire process of their training that singleness and precision of aim—that symmetrizing and proportioning of every detail to the requirements of mature years in which Aristotle places the essence of a perfect education. This preliminary or academic period is to have a uniform duration of six years, which is certainly long enough and short enough, under an enlightened direction, to equip the student for the efficient prosecution of the higher and more professional branches. Whether these preparatory colleges shall be established on a provincial or a diocesan basis is a problem the practical solution of which has been wisely reserved by the Council to the discretion of the episcopate. In favor of a single college for each province may be adduced the practicability of erecting more commodious edifices, better furnished with all necessary appliances, and the greater likelihood of obtaining teaching corps thoroughly fitted for their duties. These considerations are to be balanced over against those which tell in favor of diocesan seminaries; among others the desirableness of giving to each bishop full

opportunity of becoming intimately acquainted with the individual dispositions of these chosen lambs of his flock, and the evident wish of Holy Church that every Ordinary should be surrounded by his young Levites each time that he performs a solemn function in his cathedral church. For this last reason, too, and for many others which might be mentioned, it would seem that the proper place for the location of the preparatory seminaries is in the heart of great cities and within the shadow of the cathedral. The educational resources of all our large cities are becoming daily more and more inexhaustible, and who is more likely to take advantage of them than the earnest, well-disciplined Catholic seminarian? Is it our intention to introduce the study of the experimental sciences without the indispensable plant? or shall we spend millions of dollars in fitting up museums, cabinets, laboratories, etc., when the existing ones, public and private, would be readily thrown open to us for the asking?

But these are considerations which lie properly within the province of the hierarchy, upon whom we have no desire to obtrude any uncalled for and unnecessary advice. We will reverently assume, then, that all the injunctions of the Council will be effectuated as speedily as prudence shall tolerate. The edifices will be built and furnished, the faculties enlarged, so that each professor shall have his special department, and every precaution be taken to insure efficiency and discipline. Thenceforward the only element of real importance is the constitution of the professoriate. In like manner, most indulgent of readers, art thou, after stocking thy kitchen and replenishing thy larder, dependent for the excellence of thy meals upon the skill of thy cook. Not one thousand chidings nor ten thousand directions can sweeten thy broth, or do thy meat, if thy culinary artist be not competent.

Now, we have already put upon record our settled persuasion respecting the *personnel* of the present instructors of our clergy; and we have intimated (what we here propose to insist upon) that the one great *desideratum* in our seminaries is the coalescence of the individual professors into well-organized faculties. We do not believe that an educational Napoleon would ask for veteran battalions better fitted than ours to serve as *cadres* in the formation of an intellectual *Grande Armée*; but in education, as in every other phase of human activity, the *individual* is become of very secondary importance in comparison with the *organization*. The days when an Ajax or a Hector was able, single-handed, to turn the tide of battle; the days when it required the genius of a Columbus to cross the ocean, or of a Charlemagne to rule a nation; the days, in short, of the paramount influence of individual greatness have passed away never to return. Mankind in general, being

made up of men of ordinary stature, have learned to entertain a wholesome distrust of whatever towers above the crowd, and have discovered, too, that there is a magic power in organization which nothing can withstand. Hence, the history of civilization, from the time when men combined against a Nimrod or a tiger until the day of Waterloo, when united Europe crushed the Corsican brigand, is merely the record of the efforts made and the expedients devised by the human race to prevent the undue concentration of wealth, power and learning in the hands or the brains of the few extraordinarily gifted personages.

Now certainly, if the instinct of organization were banished from every other breast, it ought to find a loyal welcome in the heart of the school-teacher. He is the official exponent of *system, method* and *order*. In his character of teacher he can scarcely be said to possess an independent personality; he is a member of something vastly larger, one wheel of many in an ingenious mechanism. He is not an original investigator free to roam at will over unexplored wildernesses; he has a definite amount of ground, with well-ascertained limits, to patrol; he begins where another leaves off, and ends where the round of a third begins. He is, indeed, the embodiment of certain great principles, literary, scientific or religious; but only the partial embodiment, for he has colleagues who are intrusted with the defence or enunciation of those same principles in different phases or in other stages of development. A thorough organization is therefore as indispensable to the well-being and efficiency of our seminaries as it is in the case of an army or the cabinets of princes.

This, we presume, no one denies; but to whom shall we look for the effectuation and maintenance of it? To the bishop? It would be as reasonable to expect from him minute directions regarding the preparation of his dinner. The vivifying presence and watchful supervision of the bishop is, indeed, the very soul, the light, the genial heat of a seminary. On every wall, on every class, on every text-book of it ought to be inscribed the monumental axiom of the martyr Ignatius: *Whatever is done without the bishop is wicked and invalid*. But St. Paul in his long list of qualifications for the episcopacy does not include pedagogics; indeed, pedagogism is, as a late Pope wittily observed, a very poor training-school for the pastoral office. Be not so cruel as to rob the schoolmaster of the humble but hard-earned glory of his specialty. "May thy good fortune preserve thee, O King," said the affronted old harper to the one-eyed Antigonus, "from ever knowing as much about harps as a wandering minstrel."

Equally futile and preposterous would it be to annex the management of studies, the arrangement of classes, the choice of text-

books, the conduct of examinations, and whatever else goes to make up what may be called the *pedagogy* of the seminary, to the other functions of the rector. The rector has very important and well-defined duties, for the proper discharge of which he must be vested with an autocracy as absolute as Washington's well-known adage claims for the commander of an army. Our rectors, moreover, in addition to the proper rectorial obligations of maintaining perfect discipline among professors and among students, and pronouncing that fateful word which determines the election or rejection of candidates for the priesthood, are generally laden with the sole responsibility for the financial administration of their respective institutions. Now, any one who desires further to increase their burdens must be said either to entertain very primitive notions respecting the complex work of a seminary, or to contemplate the possibility of one man possessing an accumulation of moral, intellectual and physical endowments not easily to be met with in a very able and numerous corporate body. But, some reader murmurs, may we not entrust the sole management and responsibility to the rector and let him draw at will upon the intellectual resources of his professors? You may, indeed, good reader, but with very disappointing results. For of all men in the world, the professor is least disposed to concern himself about things not enjoined upon him. Once assured that his only conscientious duty is to teach certain classes in a certain determinate way out of certain text-books laid before him, he will do it "as well as he knows how," but when his work is finished he will withdraw to the congenial solitude of his cell to "devote his leisure moments to the innocent amusement of study"; and the troubles and anxieties of the responsible executive of the seminary will worry him about as much as yours do or the Pope's. So fascinating, in the case of genuine professors, does this temptation to hibernate among books become by indulgence, that we fear not a few of them would view the present writing with intense disfavor if they apprehended it might be at all instrumental in effecting a change in their present condition. Nevertheless, there are interests far higher than those of personal comfort and predilection; and for the sake of these higher interests we hope that the reign of "isolated individualism," which has continued long enough, if not to do much positive harm, at least to deprive us of incalculable benefits, will soon give place to the rule of well-organized faculties. In advocating the substitution of the latter system for the former, we are proposing nothing novel or revolutionary. The name of faculty still remains to us as the empty shell of a hallowed institute introduced and fostered by Holy Church, and by her regarded as the nucleus and kernel of the intellectual life of Christendom. Mother Church is

too intimately acquainted with human nature to build any of her great institutions upon the treacherous foundation of individual greatness. Herself the most perfect example of an organized body,—able to give full employment to each man's natural gifts, but able likewise to dispense with them,—she framed the charters of her great universities after the model of her own constitution. Whereas pagan Wisdom took up her abode in the souls of particular philosophers—Platos, Aristotles, Zenos—whose doctrine was their private possession, Catholic Wisdom “dwells in counsel”; for our common heritage can become the exclusive property of no one. To her belongs the glory of having taught the learned world the superiority of organized work over isolated labors; and when infidel universities, academies, institutes or associations turn their united energies against her, they are opposing to her the mighty engine devised and fabricated by herself.

What has been lacking to our professors heretofore? Ability? earnestness? loyalty? erudition? diligence? Not one of these great qualities, nor any other which it is possible for individuals to inherit or acquire. But our theologians, philosophers, humanists have been so many isolated individuals, forming no school or association, but hoarding up knowledge within their souls, and taking it with them to their graves. We blame no one in particular; yet we cannot but deplore that such a state of affairs should have lasted so long. And last it will until the formation of officially-recognized and authoritatively-constituted faculties in each of our great centres of ecclesiastical learning,—until the professors are drawn forth from the hermitage of cell and class-room to become a living power, whose influence shall be felt not merely within the walls of their several institutions, but throughout the length and breadth of the land.

We conceive, therefore, that we should regard every one of the great seminaries which we are enjoined by the late Council to found or enlarge, as being to all essential purposes a university. They may not be denominated as such, and they will possess no independent authority to confer degrees. But in an educational view these are very secondary considerations. If they are properly conducted there is no imaginable reason why their students should be in any way inferior to those who are educated either in Europe or in Washington; or why, after a six years' academic course and a half-dozen more years spent on philosophy and theology, their alumni should not be prepared to acquit themselves with credit before any Board of Examiners. Here we are haunted with a vague apprehension that some reader who has not taken the trouble to follow our thought closely, but has hopped about our pages like a *Gryllus agilis*, may light suddenly upon these last observations of

ours, and pronounce off-handedly that they contain a covert fling at the new university so auspiciously inaugurated amongst us. For the urgent purpose of forestalling so unkindly a suspicion, we must state plainly what we conceive to be the proper mission and function of the Washington University relatively to the existent or prospective theological seminaries of the country. If we intrude our subjective or personal views the poor excuse must be that our article has been subjective and personal from the first line of it. If, then, it be worth the recording, we will state that we have followed the project of establishing an American university with lively interest and hearty sympathy from its earliest conception until its triumphant realization through the united agency of the Vicar of Christ and the venerable hierarchy of the nation. Indeed, our only regret has been that circumstances deprived us for so long of an institution indispensable to the satisfactory development of ecclesiastical culture. But we are not certain that the country at large has apprehended with precision just what we lacked heretofore and what the university aims at supplying. It seems to us that not a few look upon this new institution as a sort of educational "rod of Moses," ready to swallow up all that is great or "high" in our other divinity schools. There appears to exist in the breasts of many an apprehension that the reaction of the university upon the seminaries will be unfavorable to the intellectual vigor of the latter. "Slight as has been the figure which our seminaries have cut in the past, slighter still," they argue, "will it be in the future. The preponderant attractions at Washington, the superior celebrity of its professors, the prestige of Papal and national recognition, the splendor of its academic degrees, will have a tendency to drain the various seminaries of whatever they most cherish. The ablest professors will consider their chairs as serviceable stepping-stones to the more distinguished *cathedrae* of the university; the more brilliant students will be uneasy and dissatisfied until their talents are honored by a transfer from what they will look on as little above a 'hedge-school' to the one genuine seat of learning." These murmurings, and many others of like import, are false alarms,—but not absurd or foolish; for the dangers which are apprehended really exist, though happily they are extremely remote. It may, indeed, be laid down as a pretty safe rule for practical guidance, that any opinion widely entertained among the priesthood, while not necessarily or invariably correct, is always well worth pondering.

The circumstance that this contingent declension of the seminary is foreseen and feared is a strong guarantee that no pains will be spared by those whom it concerns to avert it. In consequence, we anticipate that the mutual reaction of university and seminary will be wholesome and bracing in the extreme. The new univer-

sity, so far as regards theology, and prescinding from the adscititious function of advancing post-ordination studies, is nothing more than a seminary. It labors, too, under several disadvantages : it is of to-day, without the prestige of (an humble, perhaps, but) hard-won reputation ; what it gains in splendor by its national character it loses in the hold which other institutions have taken upon local patriotism ; finally,—the greatest disadvantage of all,—too many exorbitant expectations are forming respecting it, as if, forsooth, it will not have to achieve its destiny on its own merits, like everybody else, or as if within its walls, by some magic process, the “ higher learning ” will be gulped down at a draught ! The university, if we understand the aims of its accomplished rector, is not a strange exotic, or an importation from abroad, unlike and unallied to anything we have been hitherto acquainted with ; it claims, equally with other ecclesiastical institutions, a lineal descent from the Kenricks, the Spaldings, the Brownsons, and the other fathers and doctors of the nation, and a consequent right to share the inheritance bequeathed to us. What advantage, then, hath the university ? One, but a great one. It starts out upon its career with the traditions, the machinery, the approved methods, the innate dignity of an organized university. It does not claim a superiority of genius, either as regards its professors or its students ; it ought, however, to claim and exhibit a vast superiority of *system* ; for, deprived of this, its days would be few and evil.

Our opinion is, and has been for many a year, that the time is ripe for a complete remodelling of our seminaries on the basis of university methods. Let us spell *faculty* with a capital F. Let the professors meet in weekly session to deliberate as official senators, under the presidency of the rector, concerning the educational needs of their institution. The oftener the bishop drops in among them, the better. When each seminary has been thoroughly reorganized, let the different faculties throughout the country come together and communicate their ideas. Call us nevermore prophet or pedagogue if the result will not be stupendous. Such an awakening of sleepers ! such drilling ! such marshalling ! such clouds of venerable dust flying about the air ! and finally, such a con cremation of antiquated text-books as never was seen on a college campus ! We need say no more ; for either our dream will be verified, in which event the professors will attend to the rest ; or it will not, and then words were useless.

Let us round off our remarks on seminaries, and at the same time relieve the dulness of our page, by relating, in the words of Macaulay, the anecdote of King Frederic William's “ Potsdam giants.” The story is a little stale, but the moral is fresh and apposite.

"The ambition of the king," says the essayist, "was to form a brigade of giants, and every country was ransacked by his agents for men above the ordinary stature. These researches were not confined to Europe. No head that towered above the crowd in the bazaars of Aleppo, of Cairo, or of Surat, could escape the crimps of Frederic William. One Irishman more than seven feet high, who was picked up in London by the Prussian ambassador, received a bounty of near thirteen hundred pounds sterling, very much more than the ambassador's salary. This extravagance was the more absurd, because a stout youth of five feet eight, who might have been procured for a few dollars, would in all probability have been a much more valuable soldier."

It was not with brigades of overgrown giants (whom he disbanded the instant he came to the throne), but with ordinary mortals metamorphosed by discipline and organization into regiments of irresistible soldiers, that the great Frederic won victory and immortal renown.

III. Our views on the last proposed query, viz.—"What advantages may be expected to flow from the prospective 'broader clerical scholarship?'"—are so definitely foreshadowed in all the foregoing remarks that we need not fag the reader nor ourselves by developing them at any length. To be consistent, we must reply that the realization of the desired advantages will be mainly conditioned on such a revolution in the actual habits and surroundings of clerical life as shall incite the priesthood to give themselves, heart and soul, to intellectual pursuits, by holding out to them a clear prospect that abstruse meditations, investigations and researches will become of some practical value to them. We hope no one will accuse us of taking a low utilitarian view of knowledge. We admit there will always be a select number of quiet-loving, harmless, dreamy book-worms, who will "love Knowledge for her own sake,"—that is, who will make of study not a means, but an end, an "amusement" as fascinating to them as are the charms of social intercourse to the generality of men. But the book-worm is an oddity, a *lusus naturæ*, or (we confess it with a sigh) a specimen, growing ever rarer in this busy age and nation, of an evanescent genus. The majority of men, more especially of Americans, and most especially of American Catholic priests, are intensely men of action, with a clear-sighted vision of what they are aiming at in life, and a consequent disregard of whatever does not conduce to its attainment. This principle is as applicable to men of a studious bent as it is to those whom we call *business men*. To ensure a copious *supply* you must first assure people of the existence of a steady *demand*.

In intellectuals, then, we hold to the Darwinian theory of natural

selection. We are not ready to affirm that our primogenitors forfeited their tails as the penalty of neglecting to swing them; but experience has amply satisfied us that Greek and Hebrew (yea, and Latin), and many another hard-won branch of learning, begin full soon to shrink and wither and disappear from the soul when deprived of the vital sustenance of practical exercise. It would be as silly in us, therefore, to cram the heads of the rising generation with excellent lore without taking care to provide them with opportunities for the manifestation and employment of it, as it would be to lock up a vast store of perishable fruits in our attics, and leave it there to rot. What remedy, then, do we suggest? We are not certain that *suggesting* is our *forte* or proper vocation; we much prefer the careless irresponsibility of philosophizing. However, if you tie us down, we shall be compelled to deliver our oracle.

We do not think that those of us whose character is already mature and hardened will ever be induced to exchange the regnant emblem, the taciturn Owl, for that whilom darling of parsons, the garrulous Popinjay.

"We are not gamesome; we do lack some part
Of that quick spirit that is in Antony."

Our education and inveterate habits have developed the judgment at the expense of the imagination. We are not sure there is a poet amongst us, now that Ryan is dead; few claim to be orators; fewer still to be writers. And shall we begin at forty or upwards, like Monsieur Jourdain, to study neglected rudiments? to cultivate unexercised faculties? to think on paper? to blow up our concentrated ideas into distended soap-bubbles? We fear it is too late, beloved reformer; abandon us to our idols. Or rather hold us up to the young as terrible examples of what they should most carefully avoid. Even thus did savage conquerors of yore turn the skins of their slaughtered foes into drum-heads wherewith to rouse the valor of their followers. Allowing, then, the present untoward generation to draw up its feet upon its bed and die, fasten thy plastic hand upon the youth. Give each boy to understand as soon as he enters the preparatory seminary that he will have to inflict a publication or two, or ten, upon the world before he is gathered to his fathers. If he cannot sing, make him dance. If there is no music, no poetry, no emotion in his soul, you may make a scientist, or a mathematician, or a metaphysician out of him. But keep him at work writing and re-writing, composing and re-composing. In order, too, that the world may note the rise and mark the growing effulgence of each particular star, and with the further motive of committing the student as early as possible to the career of authorship, we would advise the periodical publishing of all com-

positions of any merit, either in a college journal or in the diocesan newspaper, a page of which would, we are sure, readily be placed at the disposal of the faculty. We would, moreover, encourage the seminarian, when he has sufficiently advanced in years and the art of composition, to work up an occasional contribution for a magazine. It will at least give him employment in vacation time. By this process of training, if persistently adhered to, he will become an expert and fluent writer long before his ordination. No wonder; for long before the age of twenty-four is reached the mind, as well as the body, has attained its full stature, and its various powers are in the very hey-day of youthful vigor. Experience and time will prune what is luxuriant in the soul and tone down the extravagant, but to its stature they will not add one cubit. It might astonish many of our readers if a list were made out of the great amount of valuable literary and scientific work that has been achieved by men no older, nor better versed in book-lore, than are our theological students. The shrewd observation was made to us many years ago by one of the most distinguished of our prelates that, although *priest* is the English of *senior*, our clergy for long after they are invested with the sacerdotal dignity are too apt to be regarded as *juniors*. In all the secular professions the conferring of the professional diploma entitles the graduate to pronounce and write *ex cathedra*; but the priest *apud nos* (to steal a pet phrase from our friends the Canonists), until he reaches the ordinary goal of clerical ambition, the administration of a parish, is little better than gigantic Saul the son of Cis, who was "filius unius anni cum regnare cœpisset";—and to think that this should be the case, of all places in the world, in gushing precocious young America! If the objection be raised by some lover of the old school that this early embarking of our students upon a public literary career will tend to engender within them vanity or self-conceit, the answer should be that it will not *engender* this juvenile ailment, but bring it sooner to the surface, which (to reason from the analogy of the chicken-pox and the measles) is the proper treatment of the complaints incidental to childhood.

We may assume, therefore, that the newly-ordained priest of the future will be a literary veteran from his youth, with a discursive mind, a ready tongue, and a well-sharpened quill. His subsequent progress will depend chiefly upon the address and ability of those who possess authority and influence in cutting him out work, or, as we put it above, in creating a market for his wares. It seems to us that clerical literature will always be more or less a hot-house plant, requiring great attention from the bishop and the older clergy to force its growth. The young priest, if properly trained, is the embodiment of humility, diffidence and bashfulness. It will not

be easy, therefore, to convince him that he has anything to say worth listening to. His collegiate essays he looks upon, very justly, as intended for the subjective purpose of self-education. What he shall write henceforward must be for the instruction of others; and how shall he write unless he be sent? That *mission*, that word of encouragement and command, must come from his superior; and he must be persuaded that his efforts are followed closely with a kindly, sympathizing, fatherly interest. It must be remembered, too, unless we choose to forget that human motives still lurk even in the sacerdotal breast, that the severest mental labors are not likely to exercise an appreciable influence on his advancement in life. It is not in the case of the priest, as in that of non-Catholic ministers of religion, where an elaborate sermon, or a brilliant essay, or a profound treatise, will be apt to ensure a much-desired "call." We naturally enough consider literature as an item low down in the list of qualifications for the pastorate.

Without retracting anything we have said on a preceding page about the apathetic attitude of the public mind towards theological learning, and the impossibility of overcoming that apathy by individual effort, we think it entirely feasible to effect quite a revolution therein by force of organization. A great bishop, with the resources of a great diocese, and surrounded by a disciplined band of well-educated priests, who have been taught to look upon study not as an idle amusement, but as something imperatively needed for practical work, could in a very short time effect a reformation of incalculable magnitude. But we have run beyond our depth, and also beyond the space allotted us. Let us, then, hail the coming millennium, —the golden age, when Chrysostoms and Aquinases shall abound in the land, and printers' ink shall flow like water! But alas! dear readers, alas! few of us will survive to witness the dazzling glories of that epoch.

FORTY YEARS IN THE AMERICAN WILDERNESS.

I.

THE song that pictures Fionula, King Lir's lonely daughter, sighing for the beaming of the day-star, and craving, with tearful eagerness, to hear the sweet bells of heaven, whose music was to announce to her the glad tidings that her spirit was freed from its thralldom, is assuredly one of Moore's finest. By some magic spell this princess was imprisoned in the form of a swan, and doomed to wander over the bright waters of Eire's fair lakes and streams until the star of Christianity should arise over the Isle of Destiny, and the bells for the first Mass ring out in joyous peals through the morning sunshine:

"When will the day-star, mildly springing,
Warm our isle with peace and love?
When will heaven, its sweet bell ringing,
Call my spirit to the fields above?"

Why do we open with this exquisitely poetic legend the unholy subject we are about to treat? What have the touching wailings of this royal virgin to do with our story? Certainly no glamor of poetry, no witchery of romance, have cast their spells of enchantment over the beginning, or the progress, of the hideous burlesque of religion which lured to a doom worse than death so many beings made in the image and likeness of God.

Though of them may be said, as of their chosen prototypes in the desert: "They always err in their hearts and have not known my ways," yet there was an element of natural goodness and purity among the so-called "Latter-Day Saints." Many of them soon learned, not, indeed, to prefer the gates of their Zion to all the tabernacles of Jacob, but to abhor them as the gates of hell, gates to which the poet alluded when he said: "Who enters here leaves hope behind."

Many years ago, when he who styled himself king, prophet and priest of Mormondom, was in the zenith of his power, two *religieuses*, going west on some business of their order, stopped at Salt Lake City. They spoke with several of the wretched women of the place, and listened kindly to their tales of sorrow. One of these abject beings, who was strangely affected by their presence, spoke to the following effect: "I have been long looking for this. If these holy women settle among us our atmosphere will become

purser. And since they have come hither, even for a short time, our religion will never again be to us what it was before their coming." And she burst into a passion and tempest of tears, which, she said, were of joy rather than sorrow.

Had this unhappy creature been sighing, like the princess in the song, for the arrival of something better and purer than her surroundings? And was the advent of these dark-robed daughters of the Faith a sign unto her? Unfortunately, we were not able to follow up her history. But, by some occult association of ideas, the circumstance recalled to our mind the beauteous white bird in whose graceful form was hidden the virgin daughter of the royal Lir, singing, with the swan's sweetest notes, to the stormy river:

" Silent, O Moyle ! be the roar of thy water,
Break not, ye breezes ! your chain of repose,
While, murmuring mournfully, Lir's lonely daughter
Tells to the night-star her tale of woes."

II.

If thou seekest a beautiful vale, *circumspice*, here it is ; behold it ! Perhaps " there is not in this wide world a valley so sweet." We have all heard : " See Naples and die." And a prelate, whose poetic soul revels in the beautiful, wrote of another charming spot : " After Killarney, heaven." We say : See Salt Lake City, and live and admire. Keep the lovely picture in your mind's eye until your dying day. But for this go not down into it. Look at it from the lawns and orchards of Camp Douglas or Prospect Hill, or from any bench or plateau on the hillside. It lies at the base of the Wasatch, sloping towards the west and south. It is girdled with mountains, some bleak and forbidding in aspect, others of emerald brightness, and superb in their beauty and symmetry. In the early summer sunlight the skies are blue, the air balmy. Clustering trees of every shade of green half hide the wide gabled houses. The bushes are laden with blossoms and fragrance. The limbs of the fruit trees are pink and yellow with flowers. The amber air is filled as with some delicate aroma by the upspringing blossoms. Quaint abodes, like toy-houses, peep from between the trees. There are seas of waving corn, and green patches of alfalfa, and lazy, lowing kine, and wide stretches of pastoral country dotted with sheep, in the broad valley that slopes towards the distant Salt Lake—the dead sea of this new Palestine. The peaks and battlements of the far away hills white with eternal snow, the turtle-like back of the spacious tabernacle, the rows of Lombardy poplars which form huge, whispering walls between the abodes of the " saints," and the jungles of sunflower and golden rod that brighten the green

sward, give such changeful effects of radiant coloring as are rarely seen outside of the tropics. The panorama of lake, mountain, valley, residences, gardens, public buildings, is kaleidoscopic, ever-changing, and full of charming contrasts. Long lines of fruit trees, trim white houses, tideless, dreamy, slumbering waters that flash every hue of the rainbow,—the Oquirrh mountains, now like feudal castles, again with splintered peaks gilded by the burning sun—sometimes all this is seen as it were swimming in the air. The amber haze mellows every outline. The hills are wedded by wondrous bridges. The sluggish Jordan leaps to the inland sea, whose calm bosom shimmers in the sunshine. It is that beautiful optical illusion—the mirage. The blue heron, the sacred pelican, the white sea-gull, the graceful swan, the restless prairie-chicken,—on a closer view you may see some of them poised in the air, or breasting the waters, or resting on the swamp, or balancing their lithe forms on some sparkling pyramid of salt, apparently enjoying the picturesqueness of the scene, and, like ourselves, fascinated by its beauty.

Laid down between the feet of the mountains, amid groves of cottonwood, maple and oak, and rows of sentry-like poplars, with the great Salt Lake gleaming like sunshine on the distant horizon, is the “Temple City,” the “Mecca of the West,” the New Jerusalem, which has charmed every eye that ever rested on its varied beauties—at a distance.

III.

It is said that Father de Smet one day met Brigham Young and his scouts wandering about the haunts of his Indians, and believing them to be immigrants in search of homes, he directed them to a cañon many miles in length, stating that at its end they would find a valley which the hand of man could transform into a land flowing with milk and honey. This territory which the Mormons entered July 24, 1847, was bleak and forbidding in aspect; the serrated peaks of the Wasatch Mountains bold and rugged; the briny inland sea sullen and listless, or bright and stirring, according to wind and weather; the dreary waste adorned with tufts of sandgrass and bristling with gray-green sage; the stillness, unbroken save by the screaming of wild birds, the whistling of the cañon winds, or the barking of the prowling coyotes;—“this was their welcome home.”

So sure was Captain James Bridger of the perennial barrenness of the soil, that he offered a thousand dollars for every bushel of corn wrung from its fastnesses. But Mr. Young was better informed. No doubt Father de Smet, who at that time was ignorant of the peculiar views with which he imbued his satellites, knew what the Indians knew, that where sage-brush abounded corn would grow, and enlightened him as to that fact. When he reached

the valley, he told his followers that the Lord had commanded a halt. But he knew well this was the last spot at which they could stop; the bleak, inhospitable, alkali desert was beyond it.

Many disciples came hither in the dusty wagons, drawn by slow and patient oxen, that passed in trains over the desert and through the rocky defiles, and, later, some of the wealthier by the pony express or the lumbering stage-coach. Some escaped from the holy city, despite the argus-eyed Brigham and his myriads of spies. One hundred and fifty of these gave Father de Smet a dreadful account of the internal and external condition of Zion. But the prophet had defenders. On March 20, 1850, Colonel Kane, one of the many whom his oily tongue had deluded, lecturing at Philadelphia before the Pennsylvania Historical Society, "On the Mormons," declared that he had found Brigham Young "sharing sorrow with the sorrowful and poverty with the poor," and extolled him as a man of rare natural endowments, which he undeniably was. In June appeared a Mormon paper, *The Deseret News*,¹ and on September 20th, of the same year, an auspicious year for the prophet, President Millard Fillmore appointed him Governor of Utah, partly through the recommendations of Colonel Kane. This at once gave him a position and an influence of which he made the most.

Utah was part of the territory acquired from Mexico in 1848, and originally contained 225,000 square miles. The name is of Indian derivation, and is said to signify "home on the mountain." Salt Lake City² was incorporated June 11, 1851, its population being nearly 5000. Missionaries were sent in every direction to increase the flock. "Stakes in Zion," as Mormon settlements are called, were established in several places. They were then much more arbitrary in their conditions than now. The peculiar feature of the sect, which had been more than suspected, but always emphatically denied, had not yet been made public. The revelation establishing the "patriarchal order of marriage" is said to have been made to Joseph Smith, July 12, 1843. Smith's widow and four sons denounced it as a forgery, and headed a schism. In 1845, a formal denial was given by the "Church" in these strong words: "Inasmuch as the Church of Christ has been reproached with the crimes of polygamy, . . . we declare that we believe that one man should have but one wife." Yet in 1852, "the revelation of the celestial law of marriage" was made public. The next year,

¹ This paper is the official organ of Mormonism. Deseret is understood by the Mormons to mean "home of the honey bee." Governor Young wanted Utah admitted into the Union as the "State of Deseret."

² In 1880, its population was over 20,000; at present it is nearly 30,000, of whom over one-third are Gentiles.

the Spanish wall, nine miles long, was built of mud and adobes around the little city. Every property was surrounded by a high wall of mud and cobble-stones. Brigham's quarters, in particular, were walled in like Moorish fortifications. Some of these have crumbled away, and others have given place to less unsightly fences. They were intended to keep out Canaanitish Indians and ungodly Babylonians; but they were needed to keep in the discontented victims of the abhorrent system now forced upon the better element. For, be it recorded to the honor of human nature, polygamy met with strenuous opposition from men and women—opposition unavailing before the powerful will and iron hand of the man who riveted it upon his law and gospel. Neither did it ever become universal—it was practised only by a small fraction of the population. Many defections were due to the engrafting of it on the Mormon creed, and those who remained, agreeing to differ with Governor Young, were obliged to keep their opinions to themselves or get beyond the radius of his circle. But, apart from what was euphoniously styled "celestial marriage," the Mormons would scarcely be allowed to rest in peace in any country. They were everywhere accused of incendiarism, fraudulent dealings, and other crimes, and were often in open conflict with the State authorities. Politically, their vote would always be a unit, and, cast on either side, would secure the victory. Any one party's vote, *plus* the Mormon vote, could put in that party's candidate. As a factor in local politics, the Mormon vote could always be relied on to control elections. Even to-day (October, 1889) the Governor of Arizona, in his official report, attacks the Mormons, and says: "They are a curse to the country." He charges them with sending colonies to other territories in order to hold the balance of power, and claims that they vote just as the interests of their church dictates. Hence the feeling against them in Illinois, which culminated in open warfare. The charter of their city, Nauvoo, a place of some 15,000 inhabitants, was repealed in 1845. Joseph Smith and his brother Hiram were killed fighting a mob, and the whole Mormon population expelled from the State.

They crossed the Mississippi to Iowa. Later they crossed that State to the Missouri. Camps of Israel, as their resting places were called, were laid on the site of the city now known as Council Bluffs. Near Omaha were the famous Winter Quarters, to which the prophet came more than once in the early days of the Utah invasion. Florence now occupies the site of the deserted quarters. From this starting point, band after band of Mormons moved in wagon-trains towards the promised land. Year after year these Ishmaelites, their hand against every man and every man's hand against them, wintered in this obscure corner of Nebraska, and in

early spring set out on their perilous journey over the American desert. These expeditions sometimes had a versifier. Here is a stanza of a song composed by a Mormon woman, Eliza Snow :

"The time of winter now is o'er,
There's verdure on the plain,
We leave our sheltering roofs once more,
And to our tents again."

IV.

While the bulk of the new sect migrated to Utah, many remained in their earlier haunts, especially about Council Bluffs, then called Kaneshville, from Colonel Kane, who organized the Mormon battalion for Governor Young. These were mostly followers of Joseph Smith, son of the originator of the sect, who claimed to be the rightful head of the church, and deemed Brigham a usurper. A dividing line was drawn very early between the Josephites and the Utah Mormons, but many of these latter only tolerated, from motives of policy, the religion and politics of the spurious prophet.

It was reserved for the nineteenth century to produce a sect¹ which revived some of the worst horrors of the lowest type of paganism. The leaders of this loathsome caricature of a theocracy, while professing to be divinely inspired, led lives diametrically opposed to those of the men and women usually selected by heaven as the medium of celestial communications to their fellow-mortals. They did not belong to the Negro, Indian, or Mongolian, or any of the races commonly ranked below the Caucasian.

The controlling authority of the Mormon church has always been exercised by Americans of Saxon lineage. It is even said that several of the first "Twelve Apostles" came from families that had participated in the struggle for national independence. It is not, therefore, quite correct to speak of Mormonism as an alien organization. It was always wholly non-Catholic. Even in seeking recruits, the Mormons rather avoided Catholic countries. Spaniards, Italians, French, Irish, Mexicans, are sought in vain among the Latter Day Saints. Its disciples were drawn mainly from the lowest grades of non-Catholic nations. But into this seething vortex men and women of ordinary education, and a few of more than average ability, from the Old World and the New, have been drawn. Time and again have deluded creatures turned

¹ The Book of Mormon, called by one of the "apostles" the Golden Bible, is said to have been taken from a sort of romance by Rev. Mr. Spaulding, which contains a supposititious history of the wanderings of the Lost Tribes, and their final appearance in America. Save where it quotes from the Sacred Scriptures, it is a tissue of absurdities and contradictions.

their backs on home, friends, and country, to seek salvation in this awful fanaticism. The Catholic faith seems to have been the only *ægis* capable of protecting souls from this stupendous parody on things decent, fitting, and spiritual.

Religiously a fraud, chronologically it was an anachronism, and one wonders how the fanciful tales of its origin and progress ever obtained credence. In 1820 Joseph Smith, an illiterate lad of fifteen, sees a glorious vision. In 1823, the angel Moroni,¹ in a white robe, and with a countenance like lightning, makes known to him the existence of metal plates covered with an ancient record. After his marriage to Emma Hale, in 1827, an angel delivered to him the plates of the book of Mormon, which had been buried 1400 years. On these were written the law, in several ancient languages. By the application of the seer stone or peep stone, and a sort of spectacles called the Urim and Thummin, Smith read them off in English, sitting meanwhile behind a blanket, that the sacred records might be screened from profane eyes. All this is reported to have happened in Ontario County, New York. Several who swore to its truth afterwards declared the falsity of their testimony. On the walls of the Assembly House these romantic details are illustrated by a series of colored daubs. The wingless angel shows his treasure to Joseph, under a tree which bears a provoking resemblance to the Charter Oak of the school histories; Aaron anoints him with the order of Melchisedeck; Peter, James, and John elevate him to higher privileges; John the Baptist confers other favors. A Scotchman who has been in Salt Lake City some thirty or forty years, and bewails the days of its greatness when Brigham was sole ruler, explains these mystifying pictures, and his hearers are as wise when he concludes as they were before he started. How such absurd ravings could attract, or, having attracted, satisfy, disciples is simply inexplicable.

Yet for many whose feet rested not on the Rock of Peter, the fables of the ubiquitous Mormon propagandists possessed an alluring charm. The Happy Valley, the City of the Blest, the true and only Zion "where indeed the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest," but, above all, the great prophet who was to the excited imaginations of the earlier pilgrims a sort of sanctified grand lama or great mogul, did not the over-worked, ill-paid toiler of "effete" Europe long to enter this home of perennial sun-

¹ Moroni is described as son of the prophet Mormon, from whom the sect takes its name, but the Mormons say their correct name is "Latter Day Saints." The Scotch gentleman who acts as headle in the tabernacle informed the writer that Mormon angels have no wings.

shine¹ whose skies were always blue, and whose fields wore eternal verdure? Was he not eager to breathe the same air with the holy patriarch, that man of heavenly (?) visions, and to worship in the place where his feet had trod?

Happily, many were disillusioned. Some who went out in families and had wealth and position at their back, returned home disgusted and humiliated. That many were too poor to retrace their steps, it would be foolish and inconsequent to deny. For them there was no release. Poverty and superstition helped to force them into a vise, and while some were ever in rebellion against their pitiless fate, others seemed to grow accustomed to it. Neglected wives and mothers may have accepted their bitter lot with unsanctified resignation. Some were deluded into the belief that the forlorn lives to which they were condemned were crosses from heaven to win them crowns of glory everlasting. Homes were dreary, though full of children; wives were widowed, but not by death. With pathetic deceit some declare they are happy under such circumstances, but the tear-dimmed eye and the anguished countenance give the lie to such declarations. There is a terrible pathos in the lives of women, otherwise respectable and intelligent, who find themselves in the interior of households directed by the shining lights of Mormonism.

Mrs. C. —, who lives near Temple Block, a staunch Mormon, but not a polygamist, affirms in the strongest terms that there is no happiness in any polygamous family of her acquaintance. The wife of a bishop, who came to her for consolation, said: "For sake of peace and good will, I have tried to like the wretch who usurped my place, but found it impossible. There are no feelings in my home but feelings of hate and envy." "Those who profess to be happy in their plural relations," added Mrs. C. —, "are cunning women who know how to get cloaks and dresses by wholesale from their husbands, while the more honest cannot get them by retail."

When the women believe in the absurd teachings of Mormonism, —how the air is filled with spirits waiting to be born, how such beings can select the time and place of their birth into earthly probation, how they are eager to be born in Zion, how the millennial dispensation is at hand, after which no more spirits can be reclaimed, —that the patriarchal order into which they were given in marriage is to be eternal in heaven, with the rewards and emoluments thereof,—they are upheld under the tortures of their lives by hope. But that good and bright women could ever have been

¹ In point of fact, Salt Lake City (4354 feet above sea level) is intensely cold in winter and intensely hot in summer. It is only now beginning to be drained. For many months of the year it is perhaps the dustiest spot on earth.

satisfied with such speculations, or with the men that taught them, is simply inconceivable.

Lofty enthusiasm was, indeed, simulated by fanatics or hypocrites; but being only simulated, its fruits were as Dead Sea apples. Where materialism of the lowest type prevailed, no ideal world of beauty could exist. "There is something dry in the reality of things," said Madame de Staël, a little peevishly, "and we try in vain to get rid of it in our daily affairs." What would she have said had she been able to look behind the Eagle Gate? There realism went beyond dryness. Disenchantment, discontent, misanthropy, and sometimes the implacable hatred of the infernal furies, were the monstrous fruits of this "Variation of Protestantism." Though they understood not the meaning of the term, the celestially espoused women of Utah were to a great extent the most pessimistic creatures on the face of the earth. Considering the plausibility of the crafty autocrat of Zion, the rough and ready eloquence of Mormon missionaries, and the ignorance and isolation of many Catholics, it is a grand thing that, while wealth, position, and in some cases intellectual ability, have been lured into the acceptance of a system diametrically opposed to every fine instinct of womanhood, yet no Catholic maid or matron was ever beguiled into believing in this "patriarchal order." Many have chafed under their hard lot, for it is the women chiefly who must bear the shame, scorn, and anguish consequent on plural marriage. Some have left husbands who broke God's law by multiplying wives, and reared their children by the sweat of their brow. One poor English woman whose eyes were dim, not from age, but from weeping, said that when her husband brought home a girl whom he called a plural wife, she told him to choose between them. He selected her rival. She at once left his premises, taking her six little children, whom she supported henceforth by working for Gentile families. He took another consort, and still another. Years passed slowly for the struggling woman thus sadly widowed. The "plural wives" died. Then did the worthless wretch return to his first choice. She had prospered, she could support him now as well as his children. But the outraged creature drove him from her presence, nor could she speak of him without loathing. "No religion could be from God," said she, "which causes the inexpressible torture I have seen in the weary years of my life in the wilderness."

The Mormon men¹ seemed dull, vulgar, and clownish; no

¹ N. P. Willis's description of "British Workmen" fits the lower type of Mormon men: "Utter want of hope in the countenances of the working classes—the look of dogged suspicion and animal endurance of their condition of life. They act like

doubt there are many exceptions, "When I look at them," said a prominent Gentile, "I think their horrible system should be uprooted by fire and sword." Not so the writer. It should never be glorified by persecution. Left to itself, it will tumble to pieces. When Mormons break the laws by bigamy or other crimes, they suffer not as martyrs, but as evil-doers. Yet it is their policy to pose as victims.

The Mormon women look shapeless and slovenly; their faces soulless, their eyes fishy, dead. Seen in thousands issuing out of the tabernacle on a fine Sunday afternoon, with their slatternly figures and slouching gait, they do, indeed, appear "the off-scouring of all." Nothing blithe or gay about them as they waddle along; no glow upon the cheek, no sparkle in the eye, no trim, graceful robes, no womanly dignity. Those whom we saw were downright ugly, and had a wizened appearance. In some the expression was repulsive and defiant, in others repulsive and sad. Many of the children are afflicted with physical deformity, and not a few are said to be idiotic. The deaf and dumb have increased of late years. The groups have a decidedly foreign appearance. Light hair and the Scandinavian cast of features predominate.

The peculiar institution was made subservient to the temporal weal of the apostles and elders. By organizing and directing trade to his own advantage, Brigham Young accumulated enormous wealth. In the poorer classes, too, avarice often had something to do with the multiplication of helpmates. These wretched creatures supported the children, or, in a country where labor was high, supplied servants without wages to their masters. They minded the chickens and cows, sold or bartered butter, eggs, honey, and farm produce in general. As much exterior decency as was compatible with the condition of affairs was generally observed, for the Destroying Angel was abroad, and woe to the hapless wight that fell under his vengeful wing. But under a semi-respectable appearance, there existed the vices of the cities of the plain.

Neither sensuality, nor so-called spirituality, ever turned the heads of the rulers¹ aside for one moment from what seems to have been their main purpose—the achieving of opulence. The

horses and cows. . . . Their gait is that of tired donkeys. . . . Their mouths and eyes are wholly sensual. . . . Their dress without a thought of more than warmth and covering. . . . Their voices are a half-note above a grunt."

¹ There is no man of remarkable ability among the Mormons. The only one who approaches such a plane is a man who, "to further his own ends, has been ever ready to use duplicity, perjury, and dishonesty with his fellow Mormons and with the United States; a man of supreme selfishness, and a crafty worldling."

financial was inextricably interwoven with the law and the prophets, as expounded by the lights of Mormondom. Being rapt in extacy, July 8, 1838, Joseph Smith spoke thus :

"O, Lord, show unto me how much thou requirest of the properties of thy people for a tithing."

Here is the answer :

"Verily, thus saith the Lord, I require all their surplus property to be put into the hands of the Bishop of Zion, for the building of my house and for the laying of the foundation of Zion, and for the priesthood, and for the debts of presidency of my church.

"And this shall be the beginning of the tithing of my people.

"And after that, those who have thus been tithed shall pay one-tenth of all their interest annually, and this shall be a standing law unto them forever, for my holy priesthood, saith the Lord.

"Verily I say unto you, it shall come to pass that all those who gather unto the land of Zion shall be tithed of their surplus properties, and shall observe this law, or they shall not be found worthy to abide among you."

At first there was little or no money in Utah. Everything was done by barter. When a man took his families to a place of amusement he paid his fee in "collateral," consisting, perhaps, of a barrel or two of potatoes, or a wheel-barrow full of turnips, or some dozens of adobes. But at no time were the new lights able to say with one of the genuine apostles, "Silver and gold I have none." From the promulgation of their tithe system they grew prodigiously rich. The rank and file worked; the profits swelled the exchequers of the heads of this nefarious system.

For the first twenty years or more after their arrival the Mormons were, it may be said, the sole occupants of Utah. Being a thousand miles from the frontier, they deemed themselves secure from further molestation. In 1854 the President appointed Governor Steptoe in Mr. Young's place. But Young refused to stir from the gubernatorial seat, and set the Chief-Executive and the world at large at defiance. "I am, and will be, governor," said he, "and no power can hinder it until the Lord says, 'Brigham, you need not be governor any longer.'" The new appointee considered it unsafe to enter the city, and Brigham remained governor *de facto*. The saints were now in open rebellion against the United States, and the Mormon War followed. In 1857 the army of Utah, consisting of 2500 troops, was sent to reduce them to submission. Brigham cut off the supply trains. The territorial militia went out to reconnoitre. The "enemy" was snow-bound one hundred miles east of the capital. The saints determined to evacuate the country, and leave it as they found it, a wilderness. But, through arbitration, a peaceful solution of the

difficulty was found. The new Governor, Alfred Cumming, appointed by President Buchanan, was allowed to take his seat, and the belligerent Mormons were pardoned.

The army remained in Utah until 1861. In 1862 Colonel O'Connor and his command settled at Camp Douglas, within easy range of the city. The Mormon leaders have always keenly resented the military occupation of their country as an element of antagonism, and a menace to peaceful, law-abiding citizens. But the soldiers have been a blessing to the place.

VI.

By far the most remarkable product of Mormonism was Brigham Young, of Vermont, who began life as a glazier. He was supreme in church and state. A Catholic lady, his neighbor for many years, said to the writer: "No Russian autocrat ever held his subjects, body and soul, in so firm a grasp as Brigham Young." They were literally his, to have and to hold. His temper was generally under perfect control; his conversation easily drifted from monologue to grotesque rhapsody; his unctuous words were seasoned with scriptural allusions, and emitted in a clear, finely modulated voice, with which one could not readily connect any disposition to cruelty. His gentle condescension and quiet self-possession sometimes threw strangers off their guard, and made them wonder whether this bland, courteous gentleman was in reality the terrible Brigham. He would describe his sufferings with a pathetic air, and pose as a victim with so much grace that tears sometimes bedewed the eyes of an impressionable listener. He rather liked the *rôle* of a persecuted saint, a taste still common among his disciples. He could be ebullient, sarcastic, and naively exultant by turns, and was not in the least repelled by irresponsiveness.

Wearing a sort of spurious tiara as king, priest and prophet, Brigham Young played the triple part with consummate ability. He did hard things in a kindly fashion, kept the rabble on his side, and was worshipped by his motley *clientèle*. He knew every one in his territory, and, by a judicious distribution of his favors, gained the good-will of the multitude. Of his wonderful personal magnetism, there can be no doubt. And did we not know that there are persons whose affectations in the course of years have become natural, and whose illusions have finally become to them realities, we should say that he was at once a profound hypocrite and a crafty fanatic.

Apparently large-hearted and generous, the prophet was really most grasping and avaricious. He understood perfectly the art of throwing a herring to catch a whale. The tithes must be paid

into the Tithing House in money or kind, but if he ground his people as in a mill, he always "spoke them fair." He was ready to administer the estates of wealthy widows, but to have surer control he appointed himself spiritual spouse to such ladies." "Deal you in words," was an advice he followed to the letter. If any complained of their hard lot in the pleasant valley by Jordan's stream, he spoke, with hands and eyes uplifted, of the perfect blessedness reserved for the Latter-Day Saints in the heavenly Jerusalem during all eternity. A Catholic who knew him well spoke of him in terms more strong than elegant. Another said to the writer: "Mr. Young was always a civil-spoken gentleman. He never put his hands behind his back when I asked him for a subscription." He gave this lady twenty-five dollars for the Land League in Ireland, and he sent a like sum for a hospital to be erected on his old hunting grounds in Omaha. But those who knew him best declare that he was close-fisted, and not at all inclined to part with his money. It was necessary to his scheme to give land to every man¹ capable of working it. The wealth of the place was to be chiefly agricultural, and every farmer increased the wealth of the church. As all hands had to pay their passage in labor, the immigrants were, for the time being, little better than slaves. Like Queen Elizabeth, Brigham was willing to take with both hands, but would scarcely give with his little finger.

But the great man walked about among the labbrers, shook hands with them occasionally, called them by their names, inquired how their families did, seemed to believe their stories and to trust in them. They were as ciphers, every one of whom pushed him up a place higher; obscure, ignoble builders of his prosperity. They swelled his retinue, and he made them feel he was interested in their welfare. When crickets or grasshoppers destroyed their crops, there was always plenty in his larder, and he more than once invited them to partake of it. "Ah," said a poor woman to us, "I was never hungry when provisions were scarce. The president with his own hand gave me plenty of breadstuff." This woman did what many another did who was better than her surroundings. She declined to be superseded by the women her husband called wives, left his roof-tree, took service in the family of the prophet, and lives to testify how well he provided his household with the flesh-pots of Egypt. "No one was ever hungry in his house," said another, who had suffered the pangs of hunger in early times of scarcity. Both these women execrated the vile institutions which left so many homes, practically, without husbands

¹ Until 1871 the Mormons had only squatters' titles to their property. At that date only three or four city lots were owned by non-Mormons.

or fathers. As the prophet usually gave separate establishments to the women on whom he bestowed his hand, things did not look as gloomy in his premises as in the homes of the poor, but in all cases the scenes between the rival women may be more easily imagined than described.

"No one but a Mormon woman," said a poor, faded creature, "can know the torture, the horror, of this diabolical custom."

"You think it wrong, then? You are not deluded into believing it right?"

"Oh, no. I never could believe such abominations."

"Well, now, the head of your religion practised these abominations. How can you follow his teachings in other points?"

"Oh, that is entirely different. *He* was right whatever he did."

No one can doubt the sincerity of these people when they laud this man to the skies. He thoroughly imbued them with a belief that he was the centre of a theocracy on the model of the Bible, and the source of every spiritual and temporal blessing they enjoyed. When they worked for him they had enough to eat, a great point with these stout bread-winners. When he made tours, or, what the old English would call "progresses," through the country, young men, unasked, went out before his carriage to remove stones or other obstructions from the rocky roads lest his sacred person should be jolted. On his arrival at Mormon hamlets, little girls in white, with sashes of celestial blue, used to march and gambol before him. Every material misery found a counterpoise in him. He sought to eliminate all the supernatural of which he was not the medium. He listened gently to the woes of the plural consorts who came to him for a remedy which he could not give. Similar woes disturbed his own castles. But after a few soft words from him, they would submit to their hard lot with patient endurance from which no perfume of genuine piety exhaled.

It is significant that while so much is made of Joe Smith, one hears but little of Brigham Young in the city he founded. No picture or memento of him hangs in the Tabernacle or Assembly House. It is the present policy of the Mormons to keep polygamy as much out of sight as possible. And Mr. Young, like Henry VIII., is especially famous for his matrimonial transactions. He left his families two million dollars. A grand-child of his told a Catholic lady that when he was dying, illumined perhaps with "the light that enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world," he said: "I never had a wife but one, and that was my first."

VII.

The beehive is the adopted emblem of Mormonism, and much parade has always been made of Mormon industry. But leaving

out the homes of wealthy bishops and other high officials, Mormon homesteads are often as slovenly looking as their mistresses who sometimes lounge on the door-steps or hang over the gates and fences, in cotton gowns and sunbonnets. They greatly disappointed us. As a rule, homes were not neat, tidy, or well kept. Considering their years in the desert and their opportunities, we failed to perceive the Mormons had done anything extraordinary. Gardens and farms showed great lack of cleanliness; weeds and tangled grass were rank and abundant, bushes untrimmed, withered branches hanging from fruit trees, broken limbs from shade trees. The usual complement of tin cans, old hats, shoes, and rubbish in general that one sees in remote Western towns was not absent here. Few of the poorer dwellings, whether of adobe, log, or frame, or all combined, will bear a close inspection. Of flowers, we saw scarcely any. The little brooklets or runnels were dry, the dust stifling. Water was very scarce. Those who used the hose to water their lawns could use it only for a stated period. We were surprised at the general untidiness, especially on the outskirts; a people who did little else might have their places bright and clean. "The sights," however, are always in good order. The Mormons are on dress parade before strangers, and seem feverishly anxious to make a good impression. Their worst features are held in abeyance. To see them at a discount one should visit, unannounced, the suburban quarters and back settlements. We have heard of the unspeakable Turk; in rustic haunts where the people are not civilized by Gentile contact may be seen the unspeakable Mormon. Denmark, Wales, England, Switzerland, Sweden, Scotland, Germany, and the States, have contributed to establish these outlying camps of Israel, formed of dug-outs, log-cabins, and huts, with a sprinkling of houses of more decent type. The barbaric hordes that followed in the wake of the prophet have not lost all their barbarism.

Some of Brigham Young's children married Gentiles—a Jew is a Gentile in Mormondom. This he affected to consider an indelible disgrace. And as he had in earlier days consigned his rival, Rigdom, to the devil, "to be buffeted for a thousand years," so he solemnly delivered his own children to Satan forever, and cursed them with all his might. This was severe from a potentate who laid claim to constant angelic or divine guidance, and whose talent and shrewdness were seldom at fault.

The Mormonism of thirty or forty years ago is now but a tradition. "Ah," said an official of the Tabernacle to the writer, "you should have seen this town in the early days, before the railroads brought in the trash of the continent," *i.e.*, the Gentiles. The people were driven like sheep to the market-place by a few

fox-like demagogues who assumed a priestly¹ power terrifying to the abject. They had been coaxed into the wilderness by the mellifluous words of the president and his silver-tongued auxiliaries, and were secure in their iron grasp. They came to the Tadmor of the desert, or rather to the rich corn-fields and blooming orchards which the Jordan laves. They found a shabby little town, shaded by saplings—an ugly, dismal place, whose streets were enlivened by pigs and goats, and adorned at irregular intervals by heaps of offal and decaying vegetables. The dwellings were silent as the Sahara, save for the bawling of children. The low cottages, five or six in the same yard, had additions on the sides and rear for the different families. Here and there, on the dusty street, one might see a deserted wife airing her progeny. The cottage occupied by Brigham Young in his humble early days is now the property of the convent, of which it forms a part. It contains four large apartments (each can be shut off from the rest) and three entrances. The doors and windows are screened with wire gauze to keep out insects, which are very annoying in Utah during the hot weather. In one room is a trap-door, through which Brigham more than once escaped when the United States authorities were wishing to see him. Many of the early houses, with their *succursales*, and a few of the original log-cabins, remain. Even to-day there are large expanses of swamp and sage brush between the Temple City and Ogden. Although still profoundly disappointing to one who has often heard of it as “combining the cleanliness and activity of Young America with the picturesqueness and dignity of the Orient,” it has greatly improved since its earlier decades. But this progress is due chiefly to the presence of the progressive Gentile.

The exodus of the pilgrims from Nebraska, and their establishment on the beautiful plain at the foot of the Wasatch range, would, it was supposed, place them beyond the reach of Gentile interference forever. There were no soldiers, no railroads, no telegraph. Heretofore their peculiar ways had brought them into conflict with their neighbors. The new Jerusalem would have no neighbors. Unfriendly Gentiles would disturb them no more. Ere the saints would have spent “Forty Years in the Wilderness” they would have established an empire more compact than that of Charlemagne and grander than the dream of Napoleon. But the railroads, the mines and the soldiers brought a “change over the spirit” of such dreams.

The Mormon leaders, notably Young, opposed the development of the mineral resources of the country. The locality of valuable

¹ The officers of the Melchisedek priesthood are high priests and elders. The officers of the Aaronic or lesser priesthood are priests, teachers, and deacons. These preside. The office of the Seventy is to travel for recruits.

mineral ledges was kept secret by his order, though he thoroughly understood their value, lest the Gentiles should profit by them. The Mormons trade only with each other, give work to each other, and boycott the Gentiles in every possible way. Zion's Co-operative Mercantile Institution, irreverently called "the Co-op," which has several branches, handles business to the amount of nearly 6,000,000 dollars a year. Through this institution the church considered herself entitled to crush out all competition.

When enterprising people like the four Walker brothers sought to do a little business on their own account, and encouraged outside capital to come to their aid in developing the silver¹ ledges of the Wasatch, they immediately fell under the ban of Brigham's displeasure. Their tithe-offerings did not suit him. He wanted 30,000 dollars more than the amount they presented. Tithe collecting is an art in which these apostles and bishops have always been distinguished experts. To-day, Presiding Bishop Prescott, a Virginian, admits that the revenue from this source amounts to 700,000 dollars a year. He declines to make any statement as to its use. "The people," said he, "are asked to believe in the honesty and business sense of their bishops, without an annual array of figures which might or might not lie."

VIII.

Only the lethargy or stupidity of the masses could make fraud and pillage on this gigantic scale possible. The calumnies uttered against the Jesuits by their enemies would be true if applied to the "Aaronic" priesthood. "The end," the enriching of the rulers, justifies any "means" whatever. One-tenth of everything goes into the treasury of the church. Mormondom is divided into stakes. At the head of every stake is a stake bishop. Every stake is divided into wards, presided over by ward bishops. Ward bishops get orders from stake bishops, and these make returns to the presiding bishop and his cabinet of two. Blind, unquestioning obedience is rigidly enforced. Apostle John W. Taylor, the czar of all the Mormons, has just warned his flock of the pernicious tendencies of the day, and the danger that lurks in criticism of those over them. "The men at the head of the church," says he, "have the spirit of revelation—they are prophets and seers, and we cannot retain the spirit of God and be constantly finding fault with them."

The prophet was once abroad, but the iconoclast is abroad to-day. Revolts and rumors of revolts are common in the holy city.

¹ From any of the heights around Salt Lake City one may see spiral wreaths and columns of black smoke arising from the silver-ore smelters.

There were, indeed, upheavals and commotions in the days of the redoubtable Brigham. The Godbeites and others spoke, and with no uncertain tone. They declared that President Young was not lord of their temporalities, and that the elders should confine their guidance to things spiritual. When the Walker brothers were asked for an enormous sum as their "tithing," the demand met with a stern refusal. But the dictator, who would brook no opposition, excommunicated the rebels, and worked with all his might to ruin their business.

The church is weaker now than in early days, and it is kept up chiefly through its missionary¹ channels. The Catholic Church, without showing the slightest aggressiveness; the railroads, which daily pour in throngs of witnesses; and the freedom which the pointed guns of Camp Douglas insure, have perceptibly weakened what seemed to be a vital force in this hideous fanaticism, and have begun its overthrow. Some Mormon women have married Catholics and become exemplary members of the true Church. In fact, all the Mormons who wed liberals of any denomination embrace the religion of their spouses, which shows that Mormonism carries no conviction to the minds and hearts of its votaries. Many of the daughters of Zion tell their Gentile friends that, though Mormons, they do not believe in the teachings of Mormonism.

Would that all who fall away, or rise up, from that superstition embraced the Catholic faith. Here is what Rev. Mr. Lamb, a Baptist minister, who has lived many years in Utah, says:

"At the annual conference held in Provo, April 4, 1886, one of the leading speakers confessed, with a sad heart, that one-third of all the boys and young men in Utah, between fifteen and thirty years of age, are infidels. This statement was fully confirmed by subsequent speakers. And my own observation is, that this infidelity among the young people is even more widespread than the above admission would indicate, and is being shared by a rapidly-increasing number of the older members."

So severe is the tithing tax on the rich that, among those who accumulate wealth, some quietly drop aside out of the church without joining any other. These, and the large class that side with every party, are called "Jack Mormons." Genuine apostates are quite numerous, and their testimony as to the rulers is by no means complimentary. These men must have money. Their subjects, whose allegiance is due to ignorance and superstition, live simply.

¹ "A Perpetual Emigration Fund" is collected to bring out new recruits. At first, Europeans were brought to Winter-Quarters, *en route* for Utah, by way of New Orleans, whence they ascended the river to Omaha. But, since the opening of the railroads, they go from the Atlantic seaboard by trains. Probably about half of the Mormons are foreigners, though this may be an underestimate.

They must not buy from Gentiles or give them work. The Gentile must be starved out. A prominent "saint" was wont to affirm that God was a business God, and that if the saints had kept their business to themselves they would not be punished by the presence of the Gentiles; their money would remain among themselves. A man with many wives and scores of children needs a good allowance.

Brigham Young improved to the utmost his opportunities of acquiring wealth. The last—said to be the nineteenth—reversion of his hand he bestowed on one Amelia Folsom. He built her a showy mansion with a Mansard roof, a tower and cupola, set in the midst of a beautiful lawn. It is now the executive mansion of the Mormon hierarchy, though still called the Amelia Palace. To each of the abject women whom this American Turk selected for dishonor he gave a local habitation, if not a name. The first wife was Mrs. Young; the others were simply called Miss, with the given, we cannot say Christian, name, the last being "Miss Amelia," according to a custom common in Utah. The children of a first marriage consider themselves on a higher social plane than the offspring of subsequent so-called marriages contracted amid the orgies of the Endowment House.

Immense pains have always been taken to imbue the young with the doctrines of Mormonism. They were forbidden to hold intercourse with Gentiles, and so far this isolation has, to a great extent, kept them in darkness. But as the Gentile population increases, the young saints, much to the discomfiture of the patriarchs and high priests, become ashamed of Mormonism. At the last county election held in Salt Lake City, August, 1889, several Gentiles were elected, because many disaffected Mormons voted the liberal ticket. An intelligent Catholic gentleman who has long resided in Utah writes: "If the Government were to break up the school trustee system, for of course when there are Mormon trustees¹ there will be Mormon teachers and Mormon pupils, and appoint its own superintendent and teachers, and adopt its own text-books, which, in this case, might contain a full account of the true nature of Mormonism, the enlightenment of the children would be secured."

So far the number of Mormons who embrace the Catholic faith is small. The Mormon ranks are recruited from non-Catholic countries. The prejudices of early years are strengthened by the Church's inflexible teachings of self-crucifixion as compared with the loose morality of Mormonism. The condition of the children

¹ Several Gentile trustees have been elected, but the Mormons are scheming in every possible way to get full supervision of the schools.

is deplorable. They are often taught by their jealous aunts—plural wives are so-called—to hate one another, and encouraged to tantalize their deserted mothers. Besides, many fathers are ordered off on missionary work. Some are absent three or four years, others get “revelations,” establish new families, and never return. In either case the children are left to their own sweet wills, and, says a Gentile resident, “it is not surprising that in the outskirts of the town the nights are often rendered hideous by the whoops of the young Mormon hoodlums,” called also “yaps.”

Like Brigham Young, the Mormons love to pose as victims. With them prosecution is persecution. They insist it is their religion that is persecuted when they are punished for breaking the law, and, “my father is in the pen,” is a common boast among the children of polygamists. There is profound policy in viewing the question as they choose to view it. As long as it bears a religious aspect, so long will law-breakers arrested for crime proclaim themselves martyrs. Queen Elizabeth, with extraordinary cunning, tried to deprive martyrdom of its heroism by enacting that the Catholic religion was treason, and punishing its adherents as traitors.

IX.

Brigham's own special demesne near the Temple Block, and stretching far to the east, was strongly fortified. A gateway in the Spanish wall called the Eagle Gate, with huge bulging buttresses on either side, has over the keystone of the arch that spans it a golden beehive, on which is perched an immense eagle with outstretched wings. The wall is broken here and there by round towers. Near it are the historic Beehive and Lion Houses, so-called respectively from the ornaments on each portico. Other houses have their faces turned to the rear of this dead wall. They were once tenanted by the miserable women who accepted, or were compelled to accept, life with the patriarch and other high mightinesses. Trap doors and underground passages are said to exist. In digging cellars and sewers skeletons have been found. All this gives a color of probability to many a weird and ghastly tale. The crumbling walls seem to re-echo the sharp shrieks and dismal moans of the poor sultanas who wept and struggled for freedom. One of these, the fifteenth consort of Brigham, actually did escape, and applied to the United States Court for a divorce in 1874. But in earlier days there was neither ingress nor egress, save through the suave but terrible sultan.

An inmate of the Beehive House says that Mrs. Young, when faded and broken, almost annihilated herself to keep some hold on the capricious affections of her husband. He breakfasted with her every morning, and she, like Rebecca of old, prepared the meats

he loved. She showered attentions on the women who had supplanted her. She was politic, and could smile when her heart was breaking. Poor woman, the end was not worthy of the means; she could not keep the heart of her fickle husband, for he had none.

The saints were not allowed to contribute to Gentile charities, but their own church assessments were very large. The building up of Zion has always been an expensive work. The church was the great merchant. Emissaries in foreign lands, Blood Atoners, Destroying Angels, could not live on air. The expenses of the Temple have already run into millions.

The Destroying Angels do not now exist as a public factor in Mormonism, but the principle that established them in by-gone days, and prompted them to perform their abominable cruelties, still exists. It is well-known that the prophet would brook no resistance. When some rebel was missing it was understood that he had been put out of the way for the good of the church. Many a dark, mysterious tale was whispered of such or such a man who was seen going into the Tabernacle or behind the Eagle Gate, and whose place in the city knew him no more. The Mountain Meadow massacre is an indelible stain on Mormonism. Over a hundred emigrants from Arkansas, *en route* for the Pacific slope, stopped at the holy city to buy provisions. Brigham did not want these strangers to mix with his saints, lest such intercourse might foment the discontent of many to whom Utah had been a land of promise rather than of performance. All were driven out and massacred by the Mormons and Lamanites, or Mormon Indians, September 9, 1857. Many years later, John D. Lee was taken out of Zion's fold and executed for his share in that shocking transaction. Something similar happened, but on a smaller scale, when the "Morrisites" seceded on the polygamy question. They settled in Weber Cañon, entrenched themselves behind stockades and corrals, and were living in peace, when one day the Destroying Angels burst furiously upon them and left many of them weltering in their gore.

A middle-aged man, son of Mormon parents, but a Gentile by choice, who remembers vividly the Mountain Meadow massacre, is a warm admirer of Governor Young, whom he knew intimately. He told the writer that Young was not responsible for all the murders which anti-Mormons lay to his charge; that he had sent a messenger on his fleetest horse to stop the Mountain Meadow massacre. "But," said he, "he wronged himself and his cause by allowing the vilest evil doers to escape unwhipped of justice." Unhappily, however, he cannot be cleared of complicity in these dastardly deeds.

In a material sense he had executive ability and several other qualities of a great ruler. He made much show of what he called religion, and was always ready to affirm that whatever commands he laid on his dupes were the results of direct revelation.¹ He inculcated apparent honesty and truthfulness, and insisted on industry. But even of material progress he allowed but a modicum. The mines must not be worked, nor skilful metallurgists introduced, for fear of bringing in the Gentiles. Neither did he care for railroads. But if he could not hinder these projects, he helped, or pretended to help, them. In the laying of the transcontinental railway between his old quarters, Omaha, and San Francisco, he was a heavy contractor. The Mormons built the road between Salt Lake City and Ogden. The modest prosperity that rewarded Mormon efforts in the days of Young's power and prestige was due in a great measure to his watchful eye, his inspiring language, and the partial absence of alcoholic stimulant. The real progress which has made Salt Lake City a notable commercial mart, is due chiefly to the incoming of the Gentiles and Gentile enterprise.

Joe Smith and Brigham Young were men of infamous lives, but, over and above personal merits or demerits, the latter had one quality the former had not, the faculty of being interesting. He attracted attention. People liked to hear of him. He was the personification of absolutism. No one was allowed to air an opinion contrary to his. But though they were as wax in his hands, he never trusted fully to the *vis inertiae* of the masses. He was the grand archee of the Danites, a secret society sworn to do his will, right or wrong. A few years more of the rule of this despot would have reduced his followers to primeval barbarism. Most of the obloquy of a horrible state of affairs fell on the women. They were emphatically the injured party. History tells us how ferocious women can be. But even had they a competent leader and a capacity for organization, what could the spiritless women of the beehive do against the sensual, avaricious wretches supposed to be their husbands?

Singularly enough, Brigham Young always got on better with Catholics than with any of the sects that settled in his capital. He expressed real love for them, and even condescended to affirm that they would be next *below* the Latter Day Saints in heaven. To this day the Mormons say: "Oh, we like the Catholics and their

² An old resident of Utah writes: "Some Mormon leaders are hypocrites of the most arrant type; no better proof can be given than their claim of being in direct communication with God, of having seen Him, etc. In making this statement each knows that he is a liar. Some bishops lay no claim to having seen the Almighty or received revelations from Him. But they profess to believe the statements of those higher in power."

bishop! He always treats us like gentlemen." When certain ministers urged the bishop to sign a petition to the Government to have them rooted out he very properly declined to interfere. They had always been kind to him, and in following a religion which he deprecated they were only exercising their private judgment, like other non-Catholics. But they had no real love for the true religion, nor would it ever have entered the boundaries of Utah if the apostles and elders could have kept it out. The first priests who penetrated President Young's capital were persecuted by his followers, and nothing of this kind was done but by his inspiration and connivance. Threatening letters were sent them; a coffin was hung on Father K——'s door, and he was privately informed that he would be put in a state to occupy it if he did not withdraw from Zion. Ostensibly the sanctimonious prophet was ignorant of all this, and no one would have dared to implicate him. The sturdy priest laid the letters and the coffin before his half-dazed eyes. With the composure and dignity of a leader in Israel he prudently "accepted the situation." Seeing that Catholics could not be kept out, he declared himself their protector. Mass was celebrated in a poor log-cabin, some miners and emigrants forming the congregation. To the Sisters, who were there in 1870, he said: "I am certain I did all a man could do to convert your priest to my religion, and without any success. But I am not so certain that he could not have converted me to the Catholic faith had he remained long enough and tried hard enough." Something like friendship sprang up in him for this bright, sunny priest, of whom he often spoke with affectionate admiration.

Brigham begged the Sisters to remain in his city to teach the children. "I am very anxious," said he, "for good, moral schools for our young people." When a convent was opened by the Sisters of the Holy Cross some years later, Mormon children¹ flocked to it. Intercourse with them brought out curious details of their domestic life. Two little girls, of the same father and different mothers, being about the same age, were called "papa's twins." The largest families number sixty-five, and families of thirty or forty are not uncommon. A theatre manager, while in Salt Lake City, wanted a certain space for his posters. He asked the owner for leave to use it. "Certainly," was the reply, "but I want some tickets for my family." Inquiry elicited the fact that the family numbered forty-one, and the manager thought it cheaper to hire his advertising space.

¹ Even the Destroying Angel put his children at the Convent school, but he would never enter its precincts. When he wanted to see them he would stand on the opposite side of the wide street, and send a messenger across to have them sent to him. When invited to the convent he would say: "I cannot go into that holy house, I am too wicked," or "Don't ask me, I am a bad man."

The bishops soon put a stop to sending Mormon children to the Convent school. Placing an importance on early impressions, which people of greater intelligence in other respects might copy with advantage, they agreed that children subjected to the teachings and example of the Sisters could never grow up good Mormons;¹ and they opened Mormon schools, to which the children were compelled to go. As a rule, the leaders were never unkind to the Sisters, but they did not wish them to invade their territory. Their head-dress seemed to mystify the women. "Madam," said one, very kindly, "have you a headache that you wrap your head so? I can give you something to cure it." Another stopped two Sisters in the street, and said: "What disgraceful creatures you are! You should be ashamed to come among the saints. How dare you lead lives against nature and the prophet?" They did not realize that a life may be above nature or supernatural without being against it. A few told sorrowful tales, but seemed sincere in their belief that some awful deity, whom they could not define, exacted of them the dreadful sacrifice their peculiar institution involves. We did not see a solitary cheerful face among the Mormon women; many faces bore the hard look that unsanctified suffering gives.

Fort Douglas is a great protection. Once a lovely girl of fifteen was dragged from her mother's side and hurried beyond the Eagle Gate, to be sealed to a "Twelve Apostle man." The girl watched her opportunity, and, with the connivance of a friend, fled to the barracks for protection.

Thrilling tales are heard on all sides, but the old days of terror have passed away never to return. One English woman declared that she had been a saint since her eighth year; another was born a saint. In addressing them one must say, "Are you a saint?" not, "Are you a Mormon?" A gentleman having shown us great courtesy, we ventured to ask, "Are you a saint, sir?" "No," said he, "I am a sinner from the Island of Saints." In Utah sinners are preferable to saints. Bishop Scanlan² has gained the good will of the Mormons more than the representative of any other denomination. When in Silver Reef, in Southern Utah, he was held in such high esteem by the leaders at St. George, that they invited him to perform service in their Tabernacle. St. George is an exclusively Mormon settlement, almost on the boundary line between Utah and Arizona. High Mass was sung, the Mormon choir assisting, and, according to the report in the official paper of the Mormons, the *Deseret News*, Mr. Scanlan preached a very

¹ Mormon children are taught to ignore all creeds and governments save the Mormon creed and the theocracy of the Mormon church.

² Utah was once under the spiritual jurisdiction of the ordinary of San Francisco, and Archbishop Alemany visited Salt Lake City three times.

interesting discourse on the principles of the Catholic faith. The Tabernacle was crowded. "Mr. Scanlan appears to be a man of considerable information, and, considering his faith, appeared liberal in his views. . . . He said: 'I believe you are wrong, and you think I am wrong; but this should not prevent us from treating each other with due consideration and respect!' It is to be hoped that he may retain this feeling in practice as well as in sentiment." Brigham Young was extremely polite to the Catholic clergy and Sisters. When he met them in the street he would stop his carriage, uncover his head,¹ and make a deep salaam. Sometimes he would make a sign to them to approach. And the big, showy man, in gray suit, with a red scarf about his neck and the shiniest of boots, would graciously inquire how they were doing, and emit his best wishes for their health and prosperity. One day two Holy Cross Sisters called on him at the Lion House, and, after some desultory conversation, asked whether he would be pleased to give them some help towards building their hospital. He had no ready money just then; all was invested, much to his regret, as it deprived him of the pleasure of aiding them. The rest of his answer deserves to be put on record *verbatim*. "But," added this high priest, considerably, "whenever you feel that you need any spiritual advice or direction, apply to me, and I will instruct you!" And so he dismissed them with his blessing. So great was his zeal for their salvation that he was baptized for them, as he had been vicariously baptized for George Washington and others.

The present attitude of the United States Government and the aggressive and progressive policy of the liberals are calculated to suppress polygamy; but residents in Utah say that it is still prevalent in many places, while it is extremely difficult to convict an offender. A friend who has been long in the territory says: "The Mormons are a lying, hypocritical, contradictory people; without honor or honesty, conscience or principle." But for their time and opportunities they are few. The whole of Utah does not contain as many people as New Orleans,² and of these less than sixty per cent. are Mormons. As for healthfulness, Salt Lake City is not more healthy than other western towns. It has been singularly unhealthy for children, as its populous cemetery shows. Diphtheria has been peculiarly fatal in the holy city, and malarial

¹ Yet Brigham never doffed the hat to any man, even a royal prince.

² One who investigated this subject writes: "Polygamy does not, where practised, show a greater number of children born in that state than does monogamy. For example, two men with ten wives each will not show as large families collectively as where the same number of women are married each to one husband." The official church report for 1888 places the number of the "faithful" in Utah at 125,000 souls. The whole population is about 215,000. In 1880 the males were 5055 in excess of the females.

diseases are by no means unknown. People boast of the number of old men and women as a proof of the salubrity of the climate; but, if we take into account the fact that most of the adults are foreigners who did not leave their homes until the perils of childhood were passed, a death-rate of over 10 in 1000 in Salt Lake City would be very large.

XI.

Brigham Young died August 29, 1877, at the Amelia Palace, and was buried September 2d. The people grieved for him. The ladies, nearly a score, who considered themselves widowed by his demise, roamed the streets disconsolate, each carrying a large towel to receive her tears as she lifted up her voice and wept. The shrieks rent the air. "The prophet is dead," was heard in every variety of tone. He had been thirty-three years their great Head Centre, and it had never struck the common people that he might, could, would, or should die. He was buried in a large green square near the Eagle Pass. Many tons of granite have been placed over the body. Perhaps it was feared that the grave might be rifled. It is further guarded by a tall iron railing. Four of his consorts are buried in the same field. Should the others decline to marry again, the same posthumous honor will be accorded their remains. Some of his descendants have become Catholics.

Nothing can be more bleak and desolate than the Mormon graveyard on the bare hillside. Thickly are the graves planted in the sandy bench, where the wind often howls and whistles dismally. Some have headstones, others pillars, others curious little head-boards coming to a point on the top. The husband is sometimes buried at one end of the family lot, his consorts in the order of their respective deaths beside him. One man had four babes lying at his feet, all born in 1870. On several women's tombstones are carved two hands clasped in the Odd Fellows' grip, with the legend, "She was true." In the cemetery no soft green turf can be seen, no trees worthy of the name; it is a piece of the original desert, planted with the dead, and contains no sign of faith, hope, or peace, no touching appeal for the eternal rest and perpetual light which poor humanity craves. In descending the lonely mountain side, it was a relief to see the grave of a penitent sinner.¹

¹ In Utah criminals condemned to death are not commonly hanged. They are shot on their coffins. The above-mentioned, being sentenced to death, asked for the Sisters. He told them he wished for a priest. The Mormons had offered to bring one, but he feared one of themselves would personate a priest in order to extort from him secrets about others, and about the situation of certain mines. The Sisters were naturally shocked; but the criminal said: "They are capable of worse than that; I have been with them so long that I know the depths of their depravity." They brought him a genuine priest, and he made his peace with God. He lived a few moments after being shot, and was assisted and consoled by the priest to the last. R. I. P. He did not wish to be interred in the Mormon Golgotha.

Some kind hand had placed upon it a rustic cross on which were scratched the consoling words, "May he rest in peace. Amen."

Neither where the Mormons worship when living, nor where they lie when dead, is any emblem of Christianity to be seen. In the huge ugly Tabernacle, where eight or nine thousand people have sometimes assembled, there is no token of Christian faith; no cross, no dove, no reminder of death, judgment or heaven; no gentle Jesus gazing down on them from the gray walls. Only lions couchant and a beehive adorn the unsightly edifice. The preaching in Mormon assemblies is said to be in keeping with the decorations. If Gentiles are present, they are preached at; if only Mormons, the crops, the weather, and other mundane subjects are introduced.

Descending from the unexpressibly dreary hiding places of the dead, "the valley lay smiling before me." Mazes of orchards, farms, garden patches, with far-away sunny peaks, diversified the grand panorama. But it is all of earth, earthy. Among the turrets of the temple there is no suggestion of heaven. From the elliptical dome of the graceless, unwieldy Tabernacle no symbol of redemption, no towering cross arises. The beautiful valley has perhaps seen more sin, and sorrow, and unsanctified suffering than any other vale on earth. Amid its picturesque scenery only the Catholic college, hospital, and cathedral give a ray of hope for the purity and sanctity of the future. Only the Catholic Church can speak to the intelligent Mormon with authority. It is the sole institution he respects, though his passions be in conflict with her pure teachings. He sees little difference between the simultaneous polygamy grafted on his religion by Brigham Young and the successive polygamy legalized wherever divorce holds sway.

The Catholic Church purified the pagan world of the Cæsars, and made her austere virtue a commonplace thing among a people just converted from the worship of Bacchus and Venus. It is more difficult to reclaim those who have fallen from their high estate as Christians into the vices of heathenism. But we can pray, and hope, and say a word in season. Something has already been done towards attracting these misguided people to her communion. More will follow. May this only true civilizer, this divine institution for the saving of souls, make a lasting home among the smiling gardens of Utah. And may every erring child of the falseness and fanaticism of the Mormon patriarch, renouncing sin and cleaving unto righteousness, find rest and salvation in the chaste embraces of our mighty Mother, the Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church, One and Indivisible.

[Judge Anderson, after a calm, impartial, and exhaustive investigation, has decided that membership in the Mormon church is

incompatible with allegiance to this nation; that the teachings, practices, and aims of that church are antagonistic to the government, and utterly subversive of good morals; and that an alien who is a member of that church is not a fit person to be made a citizen of the United States. He therefore denies the application of several men who have taken the Mormon oaths, to become citizens. (See *Salt Lake City Tribune*, Dec. 1, 1889, and previous numbers.)

In view of the overwhelming mass of evidence from Mormon authorities¹ by which the learned judge arrived at this decision, Bancroft's "Utah," vol. 31 "Pacific States Series," must be considered, in many parts, mere romance, more like the work of a Mormon pamphleteer than of an impartial historian, as a scathing review of that work in the same paper shows.]

OUR RECENT AMERICAN CATHOLIC CONGRESS AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE.

THE moral effect of the first Catholic American Congress has been more far-reaching and intense than the most hopeful among us could have expected. From England, France, Germany, Italy, from the distant colonies, from South America, we have testimony on testimony of the respect American Catholics have compelled from foreign friend and foe by one day's work, and of the admiration, the hopes, the courage, the reasonable fears we have suddenly excited in hearts true and false. Neither books, nor journals, nor intimate communication with us had made Europeans, Catholic or non-Catholic, rightly appreciative of our force, our importance, and our large patriotic ambitions. Whatever our descent, we are willing exiles from intolerable tyrannies. Men more patient, or less foreseeing and decisive, have been educated, perhaps, to look upon us, if not as outcasts, at least as inferiors. Our quiet bearing under the vulgar abuse of fellow-citizens whom we had so freely helped to be our equals, may have led the offspring of those who did not always know how to maintain our fathers' rights, or their

¹ Journal of Discourses, *Deseret News*, etc.

own rights, to look upon us as weaklings in the faith, or in manhood. Young, poor, unpolished, the men of the universities, the colleges, the castle, and the mansion, have somewhat despised us in a pitying way. Then, the fact that American Catholics are the original and true democratic-republicans has made a considerable number of our foreign brethren look upon us as covert enemies of the Church; as men committed to principles inimical to her constitution; as miners, threatening the sacred walls of ancient kingdoms and monarchies—walls sacred only inasmuch as they are mostly builded from the ruins of the temple of Christian liberty. So true is it that the illiberal training of the European State has distorted the minds of the very sons of liberty, and made them fear even her dear name.

To see this democracy of men sprung from every land, united in faithful obedience to our hierarchy and to the Pope, glorying in the principle of toleration that first we sowed in American soil, strong in our claims for the "freedom and independence" of the Papacy and in the declaration of our own right of freedom of conscience in education, binding ourselves to be active for the moral and material well-being of all the citizens of our Republic, offering the hand of fellowship to all other religious bodies, where fellowship can avail to promote the general welfare of the Commonwealth—was to learn a new lesson in history. Our unanimity in expressing devotion to the great Christian principles on which our government was founded, and our determination to maintain those principles intact, as the richest legacy we can leave our children, will surely set some good clerics and laymen a thinking; and the generous and intelligent interest of young and still younger communities in the cause of higher education, in the elevation of the press, and in the fostering and spread of good literature, will slowly awaken the minds of foreign *dilettanti* to the fact that we have successfully struggled for an intellectual as well as a material life, and that we are ready to give the world, as well as to receive from it, valuable and lively instruction. The wit that limited our Catholic mental sky to the storied circumference of a dollar, may now do truthful service in communities not less greedy.

The Congress has not only centred the attention of the Catholic world on our loving, yes, passionate, loyalty to Catholic doctrine, morals and practice; on our attachment to those liberties, not modern but Christian, that we have nourished here from the beginning; on our keen sense of the world-problems of the day, and of

¹ In the *Correspondant*, one of the oldest and ablest of French periodicals, you may still read articles on American Society, labelled: *Les Yankees chez eux*; and yet French Catholics think they are more intelligent than American Catholics! *Vide Le Correspondant*, Dec. 10, 1889.

the part we are to play in their solution—it has more than all opened the minds of clerics and laymen to the fact that we have been writing a chapter in the history of the Church. It is, indeed, a “wonderful chapter, a chapter big with promise, and all the hope and future civilization of mankind.”¹ The Italian, the German, the Frenchman, the Englishman, who would measure the present, who would act in the present and on the future, must first learn our wonderful chapter well by heart. Providential our work has been, but not unstudied, not without method and design. We learned the lesson that was beaten into us by foreign tyrants and demagogues. We have long been conscious of the fact that “in religion, as in other things, it” *is*—not “seems to be”—“the destined lot of the New World to redress the balance of the Old.”²

The sympathy of European Catholics, as shown by hearty greetings or by the presence of distinguished envoys, and the intelligent judgment formed by the foreign Catholic press on the work of the Congress, are significant of the times, of the new day that is dawning, and of the leading part we are to play in the grand tragedy of the future. Not less significant is the effect produced on the persecuting liberalism, Protestant and infidel, that has mastered a great part of the Old World. To imagine that we, who not too coolly, though safely, have watched the specious evil-doing of the real enemies of freedom, would betray the cause for which we have suffered so much, and join them in their criminal attempt on the only constant protector of liberty in this world,—the Roman Catholic Church,—was to misprize our light, intellect, experience, traditions and education. It was well that Masonic pseudo-Catholics, compromisers of the Papal authority, persecutors of the clergy, anti-Jesuits, social revolutionists, legal robbers of church property, lay educationists, anti-clericals, should learn, once for all, that the Catholic laymen of America are proud of being pro-Papal without compromise; that they are proud of the Jesuits from whose chaste loins the Church in the United States drew its vigorous life, and who have filled this land with lovers of liberty and haters of tyranny. It was well that our “clericalism” should have been made as clear as our manhood and loyal independence; and that we should have given warning to those who have not counted on us that we are watchful, young, strong, decided and almost done with waiting. The Italian free-thinkers have already heard our strong voice. There are others who have caught the meaning of our words, even if they give no sign. In time, let us hope, we shall not so fear the sound of our own voice as we have feared it for a century.

¹ Quoted from the London *Tablet*, November 30, 1889, p. 853.

² *Vide* London *Tablet*, *loc. cit.*

Let us draw encouragement from the respectful attention of the enemy. False liberty! *Voilà l'ennemi!*

The moral effect of the Congress on our neighbors in Canada was apparent during the Congress itself. The presence of Cardinal Taschereau and the address of Premier Mercier showed that Catholic Canada was quick to grasp the full meaning of the new movement. Recognizing that "the Church which Bishop Carroll erected on the free soil of America is one of the greatest in the world,"¹ they evidently look upon it as a force whose influence is not to be limited by territorial lines. Our Canadian brethren find themselves face to face with problems that we have solved, or that we are preparing to solve. Their experience will be useful to us, and the fact that we have, at considerable cost, partially civilized Boston, may encourage them to hope that our methods will serve them in Toronto. Mutually we may aid each other in educating non-Catholic majorities and minorities up to a full acceptance of that definition of justice which M. Mercier set forth as the rule of his government: "A moral virtue disposing the will always to render to others their rights according to equity." Should the Catholic Congress be the means of still more closely uniting Canadian and American in the cause of religious liberty and of equal rights on this continent, we shall be not a little indebted to the Cardinal and the Premier who so rightly estimated the importance of the occasion, and the advantages to be gained by a union religious if not political.

Our American fellow-citizens who differ from us in religion have not found in the Congress any new cause for refusing due respect to the Church or to Catholics; indeed, we may safely assume that their sense of respect has been largely increased. The press and the ministry are our witnesses that organization is an argument which affects the mass of men more powerfully than logic. After our second Congress not a single eminent backwoods theologian will dare to expose his ignorance by denying our Christianity. Let us have a chance to reach the people directly, and they will quickly educate themselves out of the puerilities that have been preached into them by the learned graduates of village schools, and by dogmatists saturated with the erudition of the town library. A New York journal, whose columns do not always show an intelligent consideration for American Catholics, stated a fact connected with the Congress that must have troubled many ministers and church members who still firmly believe that not to be a Catholic insures the highest order of intelligence and knowledge.

"I had no idea that any single religious congregation in the

¹ *Vide* Premier Mercier's address before the Congress.

Union of any denomination could present so high an average of ability and zeal as does this Congress," said the enterprising journal. "If this Congress were a fair average of the Catholic laity, I should expect to see the whole country Catholicized within the next half century," are the words of the discerning correspondent of the same journal.¹ Some simple men have charged that Catholicity crushes the human intellect. Perhaps we are, naturally, so able that only when we are crushed do other denominations become properly inferior to us. The Catholic layman's intellectual powers and acquirements have been somewhat generally questioned by members of denominations whose intellectual superiority has never been established unless by royal patent, or the great seal of self-sufficiency. If the Congress did no more than to make it plain that Catholic intellect is the ablest in America, the Congress was not held in vain.

The action of the Congress was admirably summed up in another of the New York journals—a journal that deserves the credit of being the first in the United States to treat Catholics and Catholic questions with uniform and intelligent respect. From this summary we quote a few words to show how thoughtful, fair-minded non-Catholics were impressed by the temper of the laymen assembled at Baltimore: "In all its declarations the Congress treated the subjects with which it dealt, and they touched the entire religious, social and educational problem, with a careful regard for Protestant sentiment and Protestant prejudice."² That our laymen should have begun to know one another so late, is sincerely to be regretted. To have given such a lesson, at their first meeting, to "sentiment and prejudice"—a lesson not lost, evidently, on serious, unprejudiced men—was, however, to give immediate, certain proof of intellectuality and Christianity. Let us hope, with the same able writer, that: "Even if an attitude so conciliatory does not tend at once to disarm Protestant suspicion of Roman Catholic motives and intentions, it may do so eventually." It is unfortunate, by the way, that the Protestant laymen are not so united in faith that they could meet in congress. There can be little doubt that they would prefer to act with such an able and intellectual body of Christians as we Roman Catholics are, "for the welfare of society and the preservation of revealed religion," rather than risk society and revealed religion in the sole interest of "sentiment and prejudice."

From all parts of the country expressions hardly less respectful have found their way into the editorial columns or the corre-

¹ The New York *Herald*, November 13th, 1889, p 3.

² The New York, *Sun*, November 14th, 1889.

spondence of the leading newspapers. Even periodicals like the *Independent* have sandwiched compliments between misrepresentations that are, for the most part, unintentional. Referring to the honor shown everywhere to the American flag, the *Independent* of November 21st said: "There was in it something of the assertive, as if they knew that their patriotism had been called in question by an oisy clique in Boston and by a foolish 'American' party elsewhere; and they would not let it be possible for any one but a knave to assert that their submission in religious doctrine to Rome could interfere with their patriotism." If the Congress has freed us from all attacks on our patriotism, barring those that are to come from the "knaves," we have done a great service to the country. There are senators and editors who have not heretofore been publicly named by their right name. It was worth a long journey and much inconvenience to have settled the denomination under which our patriotic Protestant fellow-citizens had catalogued these noisy fellows. The *Independent's* name will stick. "It would be silly to question the genuineness or fervor of our loyalty," to quote the *Independent* again. "Its persistent assertion is the first note of difference distinguishing this from a Protestant religious convention." The reason for this "persistent assertion" the editor of the *Independent* tries to explain, but fails through a defect he may some day correct. The Catholic is always a patriot. His creed makes him love his country and its flag, after God and God's Church. He loves it not merely from sentiment, but from duty. He is accustomed to the outward expression of his honest feelings. He is not a statue, but a living man. At congress after congress some worthy representative of the *Independent* will remark the same fervor of loyalty to the flag. Another century will not have cooled Catholic fervor. What an education our non-Catholic fellow-citizens are getting from this single, short Congress! And how great allowance we should make for them! With the best of good-will, many of them find it very difficult to understand us. We are so human.

So much for others—how is it with ourselves? Surprised; there can be no other truthful answer. This was the feeling that first moved every delegate that entered Concordia Hall on the morning of Monday, November 11, 1889, after attending the Mass celebrated in the Baltimore cathedral by the revered Archbishop of New York—surprise at the number of self-reliant, physically strong, serious, good-tempered men who had crowded from every State to give proof of their love for Catholic truth and of their readiness to work for the defense and the spread of that truth. We should not have been surprised had we really known ourselves. What has been done, what is doing, we know. It is men's work, rare work,

and done as men have rarely done it. But we doubt, easily, common report; we question what we have not seen with our own eyes; and, besides, we remember the "hickory" Catholics once so common, when success in the world, fortune, respectability, so-called, were supposed to be the providential guerdon of cowardice. To kneel in some side-chapel in a strange land, a noble on the one hand, many beggars on the other—brothers all—is to gather new strength, new pride, new hope, with thankfulness. You feel that *you* have a world of brothers, united with you in aspiration, in principle, in affection. What a mighty power we are, you exclaim, if we only knew ourselves! Imagine us all united in that unity whose ideal the Church ever sets before us—the unity of peace, good-will, well-doing! Why, there would not be a shadow of ignorance or error in the world, for the very sun of light that shone from out the Cross!

A kindred feeling it was that moved every man at the Congress. Men of the West, the East, the North, the South—Catholics and Americans; no longer Americans and foreign Catholics—at a glance recognized their brotherhood. The eye told that, and more; it told of the revelation of power that had suddenly come to each mind—not political power, others have rightly estimated this, but power to serve "the welfare of society," power to "preserve revealed religion." The depth of this new feeling could be measured by the reception given to the now famous speech of the most dramatic orator in the United States—a speech whose manner and effect will never be forgotten by any one so fortunate as to have heard it. This speech has not escaped criticism, even from the Catholic side; but, perhaps, some men have forgotten that an American Declaration of Independence is traditionally coupled with a bold recital of wrongs patiently suffered. Those who do not belong to our faith will be pleased to pardon us if we manage our own affairs in a wholly American way. The enthusiasm aroused by this short speech was maintained until the closing of the Congress. Indeed, we may safely say that now the enthusiasm is none the less lively because it has been distributed far and wide. It is becoming that we, too, should have a sacred fire on every hearthstone. There it is—who will minister to it?

The laymen of France, Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, Spain, and even of the youthful Argentine Republic, did not wait for our example before beginning to take their duly appointed part in the work of the Church. The layman's part is larger than it has been of late, though not as large as it will be soon. The learned Hettinger, in a recent number of the *Literarische Rundschau*, notices a work of the well-known canon, Salvatore di Bartolo, in which a plea is made for a closer unity with the laity than many of our

clergy might think desirable. It is not the layman's ambition, but the foresight of the hierarchy, that will bring about whatever modifications may be deemed advisable in the relations of the laity to the economy of the Church. Here, though we are all dukes and princes, we have a lively remembrance of what poor helpers many dukes and most princes have been, and we have a becoming fear of the influence of the world, the flesh and the devil, upon lay workers and counsellors.¹

In Germany it was not the hierarchy that first appreciated the changed conditions. Time has proven that the German Catholic layman's estimate of his uses in the world of the present was not rash. In our own country it is from the bishops that the laymen have received an invitation to combine, consult, and act, in an orderly manner, for the outward defense and the interior development of our holy religion. The character, the meaning, of that invitation was made plain by the honored, courageous and eloquent Archbishop of Philadelphia, in his sermon at the Centennial Mass on the Sunday preceding the opening of the Congress. "And on this great historic occasion you must not be mere observers, but we trust your representatives will speak out freely and fearlessly in the lay Congress, which forms so interesting a feature in this centennial celebration. You know how false is the charge of the enemies of the Church that you are priest-ridden. It is now time that an active, educated laity should take and express interest in the great questions of the day affecting the Church and society." The invitation is not to be misunderstood—free and fearless speech on the great questions of the day that affect the Church and society, questions in which laymen should take and express an interest. His Eminence, Cardinal Gibbons, was no less clear and precise in his short speech to the members of the Congress: "This Congress, by the mere fact of being called together, emphasizes and vindicates the important truth that it is the privilege, as well as the duty, of the laity to co-operate with the clergy in discussing those great economical, educational and social questions which affect the interests and well-being of the Church, the country, and society at large." For once every educated layman could feel that he enjoyed equal freedom with the youngest Catholic editor.

From His Eminence's frank and prudent address, the delegates were justified in assuming that to the great West the other three smaller points of the compass are indebted for the organization and the management of the Congress. No praise would be too high for the talent displayed both in the organization and the management of the Congress. The men of the North, South, and

¹ *I Criteri Teologici*. Turin, 1889. See F. Hettinger's review in the *Literarische Rundschau*, November 1, 1889, p. 327-329.

East owe themselves a compliment, however. They know how to repress themselves at the right moment. Self-repression can never be confounded with oppression, as long as Mr. Webster's dictionary continues to be contemporaneously unabridged.

His Eminence was quick to see, and to say, what was, indeed, a patent fact, that "the time was too short for so important an undertaking." It was not possible even to do justice to the plan adopted by the organizers—we say adopted, though the published plan seems to have been printed on a body more elastic than paper. Some of the material offered for fearless consideration has not yet come before the delegates, and is, necessarily, reserved for the deliberations of the winter fireside. There was, too, unpremeditated material introduced, which the Congress could hardly have been expected to discuss without due preparation. However, in and out of congresses, we learn by experience. The next Congress, we may be certain, will be so planned that we shall be encouraged to help one another "to discuss those great economical, educational and social questions which affect the country and society at large."

A paper well worthy of discussion was the first on the official order: "Catholic Congresses." Our learned historian, Dr. John Gilmary Shea,—who, if we were as proud of our Catholic-American history as our applause of the moving rhetoric of the speakers at this Congress implied, would be directing an endowed school of young men devoted to the preservation and publication of that history,—offered many valuable suggestions as to the proper scope of the Baltimore Congress, and the spirit in which it should deal with the questions submitted to it. In how far the organizers of the Congress were guided by the experience of our brethren abroad, we have no means of judging; but, from Dr. Shea's summary of the creditable work that has been done within the last forty years, it is evident that we have a fund of useful experience at our disposal.

The spoliation of the Church, and the temporary suspension of the temporal power of the Papacy, no less criminal because temporary, was a subject that might well have occupied the attention of the Congress for twenty minutes, at least; but it was eliminated from the list of subjects on which the representatives of the laity might "speak out freely and fearlessly." Instead of this very living question, in the "Platform," as well as in the ably written paper of Mr. Charles J. Bonaparte,—probably the paper showing the most literary finish of any read before the Congress,—the subject of the "Independence of the Papacy" was presented; a subject which, as it required no discussion, was not discussed. As an historical essay, the paper was highly interesting; as a study of the political

movements of recent years, it showed a considerable acquaintance with the situation; but the conclusion was not the logical conclusion. It would have been quite becoming in a paper written for the special audience of a political review, by a trained diplomatist, who confined himself, through habit, to the purely political sides of the question in their relation to the actual political conditions. No Catholic congress can fix the limits of the Papal claims. As yet the laymen have not been invited to formulate a policy for the Apostolic See, in the matter of its independence. Two Popes, Pius IX. and Leo XIII., have not hesitated to assert that the independence of the Papacy is to be assured only through the free exercise of its rightful, sovereign, temporal power. The Catholic laity of this country know how insecure has been the foundation on which that power has rested. Men's insincerity, malice, greed, have not, however, made a secure foundation needless. Perhaps there is a tendency to assume that Providence intends to manage this matter without our weak co-operation. The laymen prefer to take the judgment of the Church, as expressed by the voice of the Pope—a voice audible to all but the deaf. Minimizing suits certain minds delicately constituted; but clear minds, conservative minds, direct minds, prefer frank, moderate, and unambiguous words, where great principles are involved. The laymen of this country are ready, at any moment, to demand, not merely that "the absolute freedom of the Papacy be scrupulously respected by foreign governments," but also to express their loyalty to the traditions of the Church concerning the place in which that freedom should be, by right, enjoyed. In the East, the laymen have more than once given open expression to their perfect agreement with Leo XIII. in his affirmation of the whole of the Papal rights, and in some future congress, if need be, they shall be pleased to tell why. The words spoken by a learned cleric, as the representative of the American College, at a dinner given in New York to Mgr. Satolli, since the Congress, had no uncertain sound, and commended themselves to laity as well as clergy. There are a few minimizers in the East, but they are, for the most part, precluded from taking part in a layman's congress. The non-Catholic press has not been slow to attribute to the seeming attitude of the Congress on the question of the temporal power, a meaning which it had not. The untimely and not too powerful utterances of a Catholic journal, published neither East nor West, were assumed to represent the views of the American laity. To assume this is to assume that some editors are responsible to the laymen, or that the laymen are responsible for some editors. No congress has, thus far, imposed upon Catholic laymen an official editor. We enjoy that great boon—liberty of the press; and the

Catholic editor will caracole now and then. Artists who practise *le haut manège*, in private, escape public criticism, but those who seek the applause of the public must be prepared, if not for musical sibilation, at least for an artless measure of their training.

The following extract from *The Catholic Standard* of December 7, 1889, will show that there are Catholic American editors who know Catholic American laymen, and who are prepared to try the pace of ambitious riders of the school of modest "independence." "During the last few weeks, the subject of the temporal power," says *The Catholic Standard*, "has been brought more conspicuously to the front among our Protestant contemporaries than otherwise it probably would have been, by some utterances of the Baltimore *Catholic Mirror*. Unfortunately, we failed to see the *Mirror's* article, and can only judge of it by the quotations from it which we have seen in other journals in connection with their comments. Judging from these quotations, we infer that the pith of the *Mirror's* argument was that while the Sovereign Pontiff ought to be free and independent in the discharge of the functions of his exalted office, it was not necessary that he should possess any temporal power, or be the sovereign ruler of any city or territory.

"Some of our Protestant contemporaries, and notably the New York *Independent*, have seized upon this, and—jumping to the conclusion that the *Mirror* (being published in Baltimore) expresses the opinions of His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons, and that Cardinal Gibbons represents the Sovereign Pontiff, Leo XIII.—are industriously engaged in proclaiming that the Holy Father has gone back upon all his former declarations, and those, also, of all his predecessors in office.¹

"How utterly preposterous this is, it is scarcely necessary to say. It is unreasonable in the highest degree to suppose that any Catholic prelate, much less a prelate occupying the high position of Cardinal Gibbons, and whose prudence is one of his best-known characteristics, would make the irresponsible utterances of the editor of a Catholic newspaper the medium through which his opinions on a subject of such crucial importance were given to the public. Catholic editors understand this perfectly well. They know that the ordinary of a diocese should not and ought not, and, in the nature of the case, cannot make himself responsible for

¹ From the Roman telegrams of the New York *Sun*, of January 1st, 1890, we extract the following passage, which shows the position of the Pope, according to the latest advices—from Rome. "His Holiness referred to the temporal power as necessary to the independence and liberty of the Pope in the exercise of his mission, and declared that he did not claim the restoration of the temporal power from human motives. It was his right, and he was required to preserve it intact and transmit it to his successor as one of the inalienable treasures of the Christian faith."

what the editors of Catholic newspapers write without regard to whether the newspapers they respectively edit have or have not the express approval of Catholic prelates. To prevent any possible misunderstanding on this point, the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore decreed that Catholic bishops ought not and should not make themselves responsible for anything published except what they write over their own names and in the discharge of the duties of their sacred office. This, we think, effectually disposes of the delusion of our Protestant contemporaries that the *Mirror* is the representative of Cardinal Gibbons's opinions.

"As regards the opinion expressed by the *Mirror*, it is clearly a *non sequitur* in logic and in fact. The Holy father *cannot* be free and independent if he is the *subject* of any temporal prince, or king or government, or of any number of them. Yet, a temporal subject he must be, unless he is a temporal sovereign. Nor can he be a temporal sovereign in fact, unless he is not only *de jure*, but also *de facto*, the ruler, the temporal as well as spiritual ruler, of the city or region in which he has an official chair, and where the central, administrative and executive offices and institutions necessary to the government of the Church are situated.

"Simply to attribute to him the honorary title and dignity of a sovereign is not sufficient. That would not in any way meet the exigencies of the case. It would simply be a mockery. What is needed, is that he be a sovereign ruler in fact as well as a sovereign of right. It is not empty honors and dignities that the Visible Head of the Church aspires to or desires. It is simply the freedom and independence which are essential to the unhindered, unhampered discharge of the functions of his exalted office. And to that temporal sovereignty is an indispensable condition." The *Standard's* position is unassailable; and this position will be the Catholic layman's position—until the Papacy has waived its own exalted rights.

The Catholic Press is a subject that might well be discussed in a congress of Catholic American laymen. It was not discussed at the Baltimore Congress. In a paper evidencing a careful study of the present condition of the Catholic press, and a lively sense of its defects and of its possibilities, Mr. George D. Wolff presented question upon question, which will some day be solved by practical men, whose interests may be almost wholly financial. The notion that our ten millions will not support Catholic journals that deserve the support of intelligent men, is a notion not founded on a thorough knowledge of the Catholicity or the mental training of the laymen. If there be a good Catholic journal, or magazine, in the United States, not properly supported, the fault lies with the management, and not with the laymen. Indeed, if they had not

supported journals that should have been allowed to support their own weak selves, perhaps we should now have more good journals than we have—and we have some. The men who are waiting for laymen to seize upon them and make them leading editors, and their journals powerful organs of Catholic opinion, will, in good time, lose faith in us. Show the laymen that you can edit and lead, and take common, ordinary, business means to bring your journal to their attention, and you will find that your success will astonish you. The Catholic editor who attended the Catholic Congress, and did not carry away this lesson with him, should hastily settle down in his predestinated home—Sleepy Hollow. Mr. Wolff's paper is still open for discussion, and it deserves discussion.

Catholic American literature is a kindred subject, and one dismissed by the Congress after Mr. Condé B. Pallen had presented its claims. In a hearty, general way, the "Platform" says a good word for Catholic writers, Catholic books, Catholic circulating libraries and reading circles. If the Catholic publisher was omitted, it was, doubtless, because the committee knew that he might safely be trusted to take care of himself. A word from a Catholic publisher telling laymen the great things that have been done, and that are doing, to encourage Catholic writers, and to keep at work their compulsorily idle pens, would have been most agreeable to the laymen who have not yet taken hold of the publishing business. The publishers say that fewer good Catholic books are published in this country to-day than there were thirty-five years ago; and they claim that of the books published fewer are sold than were sold thirty-five years ago. The laymen who buy books would like to see the statistics. If the facts be as stated, they are not wholly creditable to laymen. But how about the publishers? Do we read no books worth mentioning, or is it only that we do not read the books that our publishers do not publish? A Catholic editor, who has won his spurs as a writer,—and they are made of good metal,—quite recently paid his compliments to the Catholic publishers after this fashion: "An endless string of English books and European translations has been spun out upon Catholic Americans, and old editions have been re-cooked with new sauces *ad nauseam*."¹ Apparently, among Catholic publishers, it is not the fittest who survive—thirty-five years. The subject of our Catholic literature has a very practical side. There will be a good literature only when the writers have assimilated the truth that the pen is mightier than the retailer of "English books and European translations," and the condescending printer of original work on a heart-breaking commission. The writers need union, acquaintance; above all,

¹ THE CATHOLIC REVIEW, December 7, 1889.

intelligent action for a common end. It is unfortunate that they allowed this Congress to pass without taking a practical step towards a more intimate association.

Catholic art—architecture, sculpture, painting, music—will, we assume, be encouraged at the next Congress. It will be the first place in which the arts, whose glory is the glory of the Church, have received public recognition. A hundred years of church building should have been as effective as a royal academy in developing the talent which, as it is not denied to Americans who are not Catholics, we may presume is not wholly refused to American Catholic laymen. There was at least one representative of Church music at the Congress. His song recalled Mendelssohn. Its melody was not vocal. Catholic artists will know that Catholic writers have mastered the secrets of one chord at least—the chord of sympathy.

To turn from a neglected art to a pressing world-problem, the problem of intemperance, we find the platform of the Congress temperate and prudent in its support of the side of law, order, public decency, and the welfare of the community. The paper read before the Congress by Mr. John H. Campbell was remarkable for its frank criticism of the latest attempts to make men temperate by legal statutes. Outside of the Catholic Church it is rare to find supporters of total abstinence who do not place an abiding trust in legislative enactments. To hear the practical value of the Catholic principle of moral suasion so strongly emphasized by one whose close study of actual conditions must have made his authority more than ordinarily valuable, was to find new cause for hope that, in this country, the Church may, in time, teach non-Catholics the true remedy for intemperance—self-restraint based on religion.

Catholic societies and Catholic young men's societies commanded a few minutes' attention from the laymen. The paper read and the speeches made on these topics were, probably, filled with new ideas, but the benefit derived from them will not be due to the interchange of views, and the comparison of experiences, brought out at the Congress. Though we have done much here in the way of charity, and in the way of protecting and assisting young men, we have still much to learn from Catholic Europe, where the best minds among the laymen, as well as among the clergy, have generously devoted themselves to developing the action of the Church upon society at large. When this work has been thoroughly explained to Catholic American laymen, they will be better prepared to deal with these subjects at home, and they will, besides, be incited to follow their brothers in well-doing.

As Americans and as Catholics we are doubly interested in the

all-absorbing social question and in the question of popular education. The Congress listened to a portion of the single paper that dealt with the former subject. Mr. Foy had evidently gathered statistics of more than ordinary value, and laymen who wish to prepare themselves for a study of the problem that is generally, and not too logically, formulated under the caption, capital and labor, will derive much desirable information from a leisurely reading of his essay. There was no discussion of Mr. Foy's paper, nor of any question germane to the subject he so well handled. Discussion would have been useless. As far as lay society is concerned, the social question is eminently a practical question. To theologians laymen must leave the discussion of the morality of principles and of acts, to which so-called economists occasionally pin their variable faith. The layman's work is simple, and can be learned without essays or books dealing with generalities. Men suffer evils from ignorance, negligence, vice or viciousness. Organized common sense and organized charity can cure most of these evils. They will not cure themselves, and an essay a day will not modify them. Nor will the ever-convenient, fetish-worshipped statute relieve society of them. The human mind and conscience, and human passions, are ten thousand times more elastic than written law. Catholic laymen in Congress assembled can do immeasurable service in improving the social condition of all the citizens of our beloved land. But those who come to read papers before the Congress must bring practical ideas based on proven facts. We want studies of life in certain localities; studies of the conditions affecting certain trades and manufactures; studies of mining in certain States; studies of farm life and of the agricultural laborer's home, habits, pay,—studies re-enforced by suggestions or plans for the material improvement and the special education of certain classes. Of course it is much easier to "resolve" than to work; and the mass of mankind imagines that it can "resolve" society into a pleasing shape at the command of fine words. In this country there has been too much windy "resolution" and too little Christian activity. In our Catholic congresses, workmen, employers, bankers meet on common ground. They meet to serve each other. If their joint, prudent, practical action does not effect a desirable change in the social condition of our countrymen, it will be because we have not here, as our Catholic brethren in Europe have, a body of intelligent, thoughtful, high-minded men who are ready to found a profession not new in the Catholic Church—the profession of intelligent, scientific, unselfish Catholic benevolence. In a very practical paper read before the Congress by Major H. F. Brownson, the scope of "Lay Action in the Church" was well developed, and due stress was laid upon the

fact that our liberty of action was far less trammelled than that of Catholics in the Old World. Is our liberty of action in the field of Christian charity—for the whole social question is closely bound up with the question of charity—more limited here than abroad? If not, then there is no reason why we should not begin to organize the social machine, so that it may be fitted to do its best work in "The New Social Order."

It is worthy of remark that the two able speakers who were selected to bring the subject of Catholic education before the Congress were more or less intimately connected with the South. There is no "Catholic Church South." Our politics do not split *our* religion in halves. West or South—we are all one; and our unity on the question of religious education is now to be seen of all men. Here again we must emphasize the moral effect of the Congress. We knew we were united on this subject. We could not be otherwise. The question is one of loyalty to Christ. Other men who claim to be Christians may be willing to sacrifice Christianity in the interest of paganism, but we shall not. It is not a question of civil unity, it is not a question of un-sectarianism, it is not a question of the amalgamation of diverse races. It is a question of God or irreligion—a question to move the Christian patriot above all other questions. The Catholic position was fairly, strongly, boldly, and withal, moderately put by Messrs. Dunne and Kelly. However, this is also a practical question—a question to be *solved* by the Catholic laymen. To have shown the men of every State in the Union that the Catholics of every State were combined in affirming a principle—the principle that "religion and education are inseparable"—was to clear the way for practical action. Though local conditions must be considered in the settlement of this vast problem, there is a common ground on which all Catholics can meet and act for the common good. Our interests in the matter are now so large—property interests, money interests, to name no others—that they deserve a kind of consideration they have not thus far received. A suggestion of the observant and learned Dr. John Gilmary Shea might well be considered and applied, even before the next Congress. Why should not a central committee of experienced men be appointed to study the educational problem in its various aspects, and to draw up and put into effect a general plan of action whose object should be the education of the people of every State in the true principles of education; in the rights and duties of our American States, where liberty of conscience is guaranteed to all men; in the practicableness of a system of education in which the rights of men of all religions, and of no religion, should be fully protected, a system assuring the peace of society,

the education of all our youth, and a hearty agreement in the development of free public instruction? Why should not subordinate State committees, through the press, the platform, the pamphlet, spread the great principles of liberty that we almost alone support? Shall we sit hugging our own patriotism, our own assured sense of right, our own just estimate of our power? Or shall we go out of doors, and, from the house-top, voice our wisdom and our sense of duty? Freedom of education, which has been deceitfully stolen from American citizens, will be recovered only as every other freedom has been won. By action, courageous, intelligent, and peaceful. A Catholic is always peaceful—until peaceful methods cease to be manly. It is to be regretted that the subject of education was so sandwiched in with other questions that the Catholic Congress could not take the first step in the way of its practical solution.

The Congress solved one question—the equality of the red man and the black man with the Catholic white man. Has any other Christian body proclaimed its Christian sense of equality in the same frank way? Are our variously colored brothers to be not even step-brothers in the fraternal congregation of anti-Romanism? And do our white and separated brothers mean to insist that we shall carry the banner of equality alone, as we do carry the banner of liberty? We are ready. Our sense of equality is as unbounded as our desire for perfect fraternity. In all these we give more than we receive. If our non-Catholic brethren will deal with us as fraternally as we deal with the Indian and the Negro, we may, on the occasion of the Columbus celebration, joyfully embrace one another—a band of brothers. Our first colored Catholic priest and our first colored Catholic editor were no less honored at the Congress than were Chief Joseph and White Bird—birds of promise all. Our American Propaganda is young, but who shall say how soon it will outstrip its Roman mother? In good time we shall lend a helping hand to the single-hearted Europeans who are so forward in the “civilization” of Africa. We owe a new civilization to many lands still uncivilized. Providence has made this part of our mission clear.

With a large generosity, our western brethren accepted Mr. Campbell's proposition that the next congress should be held in New York. When eastern—somewhat eastern—solidity combines with western dash in the choice of a plan for another congress, and in the organization of Catholic laymen for practical purposes, the men from the North and the South will recognize that the sandwiches were cut with a freer hand. Probably few of the delegates to the Baltimore Congress knew, or know to-day, on what basis representatives were chosen. The quality of the work

done at any congress will depend largely on the selection of the delegates; and no intelligent plan for the holding of a congress can be put into operation until a wise system of selection has been elaborated. As we understand it, each bishop chose his own representatives at the Baltimore Congress. No doubt, religious societies, colleges, the professions, trade, the arts, were represented in a general way; and no doubt there were ten or twenty delegates from some one walk in life to one from some other walk. Such a mode of representation cannot be rightly effective. Trade, mercantile pursuits, the various professions, the arts, colleges and religious societies should all be represented, and represented equally. Life insurance is important, but no more so than the higher education. Temperance is important; but no less so are the relations between employer and employed, and the condition of the working classes. The press has its importance; but it is not greater than that of general literature and its diffusion. Good work can only come from an orderly, truly representative body of *specialists*, whose force is in their knowledge, even more than in their numbers. Thus representative, we shall be no less desirable railroad excursionists, and every delegate will carry with him something larger than his gripsack, and weightier than his uncountersigned ticket, in the shape of concentrated mental food. The honor of a nomination by the bishop as a delegate to a congress so constituted will not be less than was the honor conferred at Baltimore. The moral effect of the congress will be greater, and the practical effects immediate and positive.

Before this assembly all Catholic questions with which laymen have to do might be discussed in writing, and not otherwise. A body of loose debaters may rule a nation in a way to please some people, but the way will not commend itself to Catholic laymen. Each topic should be discussed by those fitted to discuss it. Hence, the delegates, according to the special interests they have been chosen to represent, would be divided into groups or sections. Artists, literary men, journalists would meet together. Employers, employed and financiers would form a section apart. Associations, according to their aims and modes of action, would consult together. The historical essay, if not read before the general assembly, would find a hospitable reception in some section.

The benefits derivable from a congress organized in this way—and the way is not new—are apparent. All the men who devote themselves to particular lines of thought will form an acquaintance useful to themselves and doubly so to us. The free interchange of well-considered views and of studied experience will naturally broaden and strengthen individual minds; and thus the Catholic body will be even better protected from the errant knight of the

hobby-horse, and from the self-asserting champion or hero of a narrow provincialism. Like the rest of the world, we are often allowed to esteem most highly notions that are ours only because of the ignorance which we are pleased to think is rare knowledge. This disease is curable by the Mental Friction treatment. The whole of American society will feel the influence not only of the idea, but of the work developed in a thoroughly representative congress. Such a congress will be a movable university, vivifying the thought and informing the minds, not of sixty men, but of sixty millions of men. The "resolutions" of this congress will be verbal signs of the organized action of the various groups. The word is good only inasmuch as, testifying to life, it enkindles life.

This congress-university should affect not merely Catholic thought, but non-Catholic thought. Into every community, into every legislative body, it should bring new ideas, new truths,—ideas and truths which only the Catholic Church holds, and which she alone can spread,—ideas and truths on which the life of all human society depends. In senates and legislatures Catholics may not be fairly represented, or, worse still, may be unfairly represented, but the laws of any State that are not based on Catholic principles are blighting laws, laws not conceived in justice, laws that needs must undermine the social fabric. To be un-Christian is to be destructive. Protest against bad laws implies neglect on the part of those whose groans are so effectively rhetorical. A timely sense of right and duty, the vigilance that is not an unmanly virtue, may deprive writers of protests of due fame or a living, but will do more for true progress than the noblest protest art, and feelings too late injured, can conceive. To awaken a spirit of vigilance in our own ranks, to vitalize the vigorous sense of right without which no man can be free, to assist parties and politicians in the painful acquirement of the meaning of the word conscience, should be some of the open aims of future congresses—aims that will not be left to slumber under an embroidered counterpane of words.

The various groups or sections of a congress, organized on the plan here suggested, will be real working committees on education, the press, literature, Catholic rights, charity, association, the social movement, the arts—committees of experts whose open expression of views need not be feared. These committees exist now throughout the land, but unorganized and voiceless or discordant. Give them accordant voice! To have living forces, and to fail to recognize them or turn them to account, is not to show an intelligence greater than is commonly shown in this dull world. With these expert working committees in operation, the committee on resolutions will find its labors simpler, and its utterances will fully

and exactly represent the tenor of the best Catholic American lay thought, and its studied choice of modes of action. His Grace of Philadelphia finds "that the best educated among the laymen are sound on the great questions of the day." How, indeed, could it be otherwise with the long line of worthy bishops and priests whose devotion and learning have so served us as examples, as incentives and as guides! The higher the education, provided it be Christian, the sounder the layman, as well as the cleric, on the great questions of the past and the present. A due humility is a consequence of all true education, and this implies a due measure of constituted authority, and a moderation that is the very alphabet of wisdom. The committee on resolutions will naturally be made up of equal representatives from the various sections. In its meetings, that debate which consultation implies will surely shape the "platform" in a way to carry not merely the official consent of the hierarchy, but also the unanimous and reflecting approval of the assembled congress. The discussion has been representative, and more thorough than it could be in a general meeting. The moral effect and the practical consequences of a unity so evidently intelligent and considered will be immeasurably great.

His Grace of St. Paul, in the sermon preached in the Baltimore cathedral on the evening of the centennial celebration,—a sermon full of noble enthusiasm,—having spoken of what we had done, and what there was yet to do, boldly asked the question: "And why should we fear or hesitate?" Let us quote a single sentence from his hopeful answer: "We number ten millions—a powerful army in the arena of truth and justice if the forces are well marshalled and their latent strength brought into action." Aye! there's the rub! *If* the forces are well marshalled and their latent strength brought into action. A meeting is not a marshalling, nor can latent strength be fairly applied until its elements and intensity have been exactly measured. In this first Congress we have surprised ourselves and the rest of the world. But there is a greater surprise in store for others and ourselves when, "marshalled" in a second congress, we first begin to realize the true potentiality of our forces. Thereafter shall be neither fear nor hesitation!

Scientific Chronicle.

THE FORTH BRIDGE.

THE great bridge across the Frith of Forth, near Edinburgh, is now completed, and suitable preparations are being made for its opening early this year. This bridge opens up better communication between the north and south of Scotland, and gives the Northeastern, Midland and Great Northern Railway Companies direct access to the eastern and northern districts. In 1873 an act of Parliament was obtained for the erection of a suspension bridge at this point. The designs were made by Sir Thomas Bouch, contracts entered into, workshops built, and the foundations were started, when, in 1879, a severe gale swept away a portion of the Tay bridge. This accident caused the companies interested in the new bridge to suspend operations until some other plans could be proposed for making the desired communications. Although work had been begun on the suspension bridge, it was not generally considered applicable for the passage of heavy railroad trains. After the engineers of the various railroad companies interested had consulted about the matter, it was found that they had unanimously agreed that the cantilever and central-girder steel bridge, designed by Sir John Fowler and Mr. B. Baker, was the cheapest and best suited for the position. An act of Parliament was obtained in July, 1882, for the construction of this bridge, and a contract was made in December of the same year with Tancred, Arrol & Co. for the execution of the entire work.

The cantilever system here adopted is not new. In 1810 Mr. Pope proposed to build a cantilever bridge of 1800 feet span across the East River, between New York and Brooklyn. Mr. Pope exhibited, at that time, a 50 feet model of his bridge. But, long before this, the Chinese had built a number of bridges on this same principle, while savages were driven to adopt it when, meeting with streams too wide to jump and too deep to ford, they would lash a log to the projecting branches of a couple of trees growing on the opposite sides of the stream. In this rude bridge we have the essential features of the great Forth bridge. The cross-piece answers to the central girder, and the branches are the cantilevers or brackets which support it.

The introduction of iron, and especially of steel, has rendered possible the construction of bridges of such magnitude as the Brooklyn and Forth bridges. In these two we have the rival methods of construction adopted for very long spans. In the cantilever method the bridge is built out equally on each side of a pier, so as always to preserve stable equilibrium, while in the suspension method the roadway is suspended from immense cables or steel ropes. If, in the future, metallurgical science provide commercially aluminium or an equally strong and light

metal, we will undoubtedly witness still more marvellous developments in bridge building. But, at present, such large spans as those in the Forth bridge are possible only with steel.

When, then, we reflect on the great weight of the material employed, we conceive some idea of the economy of detail which must be practised to give the bridge the necessary strength, as the chief stress is due to the weight of the bridge itself, and not to the load that moves over it. The cantilever system seems well suited for this purpose, and American engineers were not slow in appreciating its advantages, for since the plans of the Forth bridge were proposed, no less than half a dozen bridges on the same principle were erected in this country. Chief among them is the Poughkeepsie bridge, which is the greatest rival the Forth bridge has in that style of construction. In these two bridges we notice peculiarities of construction as practised in Europe and in this country. European engineers rivet up the bridge as much as possible into a rigid structure, while American engineers adopt the articulated system of triangular parts or cells with pin joints, so as to permit of rotation. The American system has secured the contract for the great Hawkesbury bridge in Australia.

The Forth bridge is supported by three main piers, known as the Fife, the Inch Garvie and Queensferry piers. The Inch Garvie pier stands on an island of that name in mid-stream. A span of 1700 feet connects with the Fife pier on one bank, and a span of the same length connects it to the Queensferry pier on the other bank. From the Fife and Queensferry piers the shoreward end of the cantilevers forms, on each side, a span of 675 feet. Fifteen spans of viaduct, each 168 feet, complete the bridge, giving it a total length of a mile and a half. Of this length almost one mile is covered by the great cantilever spans, the remaining half mile being viaduct-approach. The bridge is 120 feet wide at the piers and 32 feet wide in the centre. At high tide the roadway is 150 feet above the water, while the steel towers that support the cantilevers reach a height of 360 feet.

In 1883 work was begun on the piers that support the steel towers. They were put in position on the compressed air system. That is, hollow cylinders were first made, floated into position, sunk, and then filled in with masonry. To sink them, an excavation had to be made below each pier. This was done by making an air-tight roof 7 feet above the bottom edge of each cylinder. The water was then forced out of this compartment by means of compressed air, thus forming, at the bottom of each cylinder, a huge diving-bell 70 feet in diameter and 7 feet high. This air-chamber was lighted by means of electricity, and in it the workmen carried on the excavation to a depth of 90 feet below the waters of the Forth. The men entered by means of a shaft furnished with air-locks, and the pressure of the atmosphere in which they worked sometimes reached 80 inches of mercury. When one first passes through an air-lock, he experiences a painful pressure on the drums of the ears, which is relieved by the act of swallowing. Pains in the limbs are generally the result of work in this compressed air, and if the work is continued

too long paralysis will ensue. During the construction of the Forth bridge there were no accidents directly attributable to air-pressure.

As soon as the piers were ready, work was begun on the steel towers and cantilevers. The cantilevers or brackets were built out and upwards from the base of the towers. They consist of huge steel tubes 12 feet in diameter at the base and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches thick. The end pressure on one of these tubes is 6224 tons. The building out into space of these tubes on both sides of the towers, without scaffolding to support them, is one of the features of this mode of construction. The vertical tubes in the towers are 343 feet high, $\frac{5}{8}$ inch thick, and will carry a load of 3279 tons. The roadway is supported not only by the cantilevers, but by tension members, consisting of lattice-work running out obliquely from the upper part of the towers. The greatest pull on these tension members is 3794 tons. The weight of one of the 1700 feet spans is about 16,000 tons, there being 50,000 tons of steel in the whole structure. Throughout, the bridge is firmly braced by lattice girders to resist the force of the wind, which, on one of the 1700 feet spans, at the supposed pressure of 56 pounds per square foot, would amount to 2000 tons.

To carry on this work an army of 3500 workmen was employed. This large number of men was required, as much of the preparatory work was done on the ground and herein we have a striking difference between the method pursued in the erection of the Forth bridge and that followed at the Eiffel tower. In the case of the Forth bridge, the works are furnished with the plans of the fitting and with the parts, while some margin is left for their adjustment and completion. There is therefore need for the employment of a large stock of tools requiring mechanical power. At the Eiffel tower, on the contrary, there was no such demand. The parts reached the tower complete in every way. Each piece was numbered, and fitted the preceding piece with mathematical exactness. If a piece was found in which the rivet holes were misplaced, the foreman returned it at once to the factory. Much is to be said in favor of both methods of proceeding.

At the Forth bridge there was hydraulic machinery for bending and setting the material, and machinery for planing, drilling, erecting and riveting. The greater part of it was original in design and novel in construction on account of the unusual character of the work to be accomplished, and which stands to-day one of the greatest pieces of engineering in the world.

RAMIE.

AMONG the machines exhibited at the Paris Exposition, Group 6, Class 54, contained those for decorticating ramie. The invention of Michotte seems so have solved the problem of rapid decortication. It has this advantage over the older machines, that it is adapted to stripping the bark not only from the dry material, but also from the green plant. It consists of four cylinders of quite large diameter and provided with

grooves. An endless feed-cloth carries the stalks to the cylinders, where they are crushed. Thence they are carried to an elastic steel scutcher, which is fitted with a counter-scutcher of special form. Here the bark is beaten off, and the mechanical process in the separation of the fibre is complete. This machine can work not only on stalks that have been stripped of their leaves, but, what has not been hitherto done, can treat stalks with the leaves on. This machine is capable of decorticating, in a day, the product of two and a half acres.

The invention and improvement of machines of this kind, as well as the development of cheap chemical processes for the separation of the fibre from the foreign substances with which it is associated, together with the erection of suitable machinery for spinning and weaving it, will lead to the cultivation of a rich crop well adapted to the climate of our southern States. Ramie is a spearless nettle, called by botanists *Boehmeria*. It is a plant which, with little irrigation, grows rapidly, yielding easily, in a good climate, three crops a year. Its great vitality is due to its means of securing nourishment. It has large leaves, which cluster around the top of the plant, and a root which multiplies rapidly and spreads out into a complicated network of rootlets covering a large area, from which nourishment is drawn for the stalk. Ramie grows very much like the willow. Fifteen or twenty switches will shoot up from the same root. For the purpose for which it is used, the stalks should be as long and as straight as possible. This is secured by putting the plants in the ground as close together as convenient, and then the stalks will grow erect and branching will be prevented. When once set in the ground it will continue to grow for upwards of twenty years without re-planting, requiring but little attention, and yielding, as stated above, three crops a year, each crop being as valuable as a good wheat crop.

It would not be a profitable crop in our northern States, as the frost of winter would kill the roots, but it is admirably suited to the conditions of climate in many of our southern States. Those who have grown ramie in Louisiana state that an acre yields easily 1000 pounds of the crude fibre for each crop. This crude fibre, which is the marketable article, sells for four cents a pound, thus bringing yearly, when three crops are cut, \$120 per acre. Two crops yearly are certain, proving it to be a most lucrative product.

The ancient Egyptians used to shroud their dead in winding sheets made of ramie, and for over a thousand years the Chinese have cultivated this plant. In China the work of stripping the bark from the stalk is done by hand. Such a process pays in China, where manual labor is cheap. We need not, however, expect capitalists in this country to invest money for the working of the fibre until suitable machinery is at hand to work it profitably. From the interest shown by many in this field, we hope soon to see a new industry spring up amongst us.

The first process in preparing the thread from the fibre is the mechanical one of stripping the stalk; then the chemical one of dissolving out the gummy and resinous substances associated with the fibre, which is then bleached. When purified, it consists of pure cellulose. Special spinning mills are then required for the working of ramie.

It has twice the strength of flax or hemp, washes better and becomes whiter. When carefully prepared, it has the lustre of silk. It does not rot in water, and hence is in great demand for sails, cordage, fishing-tackle, etc. In fine, it has properties which recommend it to all, and assure it a widespread use.

THE CHANNEL BRIDGE.

DURING the past century many schemes have been proposed to connect England with the Continent, but the plan for the bridge which is now attracting the attention of technical authorities, especially in France and England, seems to be capable of execution. Steel is the metal proposed for the bridge, and with recent improvements in bridge construction, it seems quite feasible to make spans, 500 metres in length, resting on piers built up from the bed of the channel. The preliminary plans, submitted by MM. H. Hersent, Schneider & Co. and Fowler & Baker, are made up of reports respecting the foundations of the piers, the construction of the metal superstructure, and the methods to be adopted in placing both. The engineers admit that some alterations will have to be made in the plans whenever final reports are to be made, but in their present form they furnish sufficient data for competent persons to form correct judgments on the practicability of the scheme. According to these data, about 1,000,000 tons of metal will be needed for the superstructure and the necessary machinery. The supposition is that England will furnish one-half of this amount and France the other half. On rough calculation the cost would be about 380,000,000 francs for masonry, 480,000,000 francs for the superstructure; in all, 860,000,000 francs, or \$172,000,000. This does not take into account the cost of terminal arrangements, which would have to be planned later. The engineers are of opinion that the work could be completed in about ten years.

Nature herself seems to have marked out the direction the bridge will take. It will be over the shallowest portion of the channel, joining the nearest points on the opposite shores. It will thus run from Cape Grisnez, on the French coast, to near Folkestone, England, passing over the banks of Colbart and Varne. These banks are near the centre of the channel, and about 6 kilometres apart. At low tide the water is about 8 metres deep at these points, so they can avail themselves of these banks and thus avoid working in great depths, and, moreover, lessen the height of the piers. There is a depression of 27 metres between the banks, while between Varne and the English coast the greatest depth does not exceed 29 metres. On the other side of the banks of Colbart, however, greater difficulty would be experienced in erecting the piers, as the water is deeper, reaching a depth of 55 metres. The channel bottom is everywhere made up of white and blue chalk, which is well able to bear the weight of the piers and their superstructure.

The masonry will be built inside metal caissons, and forced by com-

pressed air down to the solid bottom. The caissons will be enclosed in metal cases, which will serve to float the piers until the ground under them is carefully prepared by an application of concrete, on which they will rest. On these piers cylindrical steel towers will rise to a height varying from 40 to 42 metres, and on these towers the main girders of the bridge will rest. At low tide the lowest beams of the bridge will be at least 61 metres above the water. The spans are so arranged that the longest corresponds to the deepest water. The plan of adopting spans of different lengths, distributed as above described, harmonizes economy in the preparatory work and the requirements of navigation. The lengths decided on for the spans are 500 and 300 metres for the larger, and 200 and 100 metres for the smaller. The width of the bridge is variable, reaching 25 metres in certain parts, thus increasing its stability under wind-pressure. They have chosen simple unlatticed trussed-girders as the best adapted for a uniform distribution of all the stresses. A double track will run across the bridge, but no provision has been made for a wagon-way. Suitable flooring and stations will, however, be introduced to insure the safety of employees, and the piers will be converted into lighthouses. It has been proposed to adopt the cantilever system of support for the larger spans. The bridge is not in any way considered an obstacle to navigation in the channel, and its erection would give a stimulus to national industry in both France and England. The English government may, however, object to it on the same score that it objected to the tunnel, namely, that France might use it as a means of introducing a hostile army into England. Drawbridges at the termini would solve this difficulty, and, if there is no other obstacle to the erection of the bridge, we may expect to see the realization of this gigantic piece of engineering, as it is said that a company is ready to carry out the work.

MINOR NOTES.

SOLAR ECLIPSE, DECEMBER 22, 1889. —The line of totality began between Hayti and the northwest of South America; then ran in a southeasterly direction, touching the continent in two or three points. Leaving South America it crossed the South Atlantic Ocean, reaching Africa near St. Paul de Loanda; thence it travelled northeast to the east coast of Africa, where it ended in latitude 5° north. The path of the shadow was a long, narrow track 5000 miles in length and only 100 miles wide, which extended nearly its entire distance over the ocean. For Cape Hatteras and southern Florida the sun arose partially eclipsed for a few moments. Stations on the west coast of Africa had a totality of about three minutes. The greatest duration of totality, lasting about four minutes, occurred in mid-ocean.

The United States war-ship *Pensacola*, which left New York on the 17th of October, carried the members of the scientific corps commis-

sioned to observe the eclipse. The station selected was Maxima, on the Guango River, on the west coast of Africa. Prof. David P. Todd, of Amherst College, Mass., is chief of the expedition. Among the assistants are Prof. F. H. Bigelow, of Racine College; Prof. E. J. Loomis, of Harvard; Prof. C. Abbe, College of New York; Prof. L. H. Jacoby, of Columbia; E. B. Preston, of the Coast Survey; W. H. Brown, of the National Museum; Prof. H. S. Davis, of Princeton, and others. During the journey many deep-sea investigations will be conducted by Prof. Agassiz. Many valuable instruments have been provided, and important results are expected from the expedition.

URANIUM.—Shortly after the discovery of the planet Uranus by Herschel, Klaproth isolated a yellow oxide, which, after careful investigation, he found to be the oxide of a new metal, to which he gave the name of uranium in honor of the discovery by the great astronomer. It has since remained among the rare metals, commanding a market price of about \$12,000 per ton. Two oxides of this metal, the sesquioxide and the protoxide, are much used, the former to impart a golden or greenish-yellow tint to glass, the latter in producing costly black porcelain. Uranium is also employed in photographic processes, but its rarity and consequent high price have hitherto limited its use in these fields, and in many others for which it is well adapted. Up to the present, it has been found only in isolated patches, principally in Cornwall, Saxony and Bohemia. The centenary of its discovery, however, has been marked by the finding of a continuous lode of an ore rich in uranium, at the Union mine, Cornwall. This find is unique, as the lode is the only known one in the world, and is a true fissure vein. The ore contains, on an average, 12 per cent. of the metal, the maximum being 30 per cent. in some parts of the vein. With platinum and copper, uranium forms two beautiful alloys. These alloys have the appearance of gold, and the former is capable of withstanding the action of acids. Uranium has a high electrical resistance, and is therefore of great utility in certain electrical instruments. It is thought that its greater application in these two later fields will be the result of the recent discovery.

MILFORD HAVEN.—For a long time the advisability of shortening the ocean trip from this country to England, by taking as starting-points the eastern extremity of Long Island and the nearest harbor on the British coast, has been under discussion. The first step in that direction has been taken by the erection of a magnificent system of docks at Milford Haven, Wales. This harbor is a magnificent expanse of land-locked water, which can be entered by any of the ocean steamers at any tide. The docks, which have been erected at a cost of \$5,000,000, offer sufficient accommodation to a dozen great liners at once. The City of Rome made this port on October 24th, reducing the time of the ocean journey by half a day. At Milford Haven the annoyance of transfer to a tender is avoided by the vessel coming up to the docks. The passengers can step aboard a train which will carry them to London, a dis-

tance of 285 miles. Thus, this port is but 84 miles further from London than Liverpool is. In this way, steaming up St. George's Channel is avoided, as well as dangers from channel fogs and delays on the Mersey bar. It is calculated that if Fort Pond Bay, at the eastern extremity of Long Island, be taken as the starting-point on this side, that there would be a saving of twenty four hours in the time of the journey.

CÆRULEUM.—Chemists have more than once sought the nature of this beautiful blue pigment, which is found in the frescoes of Pompeii and in other monuments of the Roman period, and which is as bright to-day as when first applied. They acquired the knowledge that copper was present in it, but beyond this they seem not to have discovered anything definite. Prof. Fouque, of the College de France, has, however, succeeded not only in analyzing it, but also in devising a method of manufacturing it regularly in quantities. The compound is, according to Prof. Fouque's investigations, a quadruple silicate of copper and silica, which can be prepared with silica, oxide of copper and lime by raising them to a bright red heat, which is necessary to affect the combination. The heating of the mixture is an important part of the operation, as heating too much causes the blue color to disappear, and the result is a green glass. Cæruleum, as prepared by Prof. Fouque, is a stable pigment, which is neither a glass nor an enamel, but a crystalline substance. It appears a deep sky-blue when viewed from the surface, and pale rose when viewed edgewise. It is unaffected when boiled with sulphuric acid, or potash lye, or quicklime. Hydrogen sulphide does not affect it, and the ease with which it can be prepared with the means at our disposal, puts within our grasp a valuable pigment.

Book Notices.

CHRISTIAN UNITY AND THE HISTORIC EPISCOPATE. By *Henry Forrester*, a Presbyter of the American Church. New York: Thomas Whittaker. 1889.

The seeming and professed purpose of this book, as we infer it from the writer's own statements, is to help to open the way towards a union of the other Protestant sects with that of Protestant Episcopalianism. It aims at doing this by trying to prove that the Episcopate substantially amounts to nothing more than a convenient way of governing churches, that ordination by a bishop is a mere form conferring no real grace or spiritual power, or that, if it does, a mere declaration by the "American (Protestant-Episcopal) Church, that the ministers of other Protestant sects will be received and accepted as Christian ministers, and, without ordination and re-ordination, will supply the absence of Episcopal ordination.

In this the writer shows himself to be a consistent Protestant Episcopalian. For if the imparting of Orders be not a Sacrament (and the thirty-nine articles of the "Protestant Episcopal church" deny that it is), then, at most, ordination is only a decent, becoming form, having, however, no material significance or force, and conferring no real grace or power.

The writer, therefore, might have saved himself a large amount of the time and labor and pains he evidently has expended in studying Bingham and the partisan, mistranslated, and garbled "American edition of the Ante-Nicene Christian Library," and his frequent references to Hefele's classical work, which he takes seeming great care not to quote nor to mention by chapter and page. He might have discarded one and all of those who, he says, along with "Fulton," are the four great authorities upon whom, "in fact, dependence has been placed, principally;" and instead of them have appealed to the thirty-nine articles of belief of the Protestant Episcopal Church. For they recognize only two sacraments—Baptism and the Eucharist, and Mr. Henry Forrester, as "a Presbyter of the American (Protestant Episcopal) Church, and, along with him, all other "presbyters" and bishops of that so-called "Church," are bound by those articles; that is, bound by them so far as in the exercise of their supreme private judgment they are bound by any articles of belief whatever.

Yet, though thus really consistent with Protestant Episcopalianism, we incline to think his notions will be very unacceptable to a very large and very influential minority (perhaps, indeed, a majority), a majority of the "bishops" and "presbyters" of the "Protestant Episcopal Church." For they do believe and insist upon what they call the "Historic Episcopate." The "Ritualists" or "Churchmen" certainly will strenuously oppose his notions. In fact, they would have no alternative, if such notions as his come to prevail in the Protestant Episcopalian sect, but to form another sect, or else seek admission into the Holy Roman Catholic Apostolic Church. Indeed, this alternative already confronts them.

Mr. Forrester strenuously argues that Sacred Orders "are not indelible," and in proof quotes or misquotes St. Cyprian's letters in his controversy with the Sovereign Pontiff of the Church. Why he should

take all this trouble when, according to the Thirty-nine Articles, the imparting of Sacred Orders is *not a sacrament*, passes comprehension.

Again, Mr. Forrester labors strenuously to prove (what it seems to us every intelligent person, Christian or infidel, will regard as absurd) that no distinction exists or can be made between an illicit act and one that is invalid. He, evidently, is ignorant of the fact that it is a distinction that is and always has been recognized in every code of civil law that has ever been framed. He seems not to know that this very distinction is recognized in Divine Revelation, both under the Old and in the New Testament.

Mr. Forrester describes very clearly the evils of division among Protestant sects, the "fearful waste of power and means," and how, for this and like reasons, "these divisions among professed Christians are not only disastrous, but wicked." Yet he seems to have no sense of the inherent *sin* of *schism*. To him it is only an unfortunate, unhappy condition, deplorable on account of the inconveniences that attend it. We commend him to a careful, serious reading of the New Testament on this subject.

Mr. Forrester speaks respectfully of sacred tradition and the "Church Fathers," but what his real notion of these is may be inferred from the following quotations:

"Thomas Aquinas was doubtless a great scholar, and his work (the *Summa*) is very valuable; but, considering the time in which he lived and the circumstances that surrounded him, he certainly cannot be esteemed a safe guide for us."

How many chapters of St. Thomas has Mr. Forrester ever attempted to read? How many, or rather how few, has he understood? Has he ever read intelligently one question in his *Summa*? We doubt that he has thus read even one.

Mr. Forrester thus continues: "Why should we be content with a writer of the thirteenth century as our ultimate guide and instructor in theology, when we can have all the writers of the ante-Nicene period to show us what was taught and practised in the earliest ages of Christianity?"

It is needless for us to point out how profoundly ignorant the writer unconsciously proves himself by these remarks on "all the writers of the ante-Nicene period," and on the subjects with which they were immediately concerned.

For St. Augustine Mr. Forrester has as little respect as for St. Thomas, as the following quotation will show: "The genius of Augustine, the renowned Bishop of Hippo, has exercised a most powerful influence on the western Church, and to him we are indebted for these [the "indelibility" of Orders and the distinction between invalid acts and acts that are uncanonical and irregular, but still are valid] and some other things for which we do *not need to be thankful*. *The ante-Nicene Church knew nothing of them.*"

In fact the writer seems to imagine that he is able, in the exercise of his own personal judgment, and by the study of a few documents about the authenticity or the correct reading of which there are differences of opinion, to judge more correctly of the belief and practice of the ante-Nicene Fathers, though separated from them by fifteen hundred years, than were their immediate successors.

The only consistent outcome of his argument would be, if stripped of its inconsistencies, that neither a "historic episcopate nor an ordained ministry is needed to carry on the work of the Church, and that the Church can dispense with them or with anything else, having

"plenary authority and power to do whatever seems to her wise and expedient."

Mr. Forrester has professedly composed his book in the interest of Christian unity. But what its real spirit is may be inferred from the fact that "the unification of all the non-Roman Christians of this country would be the most important possible work that could now be done for the nation, as it would also be the most effective means of *counteracting Romish influences* and perhaps of detaching from *their foreign allegiance* those of our citizens now under *Papal domination*, and attaching them to "the National Church."

Passing over, as unworthy of notice, the writer's insulting references to Catholics and the Catholic Church, the quotations we have given plainly show that his predominant thought is *not* "Christian Unity," but a "National Church." Were there any doubt about this, the manner in which he speaks of the Protestant Episcopal "Church of England" would remove the uncertainty. "The one evil to be feared in our close connection with the English Church is that, from a sentimental regard to the brilliant and majestic mother Church, we shall be led to yield more of our rightful liberty than we ought."

CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES FROM THEIR DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE TO THE CLOSE OF THEIR CIVIL WAR. By *George Ticknor Curtis*. In two volumes. Vol. I. New York: Harper Brothers. 1889.

It is perhaps of the nature of things that in a country like ours, where the distinction of political parties depends on the interpretation given to a written fundamental law, a commentator's interpretation of that law should be tainted with his political views or even prejudices. Therefore it is that we have no work on the Constitution by an American, or even a foreigner for that matter, whose conclusions are accepted by all our citizens. For instance, even though the work before us be at least as free from preconceived notions as any of them, yet a unifying meaning is given to the opening words of the Preamble, "We the people," which is objected to by nearly all the advocates of home rule for each State. But as the drawing of such conclusions is almost inevitable, this point cannot tell very much against a work that seems to us to be almost entirely impartial in every other respect.

The volume under consideration is an old work in a new form; but it is none the worse for that, as it is no weak argument in favor of its merits that, after having stood a thirty years' test, no radical change has been found necessary, the only respects in which this edition differs from the first being the title and a few additions in the text, and the compressing of the matter of two volumes into one. We have here, therefore, a revised reprint of the "History of the Origin, Formation, and Adoption of the Constitution of the United States, with Notices of its Principal Framers." The story begins really with the meeting of the First Continental Congress in 1774, and ends "with the adoption of the Constitution by two more than the number of States requisite to give it operation," with an additional statement of the position of the two States, Rhode Island and North Carolina, that until some time afterwards withheld their assent. An intention which the author had originally of following down the constitutional history of the United States through the adoption of the various amendments, is now to be carried out, in a modified form, in a second volume which is announced as finished and about to appear. In this are contained the judicial interpretations given to the Constitution itself and its fifteen Amendments.

"The reasons," says our author, "why the first constructions and applications of the Constitution are of superior importance is because those who first had to administer the new government belonged to the generation which framed and established it, and especially because many of them were actively engaged in framing and establishing, or in opposing and amending it. I have endeavored to keep distinct what occurred before the Civil War and what happened afterwards, so as to explain the trying period when further amendments were made necessary, or were believed to be so. I have included in this later exposition those judicial constructions only which have related to the amendments, the history of which has been described, and a few of those which grew out of the Civil War, or the measures that were adopted in its prosecution."

These remarks refer, of course, more particularly to the second volume, which will necessarily be a complement to the one before us, and which begins with the story of the Union's origin, continues that story through the critical period of the War of Independence, and closes it with an account of the even more critical period of the decline of the Confederation and the adoption and putting into effect of the Constitution under which we now live. Even for the unprofessional man it is a most interesting and instructive story, making Mr. Bancroft's two big volumes on the same subject dreary in comparison. It is a proud boast, too, Mr. Curtis is able to make in his preface: "If the historical accuracy of my former work has ever been called in question I have not been aware of it. Nor have I met with anything in the writings of other authors who have since treated the same subject which has led me to doubt the correctness of my statements or the soundness of my interpretations."

That the reader may form an idea of the fundamental character of the work, we submit the author's view of the distinction between constitutional history and constitutional law: "As I use these terms," he says, "I include in constitutional history those events and that public action which have shaped the text of a written Constitution, or which should be regarded in its interpretation. Constitutional law is that body of jurisprudence which includes the text of the Constitution and the constructions which it has received from those whose public duty it has been from time to time to interpret its meaning and application."

The text of the Constitution which Mr. Curtis gives among the various documents printed in the Appendix is peculiar from the quaint style of its typography. He took the pains to compare it with the rolls in the Department of State, in exact conformity with which it is punctuated and otherwise printed. In the same part of the volume are also contained the first draft of the instrument as reported by the Committee of Detail, the Articles of Confederation that the Constitution superseded, and several other important documents bearing on the same subject.

The more intricate subject of judicial interpretation will be spoken of when the second volume is examined.

OUR CHRISTIAN HERITAGE. By *James Cardinal Gibbons*, Archbishop of Baltimore, Author of "The Faith of Our Fathers." Baltimore: John Murphy & Co. London: R. Washburne. 1889.

This volume may be regarded as a contribution from His Eminence, Cardinal Gibbons, to the centenary celebration of the creation of the hierarchy of the Church in the United States, as its graceful inscription intimates. It is a most opportune contribution. For the real questions with which thoughtful, earnest minds in our country, and, we may say, the civilized world over, must now grapple are the questions treated and answered in this work—the existence of God, His omnipresence,

and omnipotence. His all-wise and ever-continuing providence, the creation of the world, the conscience, free-will, and moral responsibility of man, the efficacy of prayer, the divinity of Christ, His divine mission, Christianity and the Church, their relation to human science, morals and civilization, and kindred subjects.

These are the real questions which the Church has now, in the exercise of its mission, to teach us how to explain and enforce to the people of the United States. Though the Protestant sects are still existent and maintain their respective divisional organizations, the heretical notions they once laid stress upon are fast running themselves out to their legitimate consequences in the forms of denial, of general skepticism respecting the existence of the divinely revealed doctrines of Christianity as objectively existing truths, respecting conscience as an objective reality, the personal existence of God and the possibility of knowing Him, respecting the divinity of Christ our Blessed Redeemer, and the reality, universality and perpetuity of His mission.

Cardinal Gibbons, therefore, has very judiciously chosen these subjects for treatment. And very judiciously, too, he treats them on ground which is common to every Christian denomination.

The work, as Cardinal Gibbons states in his introductory chapter, is not polemical. It is not so even in its treatment of the errors of those who not only have no belief in Christianity or indeed in any religion. It aims at accomplishing its purpose by the plain, positive statement of truths which, when understood and received, will dispel doubt and make skepticism impossible. "It is addressed," says the writer, "to a large and increasing class of persons who, through association, the absence of Christian training, a distorted education, and pernicious reading, have not only become estranged from the specific teachings of the Gospel, but whose moral and religious nature has received such a shock that they have only a vague and undefined faith even in the truths of natural religion underlying Christianity."

But the work is not only serviceable to those who, unhappily, are without belief in Christianity or are troubled with doubts and uncertainties respecting it. It will also be highly useful to Christian believers, in furnishing them with a reason for the hope that is in them, and supplying them with arguments to refute the sophisms of "free-thinkers," and enlighten sincere inquirers after truth. To Catholics, too, many of its chapters will be especially useful, in instructing them how to answer false notions and assertions respecting the Catholic religion, its relation to science and education, to civil government, to society, and all the manifold interests that are included in the term civilization.

The work embodies the ripe fruit of extensive reading and research, as its numerous apt quotations from ancient pagan sages and poets, and from later Catholic, non Catholic, and skeptical and infidel writers abundantly prove; though the ripe fruit of careful, painstaking study and reflection, yet it is not even in the slightest degree abstruse or technical. Though it treats of most momentous and profound subjects, it treats of them so directly and simply, and illustrates them so lucidly, that even the uneducated mind is able to follow the writer. This greatly enhances the value of the work. Its charming simplicity of method and of style makes it interesting to the unlearned reader, while at the same time it is a useful manual of reference for scholars and teachers.

PROBLEMS IN AMERICAN SOCIETY. Some Social Studies. By *Joseph Henry Crooker*. Boston: George H. Ellis. 1889.

It would be difficult to imagine a more glaring inconsistency of practice with profession than the Catholic reader will discover in at least two

of the six "studies" contained in this little work. In the first, on "The Student in American Life," we read that "he (the ideal student) is one whose main exercise is the use of his intellect in the pursuit of truth," that "the true student lives to discover truth," and many other expressions to the same effect. Upon reading the fifth study, on "Moral and Religious Instruction in Our Public Schools," we at once come to the conclusion that Mr. Crooker is a typical Boston bigot, even though he dates his preface from Madison, Wis. Into these forty-four short pages he has gathered more false statements in regard to the Catholic position on the school question than we remember ever seeing elsewhere in the same space. Now, the person making assertions derogatory to the character of others, without being able to support them with evidence that would convince a jury, is simply a calumniator. Were each such offense punishable with a month's imprisonment, we fear that Mr. Crooker would, on account of this chapter alone, spend the remainder of his days "behind the bars." Here is a sample: "The Roman Catholic argument against secular schools is, in its essential nature and by logical implication, an argument against the Secular State. The Catholic demand, if allowed, would compel our government to go to Rome for orders respecting everything, or surrender not only its essential functions of education, but its very existence as an independent institution. . . . Their objections brought against the secular schools are equally applicable to the nation itself; and this Papal hierarchy will not be satisfied until it has destroyed the Secular State. If the Catholics succeed in closing the public schools, they will restate and reapply their old argument thus: We object to paying taxes to support a godless State. . . . Rome temporarily accepts the inevitable, but never compromises. The real question at the bottom of all this agitation is, Shall we maintain our Secular State, or go back to the Dark Ages?" And more to surfeiting from this professed pursuer and discoverer of truth! Evidently he has not pursued, much less caught, even a single pamphlet of the vast Catholic literature on the subject. And a professedly religious man, too, advocating for the State the control of even every minutest detail of education! It were as reasonable to imagine a government of tailors thus furnishing us with our apparel, or of provision dealers with our food, according as their whims or self-interest might prompt them. In reality, the duty of the State ends with seeing that the children receive a proper education, and should say of what nature this may be only when parents fail to do their duty, if even then. If the State is to have everything to do with education, why does it not impart to Mr. Crooker some accurate information about Catholics and their beliefs and motives?

Another of his "studies," the second, on "Scientific Charity," Catholics have reason to find fault with, as he has not a word to say of all that their Church has done during centuries past for the relief of human suffering, and it has certainly done more of this kind of work than all the rest of the world together. But maybe her charity is not "scientific"; so much the worse, then, for so-called organized charity, for only in the Catholic Church is poverty, especially when due to no fault of the sufferer, not considered a crime. The Society of St. Vincent de Paul alone does more good than all the almshouses and organized charity societies in the world. And Catholics thus working quietly give their aid for the good it may do the poor sufferers, and not on account of the merit, reputation or vain-glory it may bring themselves, notwithstanding Mr. Crooker's slurring allusion to "mediæval Christianity."

If he should give his attention to another series of social studies, it

would be well for him to include, and give a large space to, an honest investigation of the Catholic Church; otherwise we will be forced to the conclusion that he has abandoned the pursuit of truth.

LES AVEUGLES. PAR UN AVEUGLE (Maurice de la Sizeranne). Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1889. Pp. xiii.-174.

This study of the blind, by a blind man, is most entertaining and instructive. M. le Comte d'Haussonville, who writes the preface to M. de la Sizeranne's little volume, justly says that it is something more than a good book. It is a good book and a good deed. The writer's object is to help those who are not blind to see blind men as they are, physically, intellectually, and morally. There are two millions of blind men and women in the world—two million daily appeals to the intelligence, humanity, charity of those who have eyes, minds, and hearts.

Maurice de la Sizeranne, the son of an artist, lost his sight when nine years of age. Left in comfortable circumstances, he has devoted his time and means to the service of his blind fellow-men. He is director of the *Paris Journal* for the blind, as well as of the library for the blind. He publishes, and distributes gratuitously, a manual for the education of blind children. His "*Les Aveugles Utiles*," which gives many interesting details concerning the methods of teaching adopted in the Paris institution for the blind, has reached a fifth edition.

M. de la Sizeranne is a practical man. The aim of *Les Aveugles Par Un Aveugle* is wholly practical. And yet the writer has the soul of a poet. A keen observer, a thinker, a lover of beauty in nature and art, a man of taste and a student, M. de la Sizeranne has the gift of a simple, clear, lively style. Many of the pages of his little book are so full of charm that we are not surprised to learn that the French academy has stamped it with the seal of its approbation.

Fifty pages of the work are given up to the story of the life of Valentin Haüy, the apostle of the blind. It is a sad story of devotion to a great idea, of trial, disappointment, neglect, misfortune, wrong-headedness and right-heartedness. M. de la Sizeranne not only sketches a biography, but, at the same time, pictures a curious side of the French revolution. Those who see are indebted to Haüy, quite as much as are the blind whose particular servant he was. It takes many men to civilize mankind. The weaver's son helped us on our way.

How the blind man is taught, how he is made a workman, a musician, a teacher, M. de la Sizeranne tells in few words. He takes the reader into the blind man's home, where, with wife and children, he suffers and enjoys as other men do. Studying the blind man, with a special knowledge of his wants and his nature, M. de la Sizeranne points out the defects in the present systems of education, explains the blind man's capabilities, shows the many kinds of work he is fitted for. To educate a blind man is to do him a service—or an injury. He must work in order to live. Why not allow him to do that for which he is best fitted? There are educated blind men who can serve themselves and society in other ways than the making of mats, or the hawking of brooms. Less pity, more work—such is the blind man's appeal.

The appeal is telling. Men with eyes, and intelligence above, or behind, these deceiving organs, will certainly listen to M. de la Sizeranne. Were there no other proof, his book would prove that the intellectual powers of the blind are none the less because their eyes are sightless. There are few seeing men that will not see more clearly after reading this interesting volume; and there is no reader who will not hope so clever a writer may be encouraged to add still other volumes to a library for those who think they are not blind.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF EUROPE. A Sketch of the Diplomatic and Military History of Continental Europe, from the Rise of Napoleon III. to the Fall of the Second French Empire. By *Harold Murdock*. With an Introduction by John Fiske. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Company, 1889.

The purpose of this work is to describe the international changes which have taken place in Europe during the latter half of the current century. The author commences with a succinct review of the situation in 1850; he then sketches the *coup d'état* of Louis Napoleon, and briefly refers to its influence upon European governments and peoples outside of France. He then shows the purpose of this work is to depict the international changes which took place in Europe between 1850 and 1871, and the manner in which they were brought about. The writer first succinctly reviews the situation at the close of the first half of the present century. He then devotes a chapter to the successive steps by which Louis Napoleon overthrew the French republic and constituted himself "Emperor of the French," and the effects of his *coup d'état* upon European countries outside of France. He then shows how the revival of the "Eastern Question," through the rival claims of France and Russia to a protectorate of the Holy Places in Palestine, brought on the war between Russia and Turkey, assisted by France, England and Sardinia. The military movements of this war are described in detail in four successive chapters. In several successive chapters the author then sketches the political state of Italy, its divisions, governments, secret societies, etc.; the rise of Cavour; his influence over Louis Napoleon; the war between Austria and Sardinia, aided by France; the career of Garibaldi and the relations between him and Cavour and Victor Emmanuel.

Then turning back, the author reviews the political situation in Germany, and particularly in Prussia, in 1850, the advent of Bismarck, his earlier political ideas, the reorganization of the Prussian army, the Schleswig-Holstein war, the war between Prussia and Austria, its military movements and political results.

The writer then returns to France, points out how Napoleon's dreams and plans were bitterly disappointed by the defeat of Austria and the ascendancy of Prussia; the manner in which he was cajoled and deceived by Bismarck, and the Franco-German war was brought about. The concluding chapters of the work are occupied with detailed accounts of the military movements of this war, its battles, the surrender of Louis Napoleon, the siege and occupation of Paris by the German troops, the treaty of peace and its consequences.

As a succinct history of diplomatic movements the work is interesting, but it fails to give any idea of the effects of the changes described upon the social, political, industrial and moral condition of Europe. In every instance, too, in which the writer refers to the Sovereign Pontiff of the Church, his position in Italy, and his relation to other European countries, he displays intense prejudice.

A NEW ENGLISH DICTIONARY FOUNDED ON HISTORICAL PRINCIPLES, MAINLY ON THE MATERIALS COLLECTED BY THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY. Edited by *James A. H. Murry*, B.A. Lond., Hon. M.A. Oxon, LL.D. Edin., etc., some time President of the Philological Society, with the Assistance of many Scholars and Men of Science. Part V., Cost-Clivy. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press. New York: Macmillan & Co. 1889.

Part V. of this truly erudite work has come to hand. It comprises, as set forth in its title-page, the words of the English language between *Cost* and *Clivy*, containing 5966 "Main words," 1031 "Combina-

tions" with separate explanations, 1374 "Subordinate entries," making a total of 8371. Of the Main words 1142 (19½ per cent.) are marked + as obsolete, and 277 (4½ per cent.) are marked || as alien or imperfectly naturalized. The section, extending, as it does, from "COST" to the end of "CLI-," thus includes the whole of CH-, which, in many respects, ranks almost as a separate letter, and actually contains more words than J, K or Q, and more than twice as many as X, Y, and Z put together. Its numbers are 2720 "Main words" (494 being obsolete, and 142 alien), 587 explained "Combinations," and 717 "Subordinate entries." Total, 4024.

Within the limits thus mentioned of Part V. are found a large number of interesting and important words, of many of which the history is now, for the first time, fully exhibited. There is a still greater number of which new etymological facts or details are given. Among them are many words worthy of especial mention for their sense, development or history, about which fresh facts are presented.

A most interesting feature of the part before us is the fact that it contains so many of the great words of the Christian Church. Thus we have the group of CHRIST, CHRISTIAN, *christen*, *chrism*, and their kindred words, making 19 columns; Catholic, church with numerous compounds, making 20 columns; CHAPEL, cathedral, CITY, clergy, clerk, and their allies, making 10 columns; also CHAPTER, besides *chancel*, *choir*, *chantry*, *clerestory*, *catacomb*, *chalice*, *chasuble*, *ciborium*, *ceremony*, *celebrate*, *celibate*, *chorister*, *catechism*, etc., *charity* and *cherub*, with their interesting forms or histories. The etymological history of *church* is dealt with very fully, after, as the preface informs us, "a fresh investigation of all the known facts," and also in the light of recent advance in knowledge of the phonology and mutual relations of the old Teutonic languages.

The distinguished editor-in-chief is assisted in his labors by a very large number of sub-editors, of extensive attainments in special lines of study having an important relation to the work, and who are industriously laboring to make the undertaking as full, thorough, accurate, and complete as varied scholarly learning, exhaustive critical examination, and research can accomplish.

THE DARK AGES: ESSAYS ILLUSTRATING THE STATE OF RELIGION AND LITERATURE IN THE NINTH, TENTH, ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH CENTURIES. By S. R. Maitland, D.D., F.R.S., F.S.A., some time Librarian and Keeper of the MSS. at Lambeth. New edition. With an Introduction by Frederick Stokes, M.A. London: John Hodges, 1889. For sale by the Catholic Publication Society Co., New York.

It was in 1853 that the next preceding edition, the third, of this work was published, and it is not from it that the title given above is copied, there being three slight variations. We have never seen a copy of either of the two other editions, so that there is no opportunity of comparison with them. The first was given to the world in 1843. Nor was the work entirely new then; for a large portion of it had appeared in instalments in an Anglican periodical between the years 1835 and 1838.

The re-publication at this late day, and under Catholic auspices, of Dr. Maitland's great work is remarkable for more than one reason: It was called forth originally by an honest non-Catholic's indignation against the lying thing called history as written by Protestants until that time; it was originally regarded by its author only as a passing contribution to an ephemeral controversy; and its author lived and died an Anglican. Yet it contains but few passages that any Catholic can take

exception to, and its being re-issued at this late day is proof that those in authority to judge have ranked it among the classics of historical literature.

Deep regret cannot but be felt that the editor of this latest edition has failed, in his able introductory essay, to give some account of the author. While tersely portraying the character of the Middle Ages he incidentally states the object that Dr. Maitland seemed to have in view, which he says was "critical rather than constructive; for Maitland was one of those in whom the critical faculty existed in its highest perfection, and his ecclesiastical position enabled him to deal impartially with both sides of his subject." The close study of Maitland's pages leads Mr. Stokes to the conclusion, in which most fair-minded men will agree with him, that, "on the whole, one is tempted to believe that the Dark Ages were not so very dark, nor our own times so very full of light, as some of the authors criticized by Maitland would have us believe. Men lived simpler and rougher lives, but it does not follow that they led less happy ones. It is doubtful whether the influences of the nineteenth century do not tend to degrade men rather than to elevate them. 'The individual writers and the State is more and more.' There is scant opportunity for prayer and repose in the restless, commonplace age in which we live. The whole atmosphere of the times is fatal to that spirit of faith which is the motive power of all real progress." The reading of Maitland's pages will greatly aid in convincing us of the accuracy of this conclusion.

JUSTICE AND JURISPRUDENCE. An Inquiry concerning the Constitutional Limitations of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1889.

A book of such high pretensions as this, and on so important a subject, should not appear anonymously; and besides, the literary style is good enough for the author not to be ashamed of it. Again, that the source of an attempt to overrule the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States is allowed to remain unknown, also detracts from the validity of the conclusion arrived at. We do not believe, indeed, that the work will render any real, positive service to those in whose behalf it has been professedly prepared, namely, our fellow-citizens of African descent.

It is issued, apparently, as a protest against the judicial decision declaring unconstitutional the Civil Rights Bill that was intended to amplify the provisions of the last three amendments to the Constitution, and responsibility for its authorship is assumed by the Brotherhood of Liberty, who dedicate it to everybody and everything in authority in this country, "in the sincere hope that it may, in some measure, aid them in the fulfilment of their noble mission." Now we remember that many of the most thoughtful and influential among the colored people all over the country were glad of the Supreme Court's action, because the said Bill was overdoing the matter of asserting rights that were denied by but few and in few localities, and because it would have a restraining, instead of a developing, effect on the manly and civic character of those to whom it was specially intended to apply. In this regard, indeed, the digest of legislative and judicial proceedings, both national and State, given as an appendix to the work, goes a great way toward refuting the argument of the text. We presume also that the preface and the main work were not written by the same hand, for the latter is unstintingly praised in the former. At any rate, there must be a little mutual admiration society within the Brotherhood of Liberty.

All these reserves made, however, we cannot but express admiration for the work as a whole. It is a very valuable addition to our historical literature, and throws a flood of light on the position of the colored element of our population.

INTRODUCTION TO THE SACRED SCRIPTURES. In two parts. By *Rev. John McDewitt, D.D.* New York, Cincinnati and Chicago: Benziger Brothers. 1889.

A great boon has been bestowed on beginners in the study of sacred lore by the "Professor of the Introduction to Scripture, Ecclesiastical History, etc., in All Hallows Foreign Missionary College, Dublin." The work is written in clear, simple, and direct style, thus calculated to attract even the indifferent. The two parts are a general introduction dealing with the character and bearing of the Sacred Scriptures, which fills about two-thirds of the volume, and then a series of special introductions to the various books of the Old and New Testament. In the first part are discussed the originals of Scriptures, the versions of both Testaments, the relation of the Catholic Church and anti-Catholic systems to the Bible, the genuineness, integrity, and credibility of the sacred writings, Biblical inspiration, the canon and interpretation of the Scriptures, the authority of the Latin vulgate and the reading of the Bible in the vernacular, and the relation of natural science to the Book of Genesis. A grouping system is followed in the second part or special introduction, all the books of the Pentateuch being dealt with in one chapter, and in each of the others as indicated the historical books of the Old Testament, then the moral books and the prophets; and as regards the New Testament, first, the four Gospels, the Acts and the Apocalypse; second, the Epistles of St. Paul, and last, the seven Catholic Epistles.

Brevity as well as lucidity is a characteristic of this treatise that should not be overlooked, the book containing considerably less than three hundred pages. We will be pardoned for repeating the author's hope that "this little book will help to foster tender associations in the many loving and generous hearts who pass year after year out of these [All Hallows College] halls, away from home, to the holy work of keeping the faith active among the sons and daughters of Ireland in foreign countries."

Among those on whose notes the author has drawn in the compilation of this work is his deeply lamented brother, the late bishop of Raphoe.

UNKNOWN SWITZERLAND. By *Victor Tissot*. Translated from the Twelfth Edition, by *Mrs. Wilson*. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co.

If there were only one Mrs. Wilson dabbling in literature at second-hand, perhaps this title would be sufficiently explicit. But whoever she may be, she has done her work fairly well, except as to local nomenclature, in which she has kept too close to the French original. Mr. Tissot has long been known as an entertaining note taker, if not a profound observer; and as a historian he is decidedly shallow, taking *ex parte* views at second-hand with the most innocent good faith. Indeed, we often suspect him of being prejudiced himself; and he is therefore an unsafe guide for the uninitiated. This is true also of many of his works, if not of this one, from a moral point of view, for he often tells things that it is not safe for the young to read or think about.

While most frequently dealing in commonplaces, yet he sometimes

gives us glimpses into new phases of life and scenery; and though when lapsing into historical reminiscences he invariably draws his information from Protestant authors, yet he enables us to get glimpses of truth that show the chicanery by which the "Reformation" was imposed upon so many of the Swiss Cantons: the result was due in every case either to political complications or to the vicious system of having the people elect their own pastors. Through the former agency Protestantism was established at Geneva and Berne, and by means of the latter the immoral Zwingli gained sway at Zurich, and the unfrocked Peter Paul Vergerio in the Engadine. In most other sections of the Grison leagues it was politics also that brought about a change of religion, France lending a hand abroad while suppressing the heresy at home. Mr. Tissot's accounts of cruelties perpetrated in the religious wars of Switzerland are to be taken with a great deal of allowance.

A CENTURY OF REVOLUTION. By *William Samuel Lilly*. London: Chapman & Hall. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co. 1889.

What would otherwise have been a very good book is, to some extent, spoiled by the introduction of the extraneous subjects of Darwinism and Home Rule, and his position will generally be regarded as the wrong one on both points; for evolution is still only an unproved theory, and the justice of Ireland's demand for autonomy cannot be gainsaid. Indeed, he thus places himself in a paradoxical position, for the Liberal-Unionists can be considered political evolutionists only in the negative and retrogressive sense.

But, as an exposition of the "principles of '89" and of their philosophical development, the work is a masterly summary of the last century of European history. The author tests the ideas underlying the French Revolution by the moral laws of nature and of nations, and begins by laying down the principles necessary for understanding it aright. He discusses its relations to liberty, which it has made a mockery; to religion, which it has endeavored and is still endeavoring to destroy; to science, which, consisting mainly of unproved theories, it would set up in the place of religion; to art, which it depraves with shameless sensualism; and to democracy, which is even a more galling, oppressive and insolent tyranny than that which it has supplanted. To the propagation of revolutionary principles in England the author devotes his closing chapter, and here he sets forth views with which most of his readers, outside of England, and perhaps in that country itself, will not agree. A brilliant literary style adds to the attractiveness and interest of a volume that is well worth careful study.

HERNDON'S LINCOLN. The True Story of a Great Life. The History and Personal Recollections of Abraham Lincoln. By *William H. Herndon* and *Jesse William Weik, A.M.* In three volumes. Chicago, New York and San Francisco: Belford, Clarke & Co.

It is well that the present generation of Americans should know Lincoln as a man, both in public and private life; for thus portrayed there is a great deal in his character and services to his country for every American to admire. But, unfortunately, most of his biographers have represented him in an exaggerated fashion that would make of him a being almost impossible in American life. On the other hand, possibly, many will object that Mr. Herndon has made him too human; but no one had an opportunity of knowing the martyr-President better than he who was his law partner and friend for twenty years; and the present writer has been wise enough, too, to allow ample time for the seasoning

of his opinions before giving them to the public. We have no reason to believe otherwise than that the story told by Messrs. Herndon and Weik is a truthful and impartial one; if it errs in any respect it is in being too full in some comparatively uninteresting and, as far as the public is concerned, valueless particulars, for there are some things, even from the secular point of view, that had better remain unsaid. This stricture refers not only to a large portion of the text in the first volume, but also to some things in the Appendix in the third, wherefrom, however, some valuable information may be gathered, such as Lincoln's relation to the Know-Nothing movement and his liberal views on the right of suffrage.

SERMONS FOR THE SUNDAYS AND CHIEF FESTIVALS OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL YEAR. With two Courses of Lenten Sermons and a Triduum for the Forty Hours. By *Rev. Julius Pottgeiser, S. J.* Rendered from the German by *Rev. James Conway, S. J.* Vol. I. Sermons for Sundays. New York, Cincinnati, and Chicago: Benziger Brothers. 1890.

Though there be no scarcity of systematic series of sermons for Sundays and festivals, or in explanation of particular subjects, yet there is always room for another set by a master of the science and art of sacred oratory. Each compilation that finds favor with the clergy must have its own peculiar merits. Most of those that have hitherto been accessible to English readers have been derived from the French. If only for variety, this present series, therefore, ought to be welcomed; but irrespective of this, it has high merits of its own, merits that place it above many of the better-known compilations. Father Pottgeiser's name has long been known among his own countrymen, both at home and abroad, and he has justly been regarded as one of the first preachers and lecturers of his day. Strange as it may seem, it is to the infirmities of his old age that we owe the volumes of which the first is now published in English form. Yet he has not been a stranger to the English-speaking priesthood of this country, for he was long famous for the retreats that he gave to the clergy here. The present volume contains sermons for the Sundays of the ecclesiastical year, which, though addressed in the first place to the clergy, cannot but afford useful and edifying reading and rich spiritual nutriment also to the laity.

GOOD THINGS FOR CATHOLIC READERS. A Miscellany of Catholic Biography, Travels, etc. Containing Portraits and Sketches of Eminent Persons, and Engravings Representing the Church and Cloister, the State and Home, Remarkable Places Connected with Religion, and Famous Events in all Lands and Times. Profusely Illustrated. Second Series. New York: The Catholic Publication Society Co. London: Burns & Oates. 1889.

The title of this work, which we have given at length, well and truthfully describes the character of the contents. The articles are of a popular character, suited to interest and attract the young, yet well suited also to interest persons of mature age, while there is much that will be of value to the scholar and student, and particularly the student of the history of the Church in America. The biographical sketches contain a vast array of facts and important information. Nor is this confined to subjects concerning our own country alone. Famous persons, events, and places in other lands are depicted. Sketches of the lives of Catholic saints, prelates, priests, statesmen, warriors, scholars, writers, and artists, of different ages and countries, are also numerous given. The skill of highly competent engravers has been freely employed in producing the accurate and beautiful illustrations, with which the volume abounds, of holy and renowned persons, churches, shrines and other famous places.

A HISTORY OF THE SEVEN HOLY FOUNDERS OF THE ORDER OF THE SERVANTS OF MARY. By *Father Sostene M. Ledoux*, of the same Order. Translated from the French. London: Burns & Oates. New York: The Catholic Publication Society Co.

How many people know the names of the "Seven Holy Founders" whose history is here told, and told in very attractive style, too? They should be better known, as they did a noble work in their day and generation, a work that has had its influence on every succeeding age. "Born when the mediæval period was about to attain its apogee," we will enumerate them in the order in which they came into the world, between the years 1196 and 1206: Bonfilius Monaldi, Alexis Falconieri, Benedict dell' Antella, Bartolomeo Amidei, Ricovero Uguccioni, Gherardino Sostegni and Giovanni Manetti. Not only is their history fully told here, but also that of their order is more than sketched; and the book closes with an account of their canonization by the sovereign Pontiff now gloriously reigning.

A HISTORY OF FRANCE. By *Victor Duruy*, Member of the French Academy. Abridged and Translated from the seventeenth French edition by *Mrs. M. Carey*. With an Introductory Notice and a continuation to the year 1889, by *J. Franklin Jameson, Ph.D.* New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co.

It is a pity that M. Duruy ever accepted office under Napoleon III., for the later editions of his two-volume *History of France* are on that account tainted with Napoleonic ideas, in the closing portion of the work, of course. The translator and abridger might have eliminated this fault, but she has not done so. Another fault, and a very serious one, is that in the reproduction of the maps the French nomenclature is preserved. Prof. Jameson has furnished a very good biographical sketch of the author, who died but very recently, but he has not been so successful in the continuation of the history. He makes scant allusion to the persecution of the Church under the Third Republic.

LIFE OF BLESSED MARGARET MARY ALACOQUE, OF THE SACRED HEART. By *Rev. Albert Barry, C.S.S.R.* London: Burns & Oates. Dublin: Gile & Co. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co.

"Devotion to the Sacred Heart always existed in the Church, and there were saints who lived long before Blessed Margaret Mary of whom it was a noted characteristic. It was, however, reserved for the seventeenth century to spread it abroad among the faithful." To show how this agency was carried out by the nun of Paray-le-Monial was one of the chief objects the writer of this book had in view. It is therefore a devotional work as well as a biography, and in both respects it is an admirable production, its interest being enhanced, too, by a fine literary style. A few pages at the end of the book are devoted to prayers to the Sacred Heart composed by Blessed Margaret Mary.

THE PERFECTION OF MAN BY CHARITY. A SPIRITUAL TREATISE. By *W. H. Reginald Buckler, O.P.* London: Burns & Oates. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co.

Among spiritual treatises this one deserves to take high rank. Though written mainly for religious persons, people living in the world will find it of great use to them occasionally. It is a summing up of the science of religion "as contained in the inspired Word, proposed by our Divine Master, and handed down from the early ages of Christianity, through the Fathers of the Desert and the Church, the Doctors of the

Middle Ages, and the Saints and Spiritual writers of later date, to our own times." The work is sub-divided into two books, the first on the study of perfection, in eight chapters, and the second on the life of charity, in ten chapters.

MUSA ECCLESIASTICA; THE IMITATION OF CHRIST. By *Thomas A' Kempis*. Now for the First Time set forth in Rhythmic Sentences, according to the Original Intention of the Author. With a Preface by *H. P. Liddon, D.D., D.C.L.* New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co. 1889.

The rendering of Thomas A' Kempis's incomparable work into English verse is certainly a desideratum, and even if the translator of the volume before us has not been entirely successful, his effort is, nevertheless, worthy of commendation. His version is an admirable specimen of simple, strong, unadulterated English, and, unlike other non-Catholic translators, he has not toned down or omitted parts of the work in order to suit Protestant notions, but has evidently endeavored to faithfully give the meaning of the original text.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

NATURE AND CULTURE. By *Harvey Rice*. Boston: Lea & Shepard. New York: Charles T. Dillingham.

ASTRONOMY, NEW AND OLD. By *Rev. Martin S. Brennan, A.M.* New York: Catholic Publication Society Co. 1889.

DIARY OF THE PARNELL COMMISSION. Revised from "The Daily News." By *John Macdonald, M.A.* London: J. Fisher Unwin. 1890. For sale by The Catholic Publication Society Co., New York.

THE WAY: THE NATURE AND MEANS OF REVELATION. By *John F. Weir, M.A.*, Dean of the Department of Fine Arts in Yale University. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1889.

SUPERNATURAL REVELATION: AN ESSAY CONCERNING THE BASIS OF THE CHRISTIAN FAITH. By *C. M. Mead, Ph.D., D.D.*, lately Professor in Andover Theological Seminary. Anson D. F. Randolph & Co.

TWO SPIRITUAL RETREATS FOR SISTERS. By the *Rev. W. Zollner*. Translated and adapted, with the permission of the author, by *Rev. Augustine Wirth, O.S.B.* Second Revised Edition. New York and Cincinnati: Fr. Pustet & Co. 1889.

PRAYER. By the author of "Golden Sands." Offered to novices and pious people of the world. (Taken from the "Book of the Professed.") Translated from the French by *Miss Ella McMahon*. New York, Cincinnati and Chicago: Benziger Brothers. 1889.

THE POOR SISTERS OF NAZARETH. An Illustrated Record of Life at Nazareth House, Hammersmith. Drawn by George Lambert. Written by *Alice Meynell*. Published by Burns & Oates, London. For sale by The Catholic Publication Society Co., New York.

MEDITATIONES DE PRÆCIPUIS FIDEI NOSTRÆ MYSTERIIS *Ven. P. Ludovici de Ponte, S. J.*, de Hispanico in Latinum translatae a *Melchior Trevisio, S. J.* De novo editae cura Augustini Lehmkuhl, S. J. Two vols. Freiburg in Breisgau and St. Louis, U. S. A.: B. Herder. 1889.

HUNOLT'S SERMONS. Vols. V and VI. The Penitent Christian; or, Sermons on the Virtue and Sacrament of Penance, and on everything required for Christian Repentance and Amendment of Life, and also on doing Penance during the time of a Jubilee, and during Public Calamities. In seventy-six sermons, adapted for all the Sundays and most of the Holy Days of the year. With a full index of all the sermons, an alphabetical index of all the subjects treated, and copious marginal notes. By the *Rev. Francis Hunolt, S. J.*, preacher in the Cathedral of Treves. Translated from the original German edition of Cologne, 1740, by the *Rev. J. Allen, D.D.*, Vols. I. and II. New York, Cincinnati and Chicago: Benziger Brothers. 1889.

THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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THE TRUE AND THE FALSE PHILOSOPHY OF SOCIAL REFORM.

A FEW months ago, there appeared among the editorial articles of the *New York Herald* one in which the writer discusses the question of the most fitting residence for the Pope, in the event of his being driven from the lawful seat of his authority in Rome.

The substance of this essay was then already committed to paper, but the editorial in question furnishes so appropriate a text for our matter that a few sentences are here selected to serve that purpose.

"It is clear that a residence in America would be a serious mistake, amounting, in fact, to a misfortune. The Vatican is conservative in its methods, while public opinion in America is decidedly radical. We have little reverence for the past, and are engaged exclusively with the future. Authority goes for nothing with us, and reverence for it is every year on the decrease. A powerful, an omnipotent individualism pervades the continent, and this strong personality, backed, as it is, by an independence which is fearless and at times reckless, renders the republic an unfit home for an ecclesiastical monarchy. American Catholics are loyal to their Church, but they are apt to concede nothing, unless it squares itself with their own judgment."

That a "powerful, omnipotent individualism pervades this continent," in the sense and to the extent indicated with evident satisfaction by the *Herald*, is, we think, questionable. That all the

VOL. XV.—13

evils of our age, and those which threaten the peace of our own dearly-loved country in particular, are the noxious fruits of that pagan philosophy which only needs to be clearly exposed to excite disgust and repudiation in the heart of every true American, we are quite sure; and are equally certain that the fundamental principles of our government are the affirmations of the very opposite philosophy, that of the Catholic Church; and that all the hopes we fondly cherish of realizing our higher ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity are based upon that philosophy, whether in the social, political or religious order.

Despite the warning of an acute observer of popular manners and beliefs that "there is nothing to be expected from descending to philosophic discussions with some generations; to express their injustice, the nursery tale is best"; and, though we are forced to observe that this present age, which boasts so loudly of its spirit of inquiry and freedom of thought, really thinks but little and only echoes the too-often undigested and flippant opinions of the popular press and the lecture-platform, we have no mean estimate of the good sense and vigorous understanding of our people, to which one may, therefore, venture to appeal, with a not unreasonable confidence of obtaining a fair hearing and intelligent judgment.

One must needs descend to grave philosophic discussion in the present instance, for the subject forces us to get down to a calm consideration of fundamental principles, with the purpose in view of solving, if haply we may, the greatest of all questions which must be answered by this present generation—Which of the two philosophies, essentially antagonistic as they are in idea, expression and spirit, now contending for the mastery of human affairs, can be relied upon to furnish a philosophical criterion of that true progress of the human race which is universally sought for, and justly so, under the titles of reform, of social regeneration, of struggles for personal independence and intellectual liberty? Is it the Catholic Church, with its principles of unity and authority and its efforts, based upon a divine altruism, to establish the one and sanction the other; or, is it Individualism, with its principles of disintegration and "increased loss of respect for authority," and its pleas for universal license, the fruit of human egotism? And, on the contrary, which of the twain clearly furnishes principles, and shows in practical results sure indications of progress downwards, of degeneracy, of instability in human affairs, and a consequent abridgment, if not the imperilling, of all man's inalienable rights? Here are two definite questions for the serious attention and reflection of men who are willing to think and are not afraid to face logical conclusions.

We do not propose to discuss the question of the truth of the Catholic religion, either against the denials of the multifarious

sects of Protestantism on the basis of an assumed revelation of divine truth and of divine will in the matter of the eternal destiny of mankind; or against agnostics, self-styled rationalists and scientists denying the certainty of the existence of God and the need or even the possibility of a revelation. Protestantism, as erroneous Christianity, is fast losing all hold upon the masses, and all its contributions of evidence in proof of the existence of God and of His incarnation in Christ are received by unbelievers as just so much more argument to strengthen the claims of the Catholic Church. Protestantism is only an object of contempt in the eyes of intelligent unbelievers, among whom there is a common consent, as one frequently hears, that, if Christianity be true, the Catholic religion is alone its perfect and reasonable exponent.

It is the rational principles of Catholic philosophy, their deductions and application to human affairs, of which a clear exposition is now, in our humble opinion, more urgently called for than special proofs of the divinity of its religion, both to meet the antagonistic claims of the rationalist and to counteract the influence upon our own people of the dangerous sophistries abounding in all contemporary literature.

We are looking for an affirmation to which no one will take exception, and we think we have found one: "The pressing need of the hour is reform." So say the social and political economists; so say the doctors of law and divinity; so say all the philosophers, even the agnostic. There is no call for a division; for the voice of acclamation arises from the laborer, the mechanic, the tradesman, the physician, the lawyer, the priest and preacher, the grave statesman and witty satirist, the scientist and artist, the learned and ignorant, the rich and the poor, each from his own field of observation and from his own arena of suffering, as he attempts to frame a reply to the urgent demands of human aspirations, or give a response to the piteous appeals for human compassion. And we will add, the hour of pressing need is the hour of the human race which has been long in passing and whose end is not yet sounded. All history, as a narrative of human events, is but a record of reforms, social, scientific, philosophical, political and religious. The standpoint assumed by the historian, from which he views and criticizes the past, is one which to him at least is a real plane of higher elevation than what is occupied by the region he surveys. What appears in greatest prominence, and as subject-matter the most worthy of record, are those events which show mankind struggling to achieve some reform and progressing through reform to what is esteemed as better and truer. All artists know what is meant by the brilliant points and high lights in drawing and painting. Such are the world's reforms. They are the brilliant points, the high

lights, in the historical picture. They are the centres of interest, for the simple reason that what most deeply concerns the man of the present is this or that similar scheme of reform whose realization now enlists his keenest sympathies and absorbs his highest hopes.

But whence does the philosopher of history derive his idea of what is better and truer? Upon what principle does he found his comparison of past reforms or of present progress with other states and efforts of the race? We shall see. Without an idea of equilibrium, *i.e.*, of perfect, universal equalization of opposing forces, no idea of comparative inequality in power would be possible to the intellect.

But there is a very important and bed-rock question which must first of all be answered: Why are men not satisfied with the state of things present to them? How do they come to know, or even to suppose, that the balance of man's intellectual and moral capabilities, manifested especially in the general social result, is not in equilibril perfection? Why have they never been satisfied in the past with things as they found them? Why is it now received as a self-evident proposition that things are not what they might be? Why would the same proposition have been received as equally self-evident at any period of the world's history? In a word, why is mankind ever announcing the necessity of a reform, and ardently looking for the coming of some inspired or singularly-gifted genius who, as a living personification of the yearned-for progress, shall be to his age a Reformer, a Liberator or a Saviour, proved too often by the rising of some egoistic charlatan after whom the ignorant multitude run with eager and deluded haste to their own bitter disappointment and destruction? The answer to all these questions would appear to be also self-evident. Men cannot be satisfied with what is felt to be a condition lacking in that perfection, the possibility of which they are innately conscious of, as they are as well of a consequent constitutional longing, with an ever-present will, to realize it. This universal consciousness of a possible perfection for humanity is in little distinguished from an inherent natural instinct.

In every order of life man possesses and cherishes in his heart of hearts an ideal of perfection which he sadly acknowledges is not his now, but which, with honest effort and fair play, may yet be realized by the race. No one will venture to dispute the assertion that man always bears within himself a desire of well-being and the consciousness of his own dignity, neither of which can be explained unless he possess an ideal of perfect well-being and of perfect manhood. But, even if he be conscious of a possible future perfection, why should he complain, as he has always done, that

the times as he finds them need mending? Why should the times be, not only unequal to his aspirations, but be judged as often worthy to be satirized and condemned as unjust and untrue, defrauding him of his rights, and, like a convict's ball and chain at his heels, impeding his footsteps in the way of a freer, higher, better and happier life? One would think the common word of mankind should be: So far, so good; well to-day, to-morrow better; Excelsior! Did the monkeys, from whose arboreal abodes we, who have ascended in nature, have descended to live in houses, as the evolutionists would have us believe, complain that their times needed mending, and their tails shortening? Do the unfortunate minority of the monkey-tribe, who have been outstripped in the race for manhood, still chatter in their own fashion for reform and strive to rub off their caudal appendage which, by some unaccountable mistake or oversight in the law of evolution, had to be curtailed instead of developed to make a man of him? Are not the times and tails of monkeys good enough for them? Why are not the times of men good enough for them also? This question is put expressly, and not without reason as will presently appear, for the benefit of those prophets, priests and disciples of the most simon-pure individualism, who believe in the monkey-ancestry of humanity, and must consequently deny to mankind, as will be shown, the ever-present consciousness of an ideal of perfect manhood. These are the philosophers who, it would appear, when they wish to exalt any object, find no other way except by depressing what they do not elevate.

We cannot be made to believe in the dissatisfaction of the monkey, nor in his ever-present yearning for reform of his times or of himself, unless it can be shown that he has or had an idea of unrealized, yet realizable, perfection. Certainly, there is no other way of explaining the universal dissatisfaction of mankind with its present state.

Who told man his times were degenerated? Who tells him so now? Where did he get his idea of perfection possible of attainment? Philosophers, historians and scientists—all agree in asserting that mankind is ever making progress; some say in nature, and all say in acquirements. Why does he care to make progress? How does he know he is not perfect now? Does the fact of actual progress supply a philosophical basis from which the idea of perfection is derived, and inspire discontent at its long delay? Then will we believe that the monkey had an idea of perfection and equally with unhappy man damned his times for being out of joint, and industriously applied himself to get rid of his tail? "Oh, no; only rational creatures can have ideas." Ah! we understand. It was when the monkey had developed into man and became able to

reason and to progress as a man, that the idea of perfection entered his mind. Observation by comparison of actual progress develops the idea of possible perfection. Tell that to the gaping multitude who think not, but no philosopher worthy of the name will listen to you. For, that were to argue from the possible to the real, from the particular to the universal, which cannot be done. That were to argue from individualism, the philosophy of the formal, discrete and conglomerate, to the Catholic system, the philosophy of the real, concrete and organic unity. Perfection is not comprehensible, save as a logical, synthetic, harmonious unity, and progress *in medias res*, being essentially discrete, could never give the idea of perfect unity without the previous idea of the synthetic totality.

Parts are not parts of a whole to the mind unless there is, at least, an ideal conception of the total whole of which they are parts.

So, the human intelligence could never obtain an idea of intellectual or moral perfection, which is the synthetic expression of perfect nature, unless human nature, at some time or other, was in actual possession and observation of it, and thus transmit that idea as a perpetual, natural inheritance to the successors of the race.

Man does not, therefore, aim at reform of his present state, attained through the processes of struggle, and thus make actual progress, because such bits of progress, when compared one with another, give him the idea of future possible perfection, but all his efforts at progress are, in fact, based upon his constitutional desire to reform and reinstate an original perfection, of which he has indeed the idea, and a deeply-rooted one, because he is painfully conscious of its original possession at some period of the race, of which he is an individual expression, both corporally and spiritually, and conscious, as well, that such original perfection is an attribute of mankind which has become vitiated and degenerate.

In vain will the individualist make use of the subterfuge that man, as a rational being, has intelligence of the principles of contradiction, and hence can distinguish more from less, in both the logical and the ethical order, *i.e.*, he knows what is greater from what is less; what is higher from what is lower; what is better from what is not so good; and, therefore, by scientific observation of positive advance to what is comparatively greater, higher and better he deduces the idea of an actual perfection to be attained. But, again, no such idea can be deduced by the principles of individualism. For the idea of perfection, as either a logical or an ethical affirmation, is not the idea of a product by addition or multiplication of being or of quality of being, but rather the idea of harmony from equipoise between the possible or acquired condition of being and its destiny originally inherent in it, answering to the question of: What is its end or final purpose? The equilibrium of a one-

pound weight with another pound is as perfect as that of countless millions of pounds. Now, the imperfection of mankind is due to its state of disequilibrium, which can itself only be affirmed to be such by virtue of the idea of perfect equilibrium, which his original destiny affirms constantly to his soul as necessary to perfect harmony and consequent happiness and peace of body and mind and spirit.

Individualism has no such definite ideal of human perfection, and never pretended to formulate one—a forced confession of its utter inability to offer any criterion for the solution of the enigma of life. But the philosophy of the Church, and it alone, clearly posits such an ideal, by affirming it to be man's perfect equilibrium and harmony with God; and his present state of imperfection is thus plainly seen to be due to a want of this equilibrium, which the pain of discord and his aspirations for that supreme harmony and union with the All-Perfect, once had but now lost, are ever impelling him to re-establish.

No wonder that the peoples whose civilizations were fashioned by this divine philosophy have exhibited among all classes of men a marvellous spirit of social contentment and peace, to whom life was no insoluble enigma to fret the heart out with unsatisfied longings and drive the chartless wayfarer to suicidal madness and despair, for they possessed the master key that opens the mystic doors of both time and eternity: "Seek first the kingdom of God and His justice, and all other things shall be added unto you."

No wonder that the philosophy of individualism, having no ideal of perfection, should have no definite end to offer in the acquisition of science, of material goods, or even of moral virtues; but throws back the soul into the gloomy refuge of an egoistic misanthropy, inspiring only a vague craving and savage lust for more, simply as more. Of its disciples, it was written long ago: "The eye of the covetous is insatiable; he will not be satisfied till he consumes his own soul, drying it up."—(Eccl., xiv., 9.)

The true reformer whose works show a real progress does not, therefore, propose a new theory of existence, the discovery of which he claims as an original invention, as if mankind had never yet known how or why to live. The reformer who is a restorer of perfection goes to work to mend the world as he finds it, correcting aberrations in human life from its ideal equilibrial harmony with truth and right and justice, be it in society, in government, or in religion, by recalling mankind to the contemplation of first principles; not new ones, but principles which are eternal, and in human nature constitutional as the foundation of his sublime destiny.

A most important and undeniable conclusion is evidently deduced from the foregoing considerations. As the history of mankind

evidently shows, and as it is, in fact, little else but the record of reformation by re-affirmation of first principles, and especially of man's original ideal of perfection, human life may be said to have always been in need of mending. And that mending has been the work of the reformer, each in his own age, to bring about the special renewal of society, and effect the needed healing of the nations. Mark what follows. Nothing can need mending that is not broken, and what is broken was once whole, all boastful "honest opinions" to the contrary notwithstanding.

It does not need the theologians to teach mankind that the race is fallen from its original high estate; all history and every man's personal experience gives irrefragable testimony to this truth.

Hence we demand, as logically imperative upon the reason of every man who unites his voice in the common acclamation of assent to the first proposition—The pressing need of the hour is reform—that he also give unqualified assent to the conclusion drawn, that reform (which is, indeed, progress toward perfection) is based upon the idea of an original perfection of man of which some original cause has deprived humanity. From which, as well, follows the indisputable corollary that, as the ever present longing and striving for what ought to be better argues present imperfection through loss of the perfect, that imperfect state and consciousness of liability to fall back, even from an acquired civilization, proves that man is degenerate, and needs, not progress in the sense of our modern demagogues and atheistic philosophers, but regeneration; and that his efforts towards what is indeed progress is due to a perpetually impelling instinct which urges him to re-establish the lost perfection of the race.

So reform is indeed progress, in that the age is bettered by its success; and progress is reform, in that a higher and truer realization of the original perfection of mankind is being achieved. So both ends meet. If man seeks for future progress in perfection, he instinctively argues from the standpoint of a perfection past and lost. He bases his right to demand an improvement upon what he has, and the right to complain justly that things are not what they might be and should be, based on the self-conscious truth of the idea he has of a former excellence of which he is a disinherited heir through somebody's fault, folly, or misfortune, to his great damage and suffering.

We beg the reader to consider well the ground upon which this truth places us. We will find it a point of vantage from which we can discern and measure the whole bearing of the vital questions which this generation, with no little agitation of spirit, is striving to solve. We will find it a point of elevation, a summit amid the varied and lofty heights of human speculation, hidden from many

by the clouds and mists of the prevalent sophistries and skepticism of the day ; an elevation from which we can calmly look forth and clearly survey the wide horizon of human thought and effort within which are displayed the movements of the contending forces, marshalled by the two antagonistic philosophies of the age, to decide the fate of our present disturbed and as yet, it must be confessed, uncertain civilization.

To the intelligent reader it need hardly be said, that the principle which affirms all evolution of human life to be referable for its logical realization to an original creative ideal of perfection being once accepted, one is put in possession of an infallible test which readily solves many of the theories of cosmology and sociology now striving to force themselves into notice.

By the ingenious use of the popular term "Progress," taken in the sense of the individualist as "development by accretion or by fateful evolution," founded upon no ideal, the unthinking multitude have been gradually prepared to accept as worthy of examination, at least, and as even probably true, the pretentious theories of self-styled scientists, who not only deny the unity of the race, but would have us believe that man is only a developed beast ; that the present and past barbarous and tyrannical despotisms, pagan manners and idolatrous religions, are only logical progressions of the race, and that the savage state is a true inchoate, embryonic condition out of which the later civilizations, with all their higher and purer customs and religions, have deduced by a fateful, inexorable process of evolution.

Tested by the light and evidence of the irrefragable principle we have established, viz., that progress is the reform, regeneration and reconstruction of mankind, based upon a primitive and ever regnant ideal of perfection, all such theories are ruled out at once as fallacious by the philosopher, and as despicable by all who love and honor the worth and dignity of the human race.

For he who announces disorder, error, degeneracy, physical, intellectual or moral sickness, by the very fact affirms the prior existence of order, truth, perfection, physical, intellectual and moral health. To assert the contrary, as the philosophy of individualism does, whether in the mouth of the Socialist, the Positivist, the Evolutionist, the Agnostic, or the Transcendentalist, is not only in open contradiction to facts as manifested in the history of the human race, but is plainly irrational and absurd. The existence of God has not been denied or erroneously conceived until it was affirmed in truth. Man does not, nor can, proclaim and denounce himself as a sinner, in that he has permitted or by his fault brought about a state of society which culpably restrains human liberty, and in which the majority of mankind are robbed of just and in-

alienable rights, until he is conscious of a high and perfect estate in comparison with whose perfect elevation of nature he measures his present deplorable and guilty condition.

It cannot be other than senseless for one to assert himself to be in the wrong, if he cannot tell what is the right which he fails to believe or do, and which is both logically and actually prior to his infidelity or unjust deeds. The Socialist, who denies original sin in man, yet accuses society of actual depravity, must confess to the existence of an original perfect society upon which he is obliged to confer the power of free will to deprave itself without man being at all responsible for the act or its consequences. That is absurd, to be sure; but then, no one has the saying more thoroughly by heart than the Socialist: "*Populus vult decipi et decipiatur.*"

By the innate conviction of man's primeval dignity and excellence of nature, confessed by his continual efforts at reform, based, as they evidently are, upon the right to claim all that has been conferred upon humanity, and his willingness to purify by the expiation of personal effort and self-sacrifice the sinful, or, if you will, unfortunate, degeneracy of his age, man is also the constant witness to the two most important fundamental truths which can engage the attention of the philosopher, viz, the unity and solidarity of the race, by virtue of which all past gains, glories, dishonors and sufferings of mankind are reckoned ours by inheritance, and all its future possible fate claimed by anticipation.

We prefer to quote just here the very clear and concise exposition of these principles made by Donoso Cortes, in his remarkable work, "Essay on Catholicism, Liberalism and Socialism:—" "From the dogma of the concentration of human nature in Adam, united to the dogma of the transmission of this same nature to all men, proceeds, as a consequence from its principle, the dogma of the substantial unity of mankind. The human race, being one, ought at the same time to be multiple, in conformity with the law which is the most universal of all laws, and is at the same time both physical and moral, human and divine, and in virtue of which all unity engenders plurality, and all plurality resolves itself into unity.

"Mankind is one by the substance which constitutes it, and it is multiple by the persons who compose it, and therefore it is one and multiple at the same time. In the same manner, each one of the individuals who compose humanity, being distinct from the others by that which constitutes his individuality and blended with others by that which constitutes him an individual of the species, that is to say, by substance, becomes in this way at the same time one and multiple, like the human species.

"As a consequence of both proceeds the dogma according to

which man is subject to a double responsibility—that which is proper to him alone and also that which belongs to him—is common with the rest of men. This responsibility which man shares in common with others is called solidarity. This law of solidarity is so universal that it is manifested in all human associations, and men cannot unite to form a society without falling under the jurisdiction of this inexorable law. Through his ancestors man is in a union of solidarity with past ages; through the successive duration of his own acts and through his descendants he enters into communion with future ages; and, as an individual and a member of domestic society, the solidarity of the family weighs upon him. As a priest or magistrate, he enters upon a communion of rights and duties, of merits and demerits, in common with the magistracy or the priesthood. As a member of a political association, he becomes amenable to the law of national solidarity, and finally, in his character as man, the law of human solidarity reaches him, and, notwithstanding that he is responsible in so many different ways, he preserves his personal responsibility whole and intact, which none other diminishes, restrains or absorbs.

“He may be virtuous, although a member of an offending family; uncorrupted and incorruptible, although belonging to a depraved society; a prevaricator, although a member of an irreproachable magistracy, and a reprobate, although a member of a holy priesthood. Yet this high power, which has been granted to man, of withdrawing from this solidarity by an exercise of his sovereign will, does not in anything alter the principle in virtue of which, in matters in general and without diminution of his liberty, man is what the family is in which he is born, and what the society is where he lives and breathes. Such has been, throughout the duration of historic ages, the universal belief of the world.”—(Pp. 231–5.)

This principle of solidarity, then, which is fundamental in the Church, and may be said to be the principle of cohesion and of continuity both of the race in general and of all particular associations of it, such as the family, the state and the Church, is one which, both logically and practically, the antagonistic philosophy of individualism should deny. Both the individualist and the Catholic philosopher, however, affirm these doctrines of the unity and solidarity of mankind, but they do so in a different manner.

The first, following the Positivist and Socialist teaching, ascribe to humanity as to society a unity which is self-sustaining and possessing a kind of deific existence, worthy of worship, of which men are not the constituent elements and the constitutors, but rather its slaves and instruments. So far as this philosophy holds to the truth of the solidarity of the race in agreeing that all men are subject to a common responsibility both active and passive, it does so

by an absurd process of reasoning backward and downward, deriving this responsibility from the autonomy of a supposed organic humanity and society which cannot be other than mere fictions of the mind, and, true to its egoistic principle, conferring upon them all the attributes of individuality and necessary existence. On this doctrine reposes, as one plainly sees, the whole system of secularism as applied to Church, state, the family, education and all their egoistic, soulless social organizations.

It is not the salvation and liberty of individual man that it affirms and seeks, but the supremacy and odious tyranny of the fictitious unity it presumes to create and set up for adoration. Hence its boasted maxim: "*Salus reipublicæ suprema lex.*" Such a doctrine is standing the pyramid upon its apex, from which nothing but instability in all human affairs can be expected.

If this doctrine of solidarity, in the sense affirmed by the Church, were not true, no man need ask the question which the would-be "omnipotent" philosophy of individualism, conscious of its utter inability to solve the enigma of life, has of late so diabolically thrust upon a generation already shamefully distinguished for suicide: "Is life worth living?" since all would readily agree that it is not. If I inherit nothing from the race but the puny existence of a few miserable hours, to be spent in painful efforts to support life, to solve (?) the problems of science and enjoy life's fleeting and unsatisfying pleasures, of which the more intense in delight are the briefer in duration, and at life's termination lose all hold upon the future, in that I cease to be one of the elements and fruits of human existence, what can possibly avail the cost of life to me, though it were the longest, and, as the world reckons it, the happiest? If, at birth, I do not wake to an inheritance of the merits of the past glories of mankind, or as a new heir to the majesty of its sufferings, what has life to offer me but a shallow goblet of bitter pleasure to be drunk in selfish thirst, then gladly escaping by a welcome death the jealous envy of those who have had less, and the haughty contempt of those who have had more than life has given to me?

But to the instinct and belief of all men it is far otherwise. Any life is deemed worth the living because it neither begins with birth nor ends with death. The unity of human nature is not formal, but real; both because all animal life is vivified by the one unbroken stream of blood uniting the original man through all men who are to be in a common solidarity of physical existence, and also because of the mysterious transmission of the same tri-une spiritual stream of intelligence, will and affections uniting man's spiritual nature in a common solidarity of intellectual and moral responsibility.

Humanity is, then, no empty-sounding word. It is multiple and

diverse in its manifestations while ever being one and common in communion of life and responsibility. Individuals are thus endowed with the common dignity of the race referable for its exalted character to the divine ideal of it, share its fate, and perpetuate the race in perpetuating themselves and their acts.

Nihil humani a me alienum puto. So say all men, embracing in thought all mankind as both giving to and receiving from him racial honor and sympathy, and bearing with him the obligation to relieve human suffering and expiate human sin. What are the past glories of mankind to me, if they are not mine, by being the glories of *my* race? From whence, besides, could possibly spring up within me the glow of enthusiasm as I scan the proud record of man's past noble achievements, or stir within my heart the impulses of a worthy ambition to have so lived as to deserve well of my kind, if I live not both in the past and in the future? Are the sufferings of mankind in the past as I learn them, in the present as I both know and feel them, and in the future as I foresee them, be they for justice's sake, in the defence of truth and right, or even its sadly-earned woes for its follies and its sins, nothing to me? Then am I not its born image and son, but a miserable abortion, a monster without traceable ancestry, whose living is indeed of no worth to it, and of but counterfeit value to myself.

Upon this indisputable doctrine of solidarity reposes the validity of the charter of all human rights, social, political and religious; since the idea of right is inconceivable if an intercommunion of human responsibility be denied, which again, without the affirmation of a common nature, would be equally inconceivable and absurd.

To it must be referred as well the justice of the universally recognized claims to the glories of an honorable and illustrious ancestry, the principle of national identity, the consecration of the flag, and other symbols of national unity. It is the fountain of the virtue of patriotism. It is implied in every common effort made to lift a brother man out of the ditch, and it gives meaning and more lustre than the eye seeth to the crown of laurels which a grateful people weaves for the brows of its heroes who have gained its victories, or to be laid as a pledge of memory upon the graves of its martyrs who have gone to death for its love. Eliminate the doctrine of the solidarity of humanity, and all those ideas, purposes and sacrifices would be meaningless.

That the true estimate of the worthiness and hopefulness of human life, with all the aspirations, sympathies and union of effort directed to a common end, are justly held to be universal with mankind (whose exceptions are deemed wanting in reason or despised as stupid misanthropes), we are logically led to the conclu-

sion that mankind are naturally Catholic in philosophy, and would be universally so in effect but for the inconsistency born of man's perverse and degenerate will. Partaking of the like mysterious perpetuity of life and communion of glory and suffering with which the race itself is endowed, not only nations and families are thus kept in their own orbital system of harmonious movement, each in its own order working out a special destiny, but individuals as well establish a similar solidarity, within whose circle of common virtue and spiritual power are drawn those who look up to them as the fathers and founders of their states, their civilization or their religion. They are descended from him by the same law of solidarity through spiritual genesis, entering by inheritance of his spirit a new sphere of responsibility. And this is equally true of those wretches who have prostituted their genius in establishing tyrannies of rule and systems of false philosophy and religion, as it is of those who rise upon the horizon of their age as brilliant orbs diffusing life-giving rays of truth and justice, whose aurora is marked by the dawn of new liberty and peace, and whose setting leaves the world that was illumined during their transit renewed and refreshed, with all its fields of human labor already heavy with full harvests of virtue.

These are the men who truly reform their age, and in reforming their age they reform the race.

And if they do so, it is because they will be found to have recalled mankind to the contemplation of its pristine state of perfection by announcing eternal principles of truth, liberty and justice; not principles to be gradually elaborated by progress, but principles that were ever in the right of mankind to claim as a basis of life, because the same idea of perfection was ever his. And because they appear when the times sadly need mending; when the spirit of degeneracy has so enslaved the human mind as to shut out from clear view that original purity and destiny of the race as to lead men to ask, as some do now, if indeed life be worth the living, we find them recalling the despairing nations to new hope by some supreme word of wisdom or deed of supernatural heroism and self-sacrifice, holding up in strong contrast the dignity and inalienable rights of man, the possibilities of bringing their nature up to perfect conformity with its highest ideal, when compared with the present state of decadence and peril of social, civil or religious damnation.

You cannot arouse enthusiasm for reform without first convincing those you wish to reform that they are degenerate. But to do this you must evidently instruct them, or rely upon their possessing a lively consciousness of a former state of perfection of which their present one is a deterioration. Of what use to appeal to the degenerate scions of a royal house to assume the reins of

power and practise the virtues of kings upon the sole plea of progress from their degraded plebeian state to one of sovereignty. They must be told, if they be ignorant, of their illustrious descent, and made to feel that it is a duty to sustain the renown of their noble ancestors. Of what use to breathe the word freedom into the ear of the shackled slave unless you teach him that all men are born of a free and equal nature; that he has been made a slave after and not before birth; that personal liberty is, and always was, the sacred birthright of man, and therefore that his slave-father begat, and his slave-mother bore, and brought him forth into God's world a free man?

What is true of one inborn right of man is true of all, for the ideal of humanity is and ever was "the perfect man." So we again affirm as past all doubt or contradiction that mankind, in reforming itself to what is better, returns to original perfection by reaffirmations in act of its ideal rather than that it advances to the realization and enjoyment of a product by gradual development of human nature, of which his present imperfect condition is embryonic and in process of formation; a truth which at perhaps no time of the world's history it would appear was ever so commonly ignored or openly denied as in our own boastful age of science. That was a bitter satire of the musician Grétry, but it has its application quite as aptly and forcibly now as when it was penned a century ago. *Plus nous deviendrons savans, plus nous nous éloignerons du vrai*—The more scientific we are becoming, the further we are taking ourselves away from truth.

Why do the names of great and true reformers live as saviours or their race or nation? Why does the name of Jesus Christ—*Nomen adorandum in æternum!*—live as the only true, universal Saviour of the world? Because, in their own order and degree, according to the sublimity of their mission to restore and build up again the fallen fortunes of humanity, they presented and enforced certain fundamental truths whose criterion can only be found in man's original supremacy of nature and endowments, and thus established a movement, not of progression to an unknown and baseless perfection to be hoped for through the working out of unintelligent physical laws, but of restoration, of redemption, of regeneration, as the basis of an ever-present, urgent ideal whose spiritual forces irresistibly attract all mankind. This fully explains why man is ever uneasy and discontented with his age and his environments.

Herein lies the secret of all his unbounded aspirations. This is what renews his courage in failure and disaster, gives value to every well-meant effort, and more than repays the heaviest sacri-

fices that his own life, or the lives of his brother-man, may demand of him.

Such men appear at what are clearly seen by later historians to be critical periods in civilization. The vitiated and perhaps fast-corrupting order in society, in government or in religion, is seen to have threatened confusion, revolution and ruin. It was as if the bond which held together the once stable arch of civilization had become disintegrated and broken, and the once harmoniously related stones of the structure had rebelled against each other, refusing to give and yield mutual support, no longer obedient to the law of solidarity which alone can produce unity. Rebellion against unity is ever due to the affirmation of the egoistic principle of individualism; the principle "of man's first disobedience and the fruit of that forbidden tree, whose mortal taste brought death into the world and all our woe"; the principle of that arrogant self-worship which hurled the first star of heaven from his orbit of supernal order, and bade him utter his word of defiance. "Better to reign in hell than to serve in heaven." Then, indeed, is it felt to be true that the pressing need of the hour is reform, and it is explained why the inspired saviour of his age always exhibits in both word and action a singularly impatient haste. He knows that the seeds of death are more rapid in their germination than the seeds of life; he knows that the swift and swirling waters of the unrestrained torrent go quickly to the abyss with loud threatenings of death and destruction; but the peaceful stream which irrigates the smiling fields, imparting to them new beauty and fruitfulness, flows but slowly and in majestic silence. Yes; he sees that there is pressing need because he is one of those who rise before the dawn, and during the shadows of the night, when men sleep in fancied security, he has seen the "enemy" a-field sowing broadcast the cockle which will surely choke the good grain ere it can ripen for a harvest. None so quick as he to see the rapid commingling of the thousand and one streams of error and passion into a torrent of ungovernable anarchy, in which society will soon be hopelessly overwhelmed. No wonder he speaks in eloquent haste and with an imprudence of language which scandalizes the slower of heart. No wonder the tones of his voice are marked by the shrill accents of warning and alarm. He is the chosen seer of the hour, and beholds with prophetic glance the impending ruin and corruption threatening his generation. Therefore he who announces and secures the accomplishment of the needed reform is truly a saviour. He saves society; he saves the country; he saves the rights of his fellow-men; he saves the child, the woman, the family; he saves religion; he saves, it may be, the whole human race.

Degeneracy is intellectual and moral death. Reform is revivi-

fiction, and he who is the true reformer and saviour brings new life to the world. Now we begin to see what is fully meant by the phrase, "the regeneration of society." No wonder we hear Him who was and is the true Saviour of mankind in all orders, the supreme regenerator of all human relations, use the significant declarations: "Ye must be born again;" "I have not come to destroy the law, or the prophets, but to fulfil." No wonder we hear Him calling men to imitate the perfection even of God. No wonder that this chief affirmation was "Union," as it has always been of the divine philosophy and theology which He promulgated to the world, and, following the law which governs the march and victory of truth, is slowly but surely bringing about that divine "restitution of all things" which he prophesied, and which his first apostle took it for granted men knew of and yearned for,—that restitution having been the "speech of God by the mouth of His holy prophets (reformers) from the beginning of the world."

The reformation of the world inaugurated by Jesus Christ would be more than an incomprehensible enigma, it would be a senseless paradox, but for the truth of the original perfection of mankind, to the restitution of which, by regeneration of all human relations, His reformation called humanity and condemned the spirit from which all degeneracy arises. No less incomprehensible would be the doctrines of perfection as so completely announced and clearly defined by Him unless the principles of solidarity and of racial unity be assumed as their ethical basis. With these unquestionable fundamental principles in view we commend to our sincere reader another perusal of the Gospels and Apostolic Epistles. If, mayhap, we have pointed out to him an untrodden path to the "Mount of Vision," it is not unlikely he will say, as more than one has said who came to their perusal in the light of a true philosophy—"Though I have studied the Scriptures from my youth up, yet I am as he who readeth for the first time."

Reformers are saviours of men, therefore, not in that they inaugurate a new era of progress from nothing to something, but in that they restore and save what is lost by restoring a broken, disintegrated and dissolving condition to unity and harmony; by a re-formation of humanity in its various relations; by a re-affirmation of that divine unity impressed upon the race, and whose preservation is concomitant with its struggle for perfection; and not the proclamation and establishment of a new, factitious unity, a conglomerate aggregation devoid of all vital principle and powers of fecundity; a body lacking, indeed, continuity, as it lacks an original ideal, and therefore impossible of logical definition.

Whence we get a sure criterion of the value of all great movements in the social, civil or religious order which offer themselves

for recognition and assent as evidences of true progress and logical development of the mental, physical and spiritual powers of mankind. True enlargement and advance in any or all of these orders of human life and activity are dynamically centripetal, not centrifugal. They lead to the Catholic affirmation, reconciliation and reconstitution of unity and harmony, and are abhorrent to the negation of it by the teaching of principles which produce multiplicity of antagonistic forces in society, Church and state by the introduction and fostering of the principles of individualism.

It is clearly illustrated on every page of history that degeneracy and disintegration of their autonomy in peoples, in their social relations, in the state and in religion, has ever been signalized by the oblivion of this doctrine of solidarity and consequent denial of equal rights and common responsibility between the governor and the governed, everywhere enjoyed as they were valorously defended when the Church named both their religion and their philosophy. Long before that philosophy, which is essentially adverse to the highest interests of mankind by contrast of principle, justly named individualism, had crystallized into socialism, communism and anarchism in society, into secularism in State and judicial administration, and in education, and into self-destructive sectarianism in religion, it had shown its power to disintegrate humanity, to establish castes and classes full of irreconcilable enmities and jealousies, "producing," as says that eminent writer already quoted, "the bloody and sensual egotism of the ancient pagan nations, transmitting a tradition that certain peoples of the common race were constitutionally cursed and disinherited of all right and quality of virtue, and forever condemned to legitimate and perpetual slavery."

Hardly less degrading was the racial egotism of the Jews, to whom Jesus Christ came as the equal Saviour of all men, and to whom the Catholic Apostle *par excellence*, St. Paul, knew neither barbarian nor Scythian, neither Jew nor Gentile, neither bond nor free. How could either the religion or the philosophy of this God-man or His apostle be anything else but Catholicity? Rome in her imperial despotism, Athens in her insolent and rapacious aristocracy, under the pretence of democracy, and later nations, whether enslaved under a king or a commune, who have equally dared to insult the outraged dignity of man by flinging in the face of Europe the arrogant boast, *l' état c'est moi*, all manifest the like fruits of the same egoistic philosophy. That boastful maxim of the ancients, *salus populi suprema lex*, was but a specious pretext for absorbing the rights of the man in the interest of the nation. It seemed a proud and a glorious thing to say, "I am a Roman citizen." "I am an American citizen" sounds tame in comparison

to it. And yet that Roman citizen was nothing but a political slave, the tool of a pagan Socialism, a sort of State Freemason. He was a citizen; true, but he was not a man. For what was the pagan political doctrine as laid down by the jurisconsults of Rome? Of the subject—*Non licet esse vos*—you have no right to exist. Of the government—*Princeps legibus solutus*—the ruler is bound by no law; or, as the English have translated for themselves, the king can do no wrong.

M. Guizot, no mean philosopher of history, and beyond suspicion of personal bias in favor of Catholicity as a religion, contrasts the influence of the ruling power of the Church with that of Protestantism upon society in the question of popular rights. "After the fall of the Roman Empire and during the Middle Ages it was the Papacy which, in the turmoil of the violent disorders of the times, was the defender and the patron of the rights of the people."—(*L'Église et la Société Chrétienne*, p. 103.) Of Protestantism he says: "Protestants have not known how to reconcile the rights and necessities of tradition with those of liberty, and the cause of it undoubtedly has been that the Reformation did not fully understand and accept either its principles or its effects, whence arises a certain inconsistency and narrowness of spirit."—(*History of Civilization*, Lect. 12.) And of Germany, the school where Protestantism learned both its philosophy and its religion, he says that "far from demanding political liberty, it has accepted, I should not like to say political servitude, but rather the absence of political liberty."

That the philosophy of Protestantism is individualism it were superfluous to prove, for its fundamental principle, the right of private judgment, is perhaps the most extreme application of that philosophy ever made. Its palpable fruits of dissension, disintegration, its vain attempts at union of its sects, and its foremost position in the ranks of those who would achieve the impending ruin of our present civilization by secularizing the family, education, the state, and even religion, all go to prove that its germinal principle is identical with that of the philosophy of individualism.

If ever the Church was called upon to sound the note of alarm, it is now. Many of the wisest and best, albeit in matters of philosophy most ignorant, as well as the designing and the worst, have boldly thrown out the standard of secularization of what is essentially divine in constitution, and whose triumph would be marked by dissolution of the family, abolition of the rights of property, which repose ultimately upon the supremacy of the doctrine of the solidarity of the family (the principles of the perpetuity of both family and property), the weakening, if not the total annihilation, of government by anarchical maxims, and the gradual, as already patent, de-

generacy of national and personal moral virtues resulting from the secularization of education, whose most evident and undeniable product, and one likely to prove the most poisonous and disastrous to the destiny of our civilization, is the prevalent tendency to that Satanic intellectual egotism, under the name of Agnosticism, which, in denying the divine origin of the race, denies its moral responsibility to a Creator, and fears not, even at the price of self-stultification, to deny the very existence of the Creator Himself.

If we ask others from whence arises the present widespread belief, in spite of its glaring violation of justice, that the right of education inheres in the state, the answer that we get, or that they dare to give, is the Socialist maxim: *Salus reipublicæ suprema lex*. If we ask ourselves the cause of this slavish yielding of parental right and base shirking of parental responsibility, we can find it nowhere but in the prevalence of that "omnipotent" individualism in the philosophy of the day which not only logically ought to, but practically does, deny the divine constitution of both family and state, and refers the existence of both to individual human caprice and rule. Denying the law of solidarity as of divine constitution, it denies all basis and reason of responsibility, frets under its restrictions, and eagerly catches at some creature of its own, which it holds the state to be, upon whose body (for soul it has not been able to give it) it can shift the whole burden. No wonder that its schools are soulless and godless. The individualist doctrine of Socialism does not recognize divine authorship in anything, least of all in the state. Its god is its own creation, and all its authority is derived from the individual. The maxim, *vox populi vox Dei*, is theirs in its basest sense.

If we ask our modern jurisconsults why there is such a shameful exhibition of weakness in ruling powers, shown in the difficulty of the conviction of the most notorious criminals, and the widespread delay of judicial decrees in the courts, we get nothing but a miserable excuse in reply, either that political influence is more powerful than law, or that there are not enough courts to dispose of the indictments. If we ask ourselves the reason, we find it again in the popularity of the same atheistic philosophy which would secularize both the judiciary and the state. Shall a thing judge and condemn its own creator? By whose will and idea of justice shall they judge? Through whose strength shall they dare to be strong?

By an unerring and logical instinct both governments and judiciary, becoming more and more the creatures of the individual, at whose beck and call, known as popular opinion, they move as puppets, lose sight of their divine right, and become weak and timorous. Penalties are relaxed and justice is long delayed. Pleas

of insanity and eccentricity are willingly accepted where the sense of the immorality of crime no longer prevails. The force of the traditional ordeal of the oath is less relied upon, or even dispensed with, and replaced by the affirmation of the individual. Secularization of the state and the judiciary must, therefore, be followed by the sight of criminals stalking, with shameless effrontery, the open streets, corrupt officials who defy impeachment, and even murderers, whom the godless courts dare not or care not to imprison or hang.

If we seek in the journals the expression of the public opinion concerning the outgrowth and dangers of the daily multiplication and despotic tyranny of soulless corporations, trusts, and the like evidently godless and irresponsible associations, we find grievous and bitter laments enough over the suffering of the slaves of labor forced to come under the grinding grasp of the heartless capitalists who, taking advantage of modern improvements in machinery, have reduced the once intelligent mechanic to an unintelligent mechanical instrument, thus entirely bereft of the natural happiness arising from being the producer of a whole work, crushing out all individuality and stunting the growth of all natural genius. All this we find, but no explanation of the principle which is thus building up an insolent and omnipotent plutocracy which buys and sells votes of men who call themselves freemen, but goes further and corrupts officials in high places, who, in turn, pass laws and render decrees to serve the ends of their base masters.

What is the cause of this alarming degeneracy, for what else will any one dare to call it? We must look for the cause in its germinal principle, the same one that lies at the root of all degeneracy. It is the same omnipotent and damnable individualism, the satanic philosophy which identifies the attainment of superior scientific knowledge, the possession of more wealth and of more power with essential good, to be sought for their own sake. Who thus seek these things? Those whose rule of life and base ideal of happiness is to enjoy what pleases them, not what *ought* to please. Selfish egotists, for whom the whole world is a prey to be caught and to serve their caprice or diversion as one cages a wild beast; apt pupils in the school of that philosophy which knows no responsibility because, both by its theories and its practice, it denies the divine solidarity of mankind, which alone can establish fraternal relations between man and man, and waken in the breast all those common sympathies, affections, and tender, yet noble, virtues, lacking which society would soon be broken up into hordes of jealous and vindictive savages, whose hand would be against every man without law and without conscience.

Such is individualism. How do you like it, brethren, as a crite-

tion of the perfect civilization you picture to yourselves as the hope of humanity? How think you it will serve as the basis of the much-needed reform you so urgently call for to-day in society, in politics, and, if you will, in religion? Are you quite sure you would like to see the philosophy of individualism wholly omnipotent? If one comes forth announcing himself as a present saviour of his age, will you enlist under his standard, and make yourselves and children his sworn disciples if such be his doctrine? Is it not plainly the doctrine of a destroyer, and not of a saviour, of mankind?

Where, then, shall we find a philosophy which furnishes the doctrine of one who assuredly will be a saviour to our present civilization; which shall render abortive the destructive tendencies of individualism, and moreover affirm principles of conservation of what is good; which will offer the criterion of a true reformation of the present worthy to be called a regeneration of society, and endowed with true generative principles of development and order; will build up a coherent system of thought and life in accordance with the universal consciousness of an appointed perfection of humanity?

There is such a philosophy, and there is but one; the most fitting term for which would indeed be Socialism, were it not that such a term is already identified with doctrines and effort based upon the worst phases of individualism. No other term is left but Catholicity, which indeed it bears. Unlike its antagonistic philosophy, as exhibited in various concrete forms such as Socialism, Communism, Anarchism, or pure humanitarianism, Catholicism is both a religion and (what is not so well known) a complete consistent system of universal philosophy embracing the whole field of human thought and applicable in logical consequence to all human life and condition. The philosophy of its theism, called theology, the philosophy of its faith, is not in any sense different in fundamental principles from the philosophy of its humanism, or pure science. It has but one order of logic for the investigation both of the knower and of the known.

The idea of man's original perfection, of the unity and solidarity of the race, are regnant ideas both in its theology and in its philosophy. In its theology they are dogmas, and in its philosophy they are traditional facts; and it never loses sight of these fundamental truths of human history, life, and destiny in the exercise of its formative and sustaining power, influencing and regulating, sanctioning and defending the solidarities of social, civil, national, and religious life.

It is precisely the affirmation of these truths which puts it into antagonism with all the characteristics that have been noted of the

philosophy of individualism, inspiring opposite sentiments and directing the attention of mankind to the attainment, in one or another order, of a common destiny of glory, honor, progress, and happiness. Stimulating individual excellence, it does so, not for its own sake, but with a view to the superior perfection of the individual as one of many brethren, with whom, if he enjoys superior advantages, he is bound by obligation of a common responsibility which becomes heavier as his personal acquirements are the greater.

Thus it alone has offered to mankind a universal brotherhood, and has been able to diffuse the spirit of a fraternal love which, despite all the necessary diversity of human conditions of life, confers the boon of a supereminent equality fully and practically realized; an equality which is one of the greatest marvels of the world and for which its enemies in vain seek for a solution outside of its own principles. While regarding the acquisition of knowledge, of wealth and power as both legitimate and laudable, which individualism, true to its egoistic principles, fosters and encourages to exaggeration, to the aggrandizement of self-interest and self-conceit, the philosophy of our religion, as the highest and purest altruism, enforces the doctrine of the community of all goods in so far as the common right to life, liberty, and happiness may lay claim under the title of a common responsibility which equally binds the learned and the ignorant, the rich and the poor, the capitalist and the laborer, the governor and the governed, a responsibility of reciprocity.

This true philosophy of happiness, as it is of human perfection, is far from placing the means of either in the attainment of any created good for its own sake; whence, among those nations where the Church has been supreme we observe a certain indifference manifested towards the gaining of riches, and the pursuit of mere animal comforts and luxuries; in broad contrast to that feverish, jealous hankering for the amassing of colossal wealth and its enervating environments, which are the well-known and deplorable fruits of individualism, at the expense not only of health and social harmony, but also of those nobler and more refining manners and vigorous virtues for which the civilizations of those people influenced by the philosophy of Catholicity have been signally distinguished.

If Catholic nations worthy of the name have ever been distinguished for their spirit of content with what is moderate, plain, and simple, and for which they are reviled by an age whose god is the almighty dollar, and which hails the invention of every new luxury as a sign of progress, it is because their philosophy was founded not only in the doctrine of Christ which declared the poor as the blessed ones of the earth, but also in the truth of reason

that "*virtus rerum in medio consistit.*" They had their kings and princes, their nobles and lords of great estates it is true, as they had and still have their republics, but they offer to our view a self-respecting, free, virtuous and contented people, firm in the defence of their civil and religious liberties, unenvious of those upon whom Providence had bestowed special powers and wealth. "For aught I see," says an old writer, "they are as sick that surfeit with too much as they that starve with nothing: it is no mean virtue to be seated in the mean." Their philosophy was well expressed by an ancient statesman: "The majority of citizens should be neither too rich nor too poor. Those who are too rich become often proud and insolent, and the poor vile and cunning. The greater number of moderate fortunes, the greater will be the stability of states. A universal mediocrity in this respect is the most wholesome." And history confirms the acceptance of this doctrine when it shows us that until the disastrous revolt of Protestantism, the legitimate child of an antagonistic doctrine, there were so few of the "too poor" to be found in Catholic nations that such institutions of egoistic charity as the "poor-house" and the name of "pauper" as a recipient of enforced state benevolence were utterly unknown.

The enormous and unjust inequalities in worldly possessions which now prevail in modern society, resulting in a threatened disruption of the whole social order, the fears of which are boldly confessed on every page of contemporary literature, cannot be laid at the doors of the Church. It had its high and low classes, its noble and peasant, its prince and mechanic, but it never had, in the days of its "omnipotence" in human affairs, a class out of which were spawned a Communist or a piratical "Trust" company. It has been left to the philosophy of individualism to found the base order of the Plutocrat, and determine the rank of the gentleman by the amount of stock one holds in wealthy corporations; to stir up in the popular mind a morbid craving for the possession of wealth, with all its diabolical train of envy and jealousy between the rival competitors in the mad race for gold, and of murderous hate in the breasts of those who have been thwarted in their desires; to breed a class of bank robbers, of peculating employees, of bribed legislators, of stock-watering thieves, all of whose "operations" are daily heralded and commented upon in language which shows that the popular conscience is so blunted as to deem these iniquities fitting subjects rather for satirical humor than for denunciation, in terms of horror and shame, on account of the indelible disgrace which should attach, not only to the criminal, but to the whole fraternity of our humanity.

He who changes the principles of his philosophy is, perforce, obliged to either adopt a new terminology or falsify the existing

one. Fraternity, Liberty, and Equality are terms as old as Catholicity; and are, indeed, words of spirit and of life in her mouth of no doubtful meaning. Adopted, as they have been, as a shibboleth by the Socialists, they have been employed as watchwords of open and secret societies whose aim is the destruction of all order by machinations against established peace, and the spread of doctrines which would abolish all legitimate authority, the rights of property, and ultimately lead to the denial of all moral virtue and responsibility. Catholic philosophy, true to its principles of the solidarity and unity of the race, feared not to demand both the manners and the moral obligations implied by all those terms. If it taught men that they were brothers, it led them to treat each other as brethren. Nothing is so conspicuous, even at the present day, among those peoples who inherit more or less of the faith and manners of Catholic times, than the mutually polite and urbane bearing and speech, alike of the high and low, the rich and poor, while preserving a singular air of nobility and self-respect which even the very beggar does not lose. Chateaubriand observes that "one can never remark in Spain any of those servile airs or turns of expression which announce abjection of thoughts or degradation of mind: the language of the great seigneur and of the peasant is the same, the greeting the same, the customs, the compliments, the manners are the same."

Another writer gives a singular testimony: "Spain," he says, "is the true land of equality. The least beggar lights his *papelito* at the *puro* of the greatest lord, who allows him to do so without the least affectation of condescension. Strangers, and above all the English, have great difficulty to put up with this familiarity. Servants are treated with a sweetness very different from our affected politeness, which seems each moment to remind them of the inferiority of their condition."

"I will say for the Spaniards," says still another observant traveller, "that in their social intercourse no people exhibit a juster feeling of what is due to the dignity of human nature, or better understand the behavior which it behooves a man to adopt towards his fellow-beings. The wealthy are not idolized; the duke or marquis can scarcely well entertain a very overweening opinion of his own consequence, as he finds no one to fawn upon or flatter him." The whole Spanish literature, says Kenelm Digby, is stamped with this character. "Often have I heard it said and related by our Ancients," says the author of a Spanish romance, "that one ought never to magnify any man for his riches, nor to esteem him less for his poverty, however great it may be." And again: "In Spain the dignity of the man seems to rise in proportion as his rank descends." "In our Galicia," says Sanchos, "the blood is so

generous that the only thing which distinguishes the poor man from the rich is that the former is obliged to serve." What but Catholicity, asks the writer from whom the above is quoted, could have so reversed all notions of the pagan world? And we may also ask what but Catholicity now has the power to reverse the notions of our present revived paganism in society, and establish true fraternal relations among the warring classes which Socialism, with the cry of Fraternity upon its lips and jealous enmity in its heart, has created.

If the blood of the Spaniards was esteemed as of so generous a nature as to confer an equal social nobility upon both rich and poor, it is simply because they were apt scholars in the school of a generous philosophy; one which knew how to proclaim and dared defend the common dignity of human nature, and whose teaching and training established not a factitious brotherhood of mankind of empty name and of treacherous deeds, but a real fraternity founded upon the basis of a pure and exalted altruism whose ideal was drawn from the divine fraternal relations established by Jesus Christ, the Catholic Saviour of mankind, and which realized in wondrous and countless examples the virtues of loyalty, fidelity and honor, of amenity of manners and benignity of heart, and, above all, of self-sacrifice carried to a pitch of heroism the very possibility of which the modern mind accepts with difficulty.

One of the greatest marvels that impresses the mind of the historian is that the Church was not only able to transform the whole order of pagan civilization by bringing all men under its sway to regard each other as brethren, but that it was able to inspire them with a sense of equality, despite the manifold and necessary physical, mental and moral inequalities of mankind, and that, too, not by depressing the high and more worthy, but by elevating the low and mean.

That all men are by nature free and equal, is a doctrine which was first promulgated to a world of tyrants and slaves by the voice of the Church. And what it taught by word of mouth, it had the power to realize in deeds. Only of a nation brought thoroughly under the influence of Catholic teaching could the following anecdote be related: "A king, leaving his palace in company with some courtiers, passed a beggar standing at the gate, to whom he gave an alms, at the same time lifting his jewelled cap in return to a similar salute from the beggar, adding with a gracious smile: "God keep thee, brother." Hearing which, one of the courtiers, affecting surprise at such a speech, said: "Is the beggar, then, one of your royal family?" "Nay," quickly responded the king, "he is not one of mine, *but I am one of his.*" This charming story, *si non e vero*, would certainly be judged as singularly *ben trovato* by

all familiar, through study or observation, with Catholic times and manners, so leavened as they were with the spirit of true equality that the king's daughter was held to be every boy's sister; the little prince every sister's brother.

Modern Socialism is not without its boast of equality as one of its ideal maxims. But who that hears of the various Utopian schemes offered by them as panaceas for all the grievous ills now affecting the social order, cannot see that they hold up to the view of the suffering masses, to whose biased judgment alone they cunningly address their appeal, a spectacle of equality as contemptible in its nature, being nothing more than the establishment of an autocratic state, of which all citizens are reduced to a common slavery as the price of the satisfaction of their mere animal appetites, as it is utterly hopeless of realization; thus cruelly goading on an already over-exasperated and blind multitude to the madness of despair. Persuaded that they are the victims of social injustice, they are easily duped into rushing to the destruction of the whole social fabric, oblivious of, or too ignorant to comprehend, the lessons of an inexorable logic that reformation of society must begin by the reformation of men who make society what it is; that society can have no autonomy apart from the men who constitute it, and therefore the disruption of a present order arraigned as guilty of injustice is no guarantee of a better order at the hands of the very men yet unreformed, who are, themselves, the responsible transgressors.

Certainly not by Socialist doctrine, which denies both the existence and possibility of sin in man, while absurdly illogical enough to denounce in the same breath his chief work, the social state, as one worthy of condemnation and death for its crimes.

The fundamental doctrine of Socialism, that sin is not in man, but only essential good (though by a most inconceivable inconsistency they demand of men a common sacrifice to the ideal god of society they propose to set up for adoration), we find very carefully kept in the background by these Utopian philosophers in their works until they have presented to their dupes the enticing bait of a social plan (it has no pretension to be called order) where all will be equally rich and powerful, all equally clothed, fed, lodged and amused. A notable exemplification of this is seen in that late clever, but specious, Socialistic production, "Looking Backward," by Edward Bellamy, in which this ruse is skilfully performed. It is only when we come to the telephoned sermon near the close of the book that there is the least pretense to offer to the reader anything in the shape of a principle or argument upon which to base the possibility or reasonableness of the Utopian republic so clearly depicted in detail. Then, amid much platitudinous talk, the Socialistic doc-

trine of man's essential goodness and, by implication, his freedom from all moral responsibility, is deftly sandwiched in as the *raison d'être* of the whole fatuitous scheme. A fitting comment upon all that precedes it, and which is evidently used as bait to catch the unreasoning vulgar eye, may be summed up in the language of a quaint old writer, the *Sieur Charron*, in his "Book on Wisdom": "The common people have no other Notion of the public Good but what they are sustained by; nor can you make them believe that any other, either Duty or Benefit, is incumbent upon, or to be expected from, those that sit at the Helm comparable to that of feeding the Subject; as if Society and Government were instituted for no other purpose than to see that the vulgar and poorer sort of Men should never want a full Belly" (vol iii., p. 1089). One cannot but admire the ingenious special pleas which appear on every page of Mr. Bellamy's book; but we are not at all surprised to find him, in company with all philosophers of the Socialist school, inconsistent and illogical when he attempts to grasp the solution of the real problem he has in hand. It is presuming a little too much upon the credulity of his readers to blandly take it for granted, as he does, that all care, sorrow and crime are the results of a defective, comfortable, physical maintenance, and of ignorance in scientific education. But even the cure of society by the elimination of physical suffering and ignorance being supposed, he is obliged to confess that the ideal of perfect human happiness is not yet attained. Playing the role of preacher, he thus summarizes the doctrines of his Credo: "The betterment of mankind from generation to generation, physically, mentally, morally, is recognized as the one great object supremely worthy of effort and sacrifice. We believe the race for the first time to have entered on the realization of God's ideal of it." Who has revealed to him that God's ideal is of a world-life of mankind which shall know neither poverty, care, sorrow, ignorance nor sin? We would be pleased to be told why this presumed divine ideal is not already realized or was not from the beginning, and what brought into the world and kept there (until his visionary date of 2000 A.D.) all the care, sorrow, ignorance and sin of which the world's history is one continuous record. The Socialist is obliged to both assert and deny the existence of evil, to proclaim that it never had a cause, and yet denounce mankind for not setting to work to dismiss it incontinently from the face of the earth. We would like to see something else than mere assertion that all divines and philosophers hitherto have been wrong in their estimate of man as a sinner. Who is to blame for the existence of "the constant pressure" upon this "essentially good" being "through numberless generations of conditions of life which might have perverted angels"? If man is not the sin-

ner, who is? Is it God? And if this were not so inconsistent as to defy comprehension, we find upon the very next page a singular contradiction to the whole Socialistic thesis in his affirmation of the Catholic dogma of man's constitution in original perfection: "It is a pledge of the destiny appointed for us that the Creator has set in our hearts an infinite standard of achievement, judged by which our past attainments seem always insignificant, and the goal never nearer;" a doctrine the consequences of which we have sufficiently enlarged upon in a former part of this essay. Yet this facile writer does not shirk the writing of fine sentences at the risk of taking back on a second page what he has asserted on the first. For, a few lines further on, we find "the return of the race to God" defined as "the fulfilment of its evolution, when the divine secret hidden in the germ shall be perfectly unfolded." Mr. Bellamy is not, so far as this book gives evidence, a disciple of Darwin, but he is a Socialist; and all Socialists are disciples of the school of individualism who, by either name, deny the true solidarity of humanity, deny original sin and its consequences, and, with the usual inconsistency of error, loudly call for reform of a degenerate social order, *the work of man who is not degenerate*. The consequence of such doctrine is plain. There is no original responsibility in man for the care, sorrow, crime and death of which the world is full, neither for the evils of society so much deplored and illogically denounced. All this is nothing but man's "return to God by way of natural evolution of his essentially good nature." There is no more sin in the grievous hurts under which humanity suffers, either in individuals or their associations, than there is in the hurts sustained by a little child who falls in his efforts to learn to walk. The *simile* is Mr. Bellamy's own. "We are now (A.D. 2000) like a child which has just learned to stand upright and to walk." A world without the possibility of sin would be a world without the possibility of moral responsibility. And yet, Mr. Bellamy and his fellow-Socialists find fault both with man and the society he has founded, or rather, after their illogical fashion of reasoning, both with any society not founded on Socialist self-contradictory and inconsistent principles, and with the man whom society has produced.

If the philosophy of Catholicity has ever been the persistent opponent of that logical outcome of individualism known as Secularism, in the family, in education, in government and in religion, it is because it alone affirms irrefragable principles of human liberty. Liberty, Equality and Fraternity are principles of mutual dependence, and resolve themselves into each other. As has been said of those theological virtues, "Now there abideth Faith, Hope and Charity, but the greatest of these is Charity," so the philosophy of Catholicity leads up to a like affirmation, "Now there abideth

Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, but the greatest of these is Fraternity ;" for it is the spirit of human fraternity, forwarded upon the doctrines of the unity and solidarity of mankind, the first and last word of Catholicity, which inspires the aspiration for human liberty, fosters it, judges and defends it, and is impossible without it.

This is readily proved. For what is liberty? It is the enjoyment of the right to be and to do what one *ought* to be and to do. Eliminate the idea of duty and mutual responsibility, and he is a fool who does not see that such liberty as is then at man's disposal is license—the enjoyment of a supposed right of being and doing what it *pleases* one to be or to do ; an expression of egoistic individualism so extreme that it is beyond anything to which barbaric savages have ever been supposed to have descended.

Without the doctrine of solidarity, as affirmed by the Church, true liberty is inconceivable, for upon this doctrine depends the idea of the possibility of society even the most savage. What is Secularism, and how does it nullify human liberty? Secularism is only a polite word for social Atheism, the last word of the self-conceited philosophy of individualism, which, in the expressive diction of the day, counts God out in all questions where man has the opportunity of voting ; a stupid and self-destructive democracy which finds its blind adherents in all political parties in our beloved country, practically annulling the civil and religious rights guaranteed to a vast number of its common citizens.

The atheistic principle of Secularism nullifies liberty. How? By rendering the exercise of it impossible through denial of the means of its exercise. What are these means? The practice of obedience for love (in the spirit of fraternity) to legitimate authority. The obedience of fear rendered by a slave is not the means of liberty ; neither is forced obedience to unlawful and tyrannical authority.

Legitimate authority must first be posited before even rights can be either affirmed or defined ; and the enjoyment of them, which is liberty, is equally referable to it, both for its definition and defence. Liberty is not self-defined nor self-guaranteed. That is the fallacious dream of individualism under the title of Anarchism, which is a logical deduction from the denial of sin, for the negation of sin is a denial of responsibility to law. The idea of penalty thus vanishes with the rejection of all authoritative power in government, human or divine. This is succinctly expressed by M. Proudhon, at once Socialist, Anarchist and Atheist. He says in his "Confessions of a Revolutionist" : " All men are free and equal. Society is then, as well by its nature as through the function for which it is destined, autonomous, that is to say, having the right of self-government. The sphere of activity of each

citizen being determined by the natural division of labor, and by the choice which he makes of a profession, and the social functions being combined so as to produce a harmonious effect, order results from the free action of all. From this must proceed the absolute negation of government; therefore he who attempts to govern me is a tyrant and usurper, and I declare him to be my enemy." Secularism is here distinctly affirmed in claiming a complete autonomy for that "collective being called Society," as M. Proudhon elsewhere terms the social order of humanity according to Socialist doctrine, which, as said before, is essentially atheistic. He talks of the "logic inherent in humanity," of the "superior reason residing in it." The absurdity of such a claim hardly needs demonstrating, since what is denied of the individual cannot be affirmed of the species.

This "collective being called Society," according to all Socialists, is a sort of collective or conglomerate deity to take the place of the one True God, and whose visible personification, to be servilely adored as the supreme wisdom and source of all right, they have all agreed to find in the State. It is then the triumph of Socialist ideas when we see the State assuming control over the laws of marriage, which govern the existence and defence of the family, over the education of children, and compelling even the Church to acknowledge it as either supreme head or supreme protector. That the liberty and equality of social, civil and religious rights guaranteed to us Americans by the Constitution are not based upon the individualistic doctrines of Socialism is a truth which we fancy no true American citizen would think of questioning for a moment, yet the daily encroachments of State power in absorbing the rights of the individual, following upon the base and supine yielding up of those rights one after another by men with "Liberty and Equality" upon their lips, but with the spirit of servitude in their hearts, setting up a tyrannical Moloch of their own fashioning, to which they are blindly sacrificing themselves, their children, their honor, and the sacred dignity of their human nature, now more justly termed state-like than god-like, all this widespread and daily increase of the influence of the philosophy of the would-be "omnipotent" individualism is unquestionably preparing the way for the ultimate triumph of Socialism and the consequent revolution which would make us a nation of slaves. Yet the writer in the *New York Herald* tells us that "authority goes for nothing with us, and reverence for it is every year on the decrease." What can he possibly mean by "authority"? Does he mean to assert that reverence for that divine authority to whose sanction alone we can presume to refer the divine ideal of a republic which we proudly claim to have set up and are laboring to realize, is daily on the decrease; and that we have

already so far lost all consciousness of the ultimate *raison d'être* of our national existence and glorious prestige that it can be truly said that it "goes for nothing with us"? Alas! then is the sacrifice of our boasted liberties nigh completed, and the last link is being forged of the fetters with which socialistic individualism would bind the freest and noblest child of Liberty ever baptized at the font of God's politically regenerated humanity.

Although the writer's assertion greatly exaggerates the truth, and was doubtless made use of as mere clap-trap to furbish up the worn-out absurdity that obedience to the spiritual authority of the Holy Father contravenes loyalty to all civil government, and is especially incompatible with true obedience to our own republican institutions, yet it is so far true that the poison of individualism is undoubtedly weakening the due respect for legitimate authority in both the spiritual and the temporal order to such a degree that the wise and good are beginning to entertain just fears for the ultimate consequences of its increase, and are casting about for the affirmation of the very principles assuring national stability and peace which only Catholic philosophy can furnish. The writer's language plainly offers about as complete a condemnation of the philosophy he exalts as one could well wish to see.

Liberty is no bastard offshoot from the unconsecrated cohabitation suggested and devised by individualism. It is the legitimate offspring of a divinely sanctioned union, and lawful heir to all the rights and privileges possessed by its noble parentage.

Again we repeat it, Liberty is not self-defined nor self-guaranteed. Reposing upon responsibility, it must be both defined and guaranteed by legitimate authority, which must posit the criterion of responsibility and define the limit of obedience and duty. Authority as such has nothing to do with what it *pleases* one to be or to do, but it has all to do, as is evident, with what one *ought* to be and to do; by definition, judgment and vindication of right, no less than the just exaction of duty.

Secularism, the godless social order, is the enemy, the very denial of human right and liberty, by the denial of the divinely legitimate authority vested in the institutions of the family, the State and in religion. Authority logically correlates an author. Who or what is the author of the family, of the State, of religion? Is it mankind, either in discrete individuals, or in collective humanity? That the authorship of neither man, the family society, the State, nor the Church is to be found in themselves is evident. For no reality posits its own ideal. The ideals of all these realities logically precede their existence, as they must be referred to for their *raison d'être* and their *raison d'agir*. Man is not his own author, because he does not posit the ideal either of his being or his act. As the founder of the family, of society, of

the State or Church, he is nothing but an instrument, realizing the divine ideals of these institutions. Not being his own nor their author, he is not the origin of his own or of their authority, which he or they exercise in the fulfilment of a divinely appointed destiny. Neither does authority find its origin in concrete humanity, as so confidently claimed by the individualistic Socialist. For what is his humanity or his society? Nothing but a "collective being," a conglomeration of distinct, diverse individuals. *Quod non habet, non dat.* If the source of authorship of the race, of family, State or Church, is not possessed by the individual, *i.e.*, by humanity or society in the discrete, neither can the individuals confer it upon humanity or society in the concrete. Are the individual stockholders of an insurance company, for example, either singly or collectively, the authors of their body, and do they give it authority? By no means. It is no body, has no real or legitimate existence or authority until the State, by the supreme authority vested in it, has declared it organic and conferred being and subordinate authority upon it. Both the humanity and society of the Socialist is precisely in the same condition; conglomerate, devoid of all principle of union and perpetuity, as they are utterly devoid of the characteristics of original authorship or the power to exercise or confer authority. In a word, their solidarities are not referable to a true origin of authority, and therefore cannot legitimately, because not logically, germinate other subordinate solidarities. And the family, the State and the Church would be in the same plight; devoid of an original authorship, to whose primal authority and will they owe their being, their rights and their liberty to be and do what they ought, and whose responsibility is a reflex of the original responsibility reposing in their author.

Secularism is the reposing of authority in a source which has no creative power, *i.e.*, in the creature of the individual, assuming the power and prerogatives belonging only to God, claiming the right to make or unmake the family, the State and the Church at its will. Secularism is the principle of all institutions which proclaim that they exist and act without God; and so we see such States developing, as we have had past and recent examples to prove, godless governments, flaunting the flag of a republic and wielding the sword of the autocrat, hanging with cowardly truculence upon the popular will for existence and the right to rule, the judiciary swayed by the political influence of the hour; the education of the masses cunningly claimed as a high prerogative of the godless State and becoming equally godless as it, nay, not godless, for the State has declared itself omnipotent, and has usurped the throne of sovereignty once held by the True Divine God, and presents itself as the new human god to be obeyed. So we see that this new sovereign divinity seizes at once by violence and con-

fiscation upon the property once given to and held as sacred to the honor and worship of the God it has dethroned. What wonder after this to find the human race itself attacked by claiming the right to make or unmake the family, which it dissolves by its laws of divorce in defiance of the fiat of the Old and True God! What wonder to see the State made up of *citizens* indeed, but who are no longer free and independent *men*! So we see the ignorant populace stimulated to rapine and revolution by socialistic denials of the rights of property, and claiming for the State the universal and absolute proprietorship of it. So we see State churches, their cringing hireling priesthood begging at the doors of their imperial master the dole of subsistence, and waiting for its beck and nod to preach the everlasting and supreme word of the Old and True God in terms to suit the taste of the new one and its blasphemous pretensions. Conceived by the spirit of the world and knowing no other end to propose to mankind but the possession of what the world esteems as good, we see the fruits of Secularism in the multiplication of soulless corporations and trusts, insolent and greedy capitalists absorbing the whole field of individual free labor, grinding the face of the poor, forcing them into its slave workshops, its brutalizing factories and mines, and mocking their helpless efforts for freedom of labor and appeals for just remuneration with the arrogant question: "Well, what are you going to do about it?" "Are we not brethren?" they cry. "Have we not human blood and feelings and aspirations for happiness as well as you?" "What responsibility have we whether you live or die?" is the response. "We are disciples of the new gospel—Every man for himself. If you want liberty and happiness, find it as best you can; we are not obliged to give it to you." Liberty with Secularism? The thing is a delusion; from which the enslaved people in vain strive to awake until there shall arise a saviour of his age who shall whisper in their ears the long-forgotten and long-despised name of God. To oppose the rapid descent to revolution and anarchy, to regenerate a depraved and suffering humanity that philosophy and that religion, which alone possesses the mysterious power of divine equilibrium, knowing as it does how to sanction, sustain and defend legitimate authority, without sacrificing the rights of the subject, must proclaim the rights, the liberty and justice of humanity as identified with the rights, the liberty and justice of God.

It has not been written in vain, "The poor man cried, and the Lord heard him." "Whatsoever God hath joined, let no man put asunder." "By Me kings reign and judges decree just things." "You shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." "Go preach the Gospel to every creature; whosoever heareth you, heareth Me."

The philosophy of Catholicity, as well as its religion, posits all

authorship and authority in God. As author of all humanity and its solidarities, He holds Himself responsible for what He has ordained. All the truth, goodness and beauty, all the reasonableness of being what it is and of acting as it does; that is, the essential conformity of the reality of any work with the ideal of its author and the rectitude or equilibrium which self-consciousness affirms as existing between its will and the author's will, and which constitutes the logical and ethical basis of what is called "right" and of the liberty of its exercise, must be identified with and referred to the personal authority and responsibility of its author. If man demands life, liberty and happiness in the exercise of his rights, in the social, political or religious order in his own name, he will receive nothing but the mocking answer, "Art thou stronger than I?" He must demand them in the name of God, their responsible author, and he shall not cry into an ear that heareth not, nor appeal to an arm that is not able to save. Catholic philosophy teaches its disciples, and Catholic faith inspires its believers to refer all the strength and hopes of human rights to the authority of the name of God. "*Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini.*" "*In Te, Domine, speravi: non confundar in æternum.*"

In vain will the delusive philosophy of individualism comfort the victims of injustice and oppression with the pretence that when the crushed are in the majority, then relief can be had. Are rights only rights because the majority so adjudge them? Dashing this false and cowardly doctrine to the ground, and exhibiting it in all its absurd weakness, a man who, inspired for the moment by the truth and heroic philosophy of Catholicity, arose one day in the might and majesty of the truth which possessed him, and uttered a sublime sentence, which deserves to live forever: "Do you tell me that I speak in vain; that the majority is against me? I tell you that with God *one* is a majority."¹

If then by God's mercy there is to appear to this self-worshipping and self-willed age a saviour to whose life, words and spirit of self-immolation it is to owe its regeneration and deliverance from the degenerating and destructive influences of satanic individualism, it must now be quite evident what his doctrine will be. Under the encouraging teaching and beneficent influence of the philosophy of Catholicity, society, vainly seeking for a rational solution of its disorders elsewhere, will again take heart and resume its true relations with its divine author. Again will the ideal of man's original perfection as he came forth from the hand of the perfect author be set as a goal of divine attraction for all human life and effort. Again will man hear, and not as a chained slave despair of understanding the truth which makes him free. No

¹ Wendell Phillips.

longer will the doctrine of the Church, which weighs the material and temporal in the balance of the spiritual and eternal, be looked upon as paradoxical. "Be ye perfect as your Father in heaven is perfect." "Seek first the kingdom of God and His justice, and all other things will be added unto you." Again will arise the spirit of a true humanity, which will breathe hope into the aching breasts of the down-trodden peoples, the spirit of a divine liberty, equality and fraternity, whose sanction and defence has ever been, as it can only lie, in that divine philosophy which is the expression of the God-word in man, the logic of regenerated reason, the doctrine of the true and only Saviour of the world; which, indeed, like its author, can be scorned, traduced, scourged and crucified, but, like Him, will surely pass through the grave without corruption, and rise again heralding in the dawn of a new day of life, liberty and happiness for mankind.

CATHOLIC WORSHIP AND CHRISTIAN ART.

The Offices and Ceremonies of Holy Week. Card. Wiseman. London, 1839.

Genius of Christianity. Chateaubriand. Baltimore, 1856.

Histoire de l'Eglise. Par l'Abbé Darras. Paris, 1874-1888, Vol. 30, Appendix.

Mores Catholici; or, Ages of Faith. Digby. New York, 1888, Bk. III.

IT is impossible for one who studiously examines the majestic cathedrals of the old world, especially those that are still devoted to the purposes of Catholic worship, to be unimpressed by feelings of wonder and surprise; and if the student know aught of the Catholic ceremonial, and be withal an unprejudiced observer, he will be unable, as a result of his study, to resist the conviction that Mother Church has done both wisely and well in wedding Catholic worship to Christian art.

As he gazes on the gorgeous paintings and noble sculptures that adorn both nave and chancel; as his eye glances admiringly along the clustered columns that rise in stately splendor to the Gothic vault above; as he perceives the massive organ whence reverential music is wont to steal in waves of solemn sound; as he

reflects that the chancel often resounds with the voices of the clergy chanting "in sounds of sweetest melody" the sublime offices of the Roman liturgy, or declaiming in Gregorian song the matchless poetry of Mother Church, he must admit that each and all,—painting, poetry, sculpture, music, architecture, are means wisely made use of by the Catholic Church to draw men's souls with golden bands to Him who is her Spouse, to entrance the sense that thus she may captivate the intellect, making it submissive to the sweet yoke of Christ. And if he understand the motives of the Church in beautifying the chamber of her Bridegroom, he will not fail to realize that the marriage between art and worship is thoroughly in accordance with the wish, even with the *command*, of the Divine Founder of Christianity.

Catholic Worship and Christian Art is no doubt a beautiful theme, and many men of massive minds and facile pens have sought, with eminent success, to do it justice. The literature which it has occasioned is fully in keeping with the vastness of the subject; for it comprises, in historical extent, the nineteen hundred years that have elapsed since the dawn of Christianity, and deals with monuments of genius, with which the earth is widely dotted—monuments fashioned by the hands of faithful Catholic artists of both the present and the past; which are, in a manner, indestructible as the Church herself, and which shall continue to unfold their matchless grace and beauty wherever shine the rays of her benevolence and charity.

The writer does not in the least presume to treat the subject as it merits to be treated; nor will he, for he cannot, enter largely into details. An adequate treatise on the subject would fill many large volumes. This statement, though trite, is true, and evidence of its truth is not wanting. It is scarcely a decade since the learned Jesuit, Father Garucci, published a work bearing a title somewhat similar to that at the head of this article; and though that work consists of six volumes in folio, the descriptions and narratives which it contains come down to the eighth century only, — nearly six hundred years before the birth of Michel Angelo Buonarrotti, during whose lifetime Christian art, in all its branches, enjoyed a golden age.

It is the design of the writer to give a mere sketch or outline, and a meagre one at that, of the relation existing between Christian art and the worship of the Catholic Church, both as regards the *liturgy* of the Church and the *sacred edifices* wherein the offices of the liturgy are now or have been performed. In tracing this outline, he has found it necessary, when treating of certain branches of art, to mention one or two works or specimens only—not because there are not more, for their name is indeed legion; but

simply because they are sufficient to suit his purpose. Neither has he, in exercising his choice of specimens, always given the preference to those that are considered the most striking or the most beautiful; for that would involve, in many cases, a wealth of description and a mass of detail altogether incompatible with the length of a REVIEW article. He has, therefore, taken the liberty to select, almost at random, from among so many works that are all beautiful.

From what has already been written, it is hardly necessary to premise that the words "Christian art," as used in this article, convey the idea of the fine arts as wedded to worship, as a vehicle of moral instruction, as employed entirely and only for the furtherance of the ends of religion.

Fully to realize the influence of Catholic worship on the rise, progress, development and perfection of Christian art, it is necessary to understand the object of the Church in employing the beautiful in her religious services, and in the erection and adornment of her sanctuaries.

Her object may be briefly stated as the salvation of mankind. As salvation cannot be accomplished without faith which "cometh by hearing," the necessary means to its attainment is the preaching of the gospel of Jesus Christ. "Going, therefore, *teach* all nations!" "*Preach* the gospel to every creature!" This is her commission. She must go unto the ends of the earth, seek out every rational creature and preach to him, teach him what Christ commands, administer to him the sacraments, which are the mysteries of God, and demand his obedience to Christian law. She is not to hand him a book and say: "Read and be saved." She is to *teach* and to *preach*; for this did she receive the gift of tongues and the divine fire of the Holy Ghost.

We know the great diversity existing among men, whether as individuals or as nations; we are acquainted with the many obstacles in the ordinary path to knowledge and belief; and yet, all nations must be taught, and the Gospel must be preached to every creature: to the ignorant, who are not moved by the beauties of rhetoric or by elegance of diction, as well as to the learned, who are; to those who are deaf as well as to those who can hear; to the blind as well as to those who can see; to the refined and cultured; to the rich, the poor, the master and the slave. Moreover, it must be preached to these in the most effective manner, that all may realize, as best they can, the facts of the Bible narrative, unroll the past and gaze on it as present. They are to be witnesses in particular of the principal scenes in the life of the Saviour, and to feel in the inmost recesses of the heart the emotions these should

naturally awaken. They are to listen to the joyful song of angels as on Christmas morning they proclaim the Saviour's birth, and be present with the shepherds who adore Him in simple, trusting faith; they must gaze on Simeon in the temple with the Christ-child in his arms, and listen to the farewell canticle of the Old Testament as it gives way to the New; they must bow in adoration with the Wise Men of the East, follow the fleeing Infant into Egypt, wander back again to Nazareth, behold the opened heavens at the Jordan, assist at each act and parable of the "public ministry," sympathize with the sufferings of Christ's passion, feel to some extent the emotions that then thrilled the heart of Jesus, stand with Mary and John and Magdalen "amid the encircling gloom" on Calvary, share with the apostles in the joy of the Resurrection, and stand on Olivet with the men of Galilee to gaze on Jesus as He enters into His glory.

For all this, spoken language is not enough; the Church must use, in addition to it, the language of signs and symbols, the doleful sounds of grief, the harmonious measures of joy. It is for this reason that she adorns the walls of her temples with the Stations of the Cross; for thus we may follow the Saviour, step by step, from Pilate's hall to Calvary, and thence unto the tomb. The half-opened lips of the dead Christ hanging on the Cross, above the altar, speak to us of the enormity of sin; His transpierced heart tells the story of infinite love; His outstretched arms denote that His redemption would extend to all mankind, but His feet are fixed, and men must come to Him. Mary, too, is near—the mother of joys and sorrows—and, as we gaze on her heavenly countenance, she seems to tell us to bear our trials with resignation, to let the light of faith shine through our tears, giving them the beauty of the rainbow, and reminding us of God's promise of a brighter day beyond the clouds. We think of how, in far Judea, an angel came in the long ago and hailed a gentle maiden as the mother of the world's Redeemer. We follow her through joy and sorrow to Egypt, to Nazareth, to Jerusalem, to Calvary; there we become her children; she, our mother. Then, after Jesus has ascended to the "right hand of God the Father Almighty," we behold her with the apostles in the upper room where God the Holy Ghost descends in tongues of fire. And now we remember that she is with her divine Son once more—that good Son who can refuse her nothing, and we know that "she is standing between us and the Deity, intercepting somewhat of His awful splendor, but allowing His love to stream upon us more intelligibly to human comprehension through the medium of a woman's tenderness."—(Hawthorne: "Blithedale Romance.") Thus our thoughts are elevated and purified, and our lives are made more holy. Above the

springing arches and on the chancel walls are ranged, perhaps, the prophets and the evangelists, the patriarchs of the Old Law, the confessors of the New. Isaias tells us that a child shall be born to us; John the Baptist announces that he is here; Matthew tells of the temporal, and John of the eternal generation of the Son of God. In the representation of a Borromeo or of an Assisi, we understand to what heights of sanctity man can rise, whether girded round by riches and wearing the silken garments of a prince, or in the midst of poverty, bare of foot and clothed in the meanest serge.

It is, therefore, in accordance with the divine commission of the Church to make use of the beautiful for the purpose of conveying religious instruction; thus she Christianizes the feelings of the human heart; thus she promotes religion by rendering it attractive; thus she teaches it to many who otherwise would never learn its saving truths nor practise its salutary teachings; thus, in a word, she renders fruitful the indissoluble union, brought about and consecrated by herself, between Catholic Worship and Christian Art.

Everything that is great had its humble beginnings, its various stages of development, and then its full ripe growth. The sturdy oak that scarcely trembles in the storm, was once a tiny acorn; the mighty river was a rill. So it was with Christian as with pagan art; for the frescoes of Buonarrotti, as well as the statues of Praxiteles, are the results of ages of development, of centuries of ceaseless evolution. The reason is, that perfection is not the work of an instant, and is rarely, if ever, the work of man.

The first Christian painters and sculptors were dwellers in the Catacombs. No matter how the question as to the original purpose of these excavations may be decided, it is sufficient for the writer's object to recall the fact that, when the furious tide of persecution rolled over the Roman Empire, the Christians fled to these for protection. Beneath the streets and palaces of Imperial Rome were hewn still other streets; and, as the famous *ways* above were lined with the stately tombs of Roman noblemen and heroes, so too, in the *loculi* of the galleries beneath the Christians interred the remains of their martyred brethren. In places where galleries converged were widened spaces, not unlike the forums of the city; in these rude oratories the persecuted people met for prayer, assisted at the solemn offices of the Church and partook of the Most Holy Sacrament. Their religion was proscribed; for, to be a Christian was to be a traitor to the state as well as an enemy of Jupiter; and the punishment was torture and death. Every man suspected his neighbor; the father dragged his son before the tri-

bunal; the daughter gave evidence against her mother. Under such circumstances the utmost precaution was necessary. Hence, while Christians refrained from pagan practices, they studiously concealed the evidences of their being followers of the Nazarene. Their very speech was clothed in ambiguity, and the "discipline of the secret" was in force.

Of necessity, the effects of this restraint are visible in the Christian worship of that period, and even more so in the works of art. As examples of the former, we have the offices of Tenebræ, or Darkness, and the Mass of Holy Saturday, which were wont to be celebrated at the midnight hour.

The paintings of the catacombs consist chiefly of symbols and scenes from Scripture history, so painted as to refer to the state of affliction in which the Church then was. The symbolic paintings are many. The laurel, the olive, and the palm signify respectively victory, peace, and final triumph; the Holy Spirit is represented by the dove, while hope for the heavenly port finds its expression in the anchor; the stag is the symbol of the soul's thirst after the living fountains of paradise, and the peacock of the Christian's belief in immortality; the vine and its branches typify Christ and His disciples; the cross is the emblem of redemption, and the ship an image of the Church. The Saviour Himself is variously represented as the Good Shepherd, the Lamb, and as a fish. The reason of the latter representation is well known; the Christians used each letter of the Greek word *ichthus* as an initial of a name or appellation of Jesus Christ, viz., I-esous, Ch-ristos, Th-eou, U-ios, S-oter (*i.e.*, Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour).

Representations of the Blessed Eucharist are many and varied; and the multiplication of the sacramental presence seems to have been a favorite subject. Most often this is represented by dishes containing fishes, and small round loaves with crosses imprinted thereon; yet this is not the only pictorial record of the belief of the first Christians in the eucharistic doctrine. There is a painting of the scene in IV. Kings, iv., 1-8, wherein it is stated that the prophet Eliseus miraculously increased the small store of oil which a certain widow possessed, so that it filled not only her own vessels, but also all that she could borrow from her neighbors; the symbols or emblems on this picture prove that it is eucharistic.

In the Kircher museum at Rome there is a glass jar bearing the representation of a fish on a gourd. As the Christians were desirous of representing the dogmas of the Church in such a manner as to conceal them from the pagans, the "fish on the gourd" was certainly a puzzle to the uninitiated. It simply states the fact of Christ's burial and resurrection; the fish typifies Christ; the gourd refers to Jonas the prophet, who reclined under a gourd

which the Lord had prepared to shield him from the rays of the sun. Both together make us recall the words of our Lord: "As Jonas was in the whale's belly three days and three nights, so shall the Son of Man be in the heart of the earth three days and three nights (Matthew xii., 40).

Although there were crosses everywhere in the Catacombs, there is not to be found a painting of the Crucifixion. For this there were many reasons, among which two may be cited: it was very important in the early days of the Church to avoid anything that would be the occasion of pain to converts from Judaism; and, secondly, it was necessary to guard against the mockery of the pagans. The little that these latter knew, or more often *guessed*, concerning Christian doctrines, served as a basis for ridicule, and as an occasion for keeping alive the spirit of persecution. Thus we remember how Christians were called "cowardly worshippers of an ass's head." Again, it is well known that there was a caricature of the crucifix scratched on the wall of Cæsar's house in the pages' department. This consists of a human figure with an ass's head; the arms are outstretched, while at the back of the figure is a cross made of two intersecting lines. One of the pages, Alexemenos, no doubt a Christian, is represented as giving the salute *ad os* to this figure, while under it is rudely traced in Greek the inscription: "Alexemenos adores his God." This caricature dates from the first century, and the mere fact of its existence serves to corroborate what has been written above.

The paintings found in the catacombs have many striking peculiarities. A reference will be made to only one; one which, long misunderstood, has given occasion to scoffers to say that the early painters were as ignorant of Scripture history as they were of painting. This peculiarity has various names, but it may be called *compenetration*. That is to say, there seems to be an interpenetration, if we may so call it, of several scenes of sacred history in the same picture; or, the fulfilment of a prophecy is shown in what should be the original scene; or, an application of an Old Testament scene is made to a doctrine of Christianity. To illustrate the first: we have a representation of the Fall; in this we have the temptation of Eve by the serpent, her temptation of Adam, his accusation of the woman, and the discovery of their shame and nakedness. These events happened at different times, and yet they are all placed in the same picture. The serpent is twisted about the tree; Eve holds out the apple to her husband; Adam stands at a distance, in the act of making an accusation, while both are covered with the aprons of fig leaves.

With regard to the second species of compenetration, which may be said to be the most usual, we have a painting in which Christ,

instead of Moses, is represented as striking the rock in the desert. Now we know that "the rock was Christ" (1 Cor. x., 4), and hence we grasp at once the meaning of the picture: that it is *from* Christ as the fountain head, and *through* Him as our Redeemer, that the saving waters of grace flow through the desert of sin.

As an example of the application of an Old Testament scene to a New Testament doctrine, there is a painting of an early date which conveys to our minds the dogma of Mary's all-powerful intercession. St. Peter and St. Paul are represented as holding up the hands of Mary, who stands between them in the attitude of prayer. We are instantly reminded of Moses on the mountain, his hands held up by Aaron and Hur, while his people battled against their enemies in the valley below. As the name of each personage is written in its proper place under each figure, it is impossible to mistake the identity of the three.

The sculpture of the Catacombs consists mostly of bas-reliefs, and these, like the paintings, are representations of Scriptural scenes, interspersed with symbols. In them, likewise, are to be found many instances of compenetration.

The Church was not destined to live forever in the Catacombs. After three hundred years of bloody persecution the dark waters of the awful deluge at last subsided, carrying with them the shattered remnants of a once proud paganism; the cross that appeared to the army of Constantine was the harbinger of peace. Washing the blood and dust from her bruised members, the Church came forth from her darksome caverns, arrayed herself in bridal glory, and ascended the throne of the Cæsars. The temples of the gods, as well as the basilicas, which had been the halls of justice, were transformed into places of Christian worship; and those whose hands had adorned the walls and ceilings of the Catacombs, now transferred their labors to this more promising field.

But Christian art was not destined to assume in Italy at this time a more distinctive form, nor yet to attain a healthy expansion. Constantine removed the seat of empire to the East, and civil disturbances, coupled with barbarian invasion, checked the development of art in the West, so that within two centuries Constantinople had become its principal seat.

To this period is to be ascribed the Byzantine style of painting, of which the most interesting remains are works in mosaic and illuminations of the Bible and of other sacred manuscripts. It must be remembered that during the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries the iconoclasts fought with all the fury of mistaken zeal against the development of Christian art; and were it not for the deathless energy with which the Catholic Church strove against those sacrilegious image-breakers, we would not have now the

meagre remnants of the Byzantine school. To prove that there is no exaggeration on this point, a quotation from Chateaubriand will not be out of place :

“The clergy had collected at the College of Orthodoxy at Constantinople the finest library in the world and all the masterpieces of antiquity. Here, in particular, was to be seen the Venus of Praxiteles, which proves, at least, that the founders of the Catholic worship were neither barbarians without taste, bigoted monks, nor the votaries of absurd superstition.

“This college was demolished by the iconoclast emperors. The professors were burned alive ; and it was at the risk of meeting with a similar fate that some Christians saved the dragon’s skin, one hundred and twenty feet long, on which the works of Homer were written in letters of gold. The pictures belonging to the churches were consigned to the flames, and stupid and furious bigots, nearly resembling the Puritans of Cromwell’s time, hacked to pieces with their sabres the admirable mosaic works in the Church of the Virgin Mary at Constantinople, and in the Palace of Blaquernæ. To such a height was the persecution carried that it involved the painters themselves ; they were forbidden under pain of death to prosecute their profession. Lazarus, a monk, had the courage to become a martyr to his art. In vain did Theophilus cause his hands to be burnt to prevent him from holding the pencil. The illustrious friar, concealed in the vault of St. John the Baptist, painted with his mutilated fingers the great saint whose protection he sought ; worthy, undoubtedly, of becoming the patron of painters, and of being acknowledged by that sublime family which the breath of the spirit exalts above the rest of mankind.”—(*Genius of Christianity*.)

For a time it seemed as if the choir of Muses had left the earth forever. Yet all was not dark in Italy ; a ray of light occasionally penetrated the gloom, as when Theodoric, Desiderius and Luitprand erected substantial churches, and Charlemagne built at Florence the Church of the Apostles, which to-day still stands, the pride of the age in which it was erected.

It was not, however, until about the thirteenth century that the clouds began to roll away ; the dawn of a brighter era was at hand. The models of ancient Greece and Rome had not entirely disappeared. Nicolo Pisano made them live again in purest marble, and Giotto di Bondone, casting to the winds the traditions that had bound him to the stiff Byzantine school, stood forth in his originality the true regenerator of Christian art. Brighter and brighter grew that morning light, until in Angelo and Raphael arose twin luminaries who filled the world with admiration of their genius, whose names shall ever be synonyms of all that is perfect

in art, and whose works shall exist as long as that Church whose faithful children they were, and on which they still shed unfading glory.

From Rome the light soon spread afar, though its brightness was somewhat obscured by the smoke of burning abbeys and cathedrals which marked the progress of the "Reformation." This is written in sorrow, not in anger; although there be some who decry the Catholic Church as the enemy of art, and either ignorantly or maliciously ascribe to the "Reformation" whatever of progress has been made in the field of civilization since Christianity made its appearance on the earth. The sacrilegious vandals of the sixteenth century spared nothing. As Motley says in his "Rise and Fall of the Dutch Republic": "They destroyed for destruction's sake." One example alone will bear out this assertion. At Antwerp a mob attacked the great cathedral, overthrew the seventy altars, carried off the vestments and sacred vessels, demolished the great organ, the most perfect in the world, destroyed the statues, and hacked to pieces the splendid paintings which were the pride of Flemish art. On this subject our own Prescott says:

"The amount of injury inflicted during this period, it is impossible to estimate. Four hundred churches were sacked by the insurgents in Flanders alone. The damage to the cathedral of Antwerp, including its precious contents, was said to amount to not less than 400,000 ducats. The loss occasioned by the plunder of gold and silver plate might be computed; the structures so cruelly defaced might be repaired by the skill of the architect; but who can estimate the irreparable loss occasioned by the destruction of manuscripts, statuary and paintings?"

This from a non-Catholic historian! Should any one then be so presumptuous as to proclaim to an astonished world that Catholicity has been inimical to art, let him be reminded of two things: that the appearance of Protestantism was the signal for the destruction of all art, and that Luther blessed (!) this earth with his presence when the world was ablaze with light, during its second Augustan age—the glorious pontificate of LEO X!

Having written thus much concerning the development of painting and its twin sister under the influence of the Church, it is now in order to consider poetry and music in relation to the worship of the Catholic Church.

If we carefully examine the liturgy of the Roman Church, we shall find, without doubt, that the poetic idea runs through it all. In fact, the liturgy itself is an epic poem, whose subject is the Atonement. Every detail of the divine tragedy, from the first promise of a Redeemer to the descent of the Holy Ghost at Pen-

tecost, is presented to us with marvellous sublimity, with an elevation of language and a grandeur of action that are absolutely without parallel. The chief aim of the Church, as has already been noticed, is to substitute the past for the present, so as to make her children witnesses of the facts which she commemorates, and even to feel that they are actual participants in the actions which she represents. And, indeed, with reason; for, in the divine economy nothing can be merely historical; hence, when Mother Church commemorates, she represents, and when she narrates, she consecrates.—(Canon Oakley.)

Bearing this in mind, let us first examine the ecclesiastical year, which commences with the first Sunday of Advent. Here we have four successive Sundays set apart for the purpose of representing the four thousand years of expectation which preceded the coming of the Son of Man. During this period the Church calls on us to prepare ourselves for the coming of Christ as though His birth were really yet to take place.

On the first Sunday she sings with the Psalmist (Ps. xxiv.): "To Thee, O Lord, have I lifted up my soul, in Thee, O God, I put my trust; let me not be ashamed, neither let my enemies laugh at me, for none of them that wait on Thee shall be confounded." Thus, with the chosen people, we live surrounded by malignant enemies, yet we trust ever implicitly in the omnipotence and providence of Jehovah, Who will one day surely send "the desired of the eternal hills."

On two of these Sundays her prayers begin with the words: "O Lord, we beseech Thee, exert Thy power and come!" On the second Sunday the Collect reads thus: "O Lord, excite our hearts to prepare the ways of Thy only Son, that by His coming we may merit to serve Thee with purified minds!"

Thus we see that there is a constant ray of hope to light our footsteps to the cradle of the Lord: and it grows ever brighter as the days roll by. As we draw nearer to the great day of the Lord, the sounds of gladness increase. On the third Sunday we are thus exhorted in the words of St. Paul: "Rejoice in the Lord always! again I say, Rejoice! . . . Be nothing solicitous, but in everything, by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving, let your petitions be made known to God."

During the ember days of the last week, and also on the last Sunday, she heaves a hopeful sigh, and, with *Isaias*, prays the heavens to rain the *JUST ONE*, and the earth to bud forth the Saviour, while her Gospel tells us of John the Precursor, the "voice of one crying in the wilderness: "Prepare ye the way of the Lord!"

Brighter still that ray of hope! more harmonious the sounds of

gladness ! On the very night before the Nativity, she speaks with unshaken confidence ; " To-day you shall know that the Lord will come and save us, and *to-morrow* you shall see His glory." And again : " To-morrow shall be blotted out the iniquity of the earth, and the Saviour of the world shall reign over us."

This is truly magnificent, the highest form of poetical expression. And how sublimely the period of expectation terminates ! The midnight hour of Christmas Eve has come. The churches are illuminated and the altars are ablaze with lights ; the air is filled with the fragrance of frankincense and flowers ; the kneeling worshippers are waiting in reverence and silence. At length, clothed in golden vestments, the ministers appear ; they advance slowly to the foot of the altar ; all hearts unconsciously swell with spiritual joy. Now they ascend the platform of the altar ; clouds of incense roll to the vault above ; the organ peals forth its swelling notes of harmony, and above all are heard the solemn words of Christ Himself, once spoken by the mouth of the royal prophet : " The Lord said to me : Thou art my Son, *this day* have I begotten Thee !" While present at such a scene and filled with its spirit, we cannot but feel that the great day of the Lord has come at last—the day of salvation has dawned, indeed ; the sentiments of the humble shepherds become our own ; our ears are tingling with song of the heavenly spirits ; and with Mary and Joseph we adore in spirit our new-born King.

The poetic principle, as already mentioned, pervades the entire liturgy. Each succeeding Sunday unfolds some new mystery of the God-Man's life on earth, until on Ascension Day we stand in spirit on the summit of Mount Olivet, and thence behold Him taken from us into heaven. However, it is particularly during Holy Week that the poetry of Mother Church reaches the highest point of excellence.

On Palm Sunday we actually participate in a procession commemorating the triumphal entry of our Lord into Jerusalem ; bearing palm branches in our hands, we sing joyous hosannas to the Son of David, the King who cometh in the name of the Lord.

On Wednesday, Thursday and Friday evenings are chanted the Lamentations of Jeremias, during the office called *TENEBRÆ*, or Darkness. The versicles and responses are so arranged as to seem spoken by the Saviour during His passion, so that His words of reproach and sorrow may excite in us feelings of repentance for our many sins.

On Thursday evening we witness the beautiful ceremony of the Washing of the Feet. We hear Peter saying to the Saviour : " Lord, why dost Thou wash my feet ? Thou shalt never wash

my feet." And then comes soft and low the answer of our loving Lord: "If I wash thee not, thou shalt have no part with Me."

On Good Friday the sombre drappings and the vestments of deepest mourning, the desolate altar and the open tabernacle, the plaints of mourning and the cries of woe, give evidence of the great grief of the widowed Bride of Christ. The history of His sufferings is recited in Gregorian chant; and, when the last words on the Cross have been uttered, we prostrate ourselves in sorrow and meditate on the death of the Son of God. We are in spirit at the foot of the Cross on Calvary, amid the darkness and the gloom, weeping with Mary and John and Magdalen, striking our breasts like the many that were there, and confessing with the centurion that this man is truly the Son of God.

But darkness does not last always; our woe must become less intense. Did He not give a promise, saying that on the third day He would rise again? In the very midst of our grief, Mother Church allows us to catch a glimpse of the dawn of Easter Day; for, on Holy Saturday, the tidings of the Resurrection are communicated, the ALLELUIA is intoned, and we are told that Mary Magdalen and the other Mary have gone to see the sepulchre.

And now, on Easter morning, the hymns of joy and the songs of praise! The VICTIMÆ PASCHALI LAUDES is intoned and sung in rhythmic melody. Magdalen comes running to us, and we anxiously bespeak her thus:

"Tell unto us, O Mary,
What thou hast seen in the way."

She answers, joyfully:

"I have seen the sepulchre of the living Christ,
And the glory of His rising,
The angel ministers, the napkin and the cloths,
Christ, my hope, is risen again,
He shall go before you into Galilee."

And then we sing with rapture:

"We know that Christ has truly risen from the dead,
Thou, triumphant King, have mercy on us!
Amen. Alleluia."

It is hoped by the writer that the few examples he has given will serve to illustrate, at least in some degree, the poetry of Catholic worship. To grasp in its entirety the poetical idea which is contained in the liturgy would necessitate an examination of the entire ceremonial, a thing entirely beyond the compass of an article.

The music proper of the Church is called Gregorian, or "plain chant." When it was introduced into the Church is not definitely known. It was probably based on the Greek system. Eusebius, who flourished towards the close of the third century, says that in his time there were different places assigned in the churches to the old and the young psalm-singers. St. Augustine is authority for the statement that the great St. Ambrose of Milan was the first to introduce alternate chanting into the West. The Emperor Charlemagne delighted in this music so much that he often ascended the platform with the choristers, and made the walls of his cathedral at Aix resound with the accents of his beautiful voice. Pope Gregory the Great reformed the music of the Church, and gave to the octave scale the names which the notes still bear, A, B, C, etc. In the first half of the eleventh century the art of writing music on lines and in spaces was invented by Guido of Arrezzo, a Benedictine monk, and thus the notation of the different tones was finally and systematically regulated.

The chief difference between the Gregorian and modern music is thus fully stated by Cardinal Wiseman :

"According to his (Gregory's) and the present systems of music, any of these notes (A, B, C, etc.) may be the key-note ; but then we now introduce as many flats and sharps as are necessary to make the tones and semitones fall at the same intervals in every major and minor key respectively. Hence, a melody written for one key can be sung upon another, without any change thence resulting except as to pitch. In the Gregorian chant, likewise, any note may be the key-note, but no sharps or flats are allowed excepting B flat in the key of F. Thus, in every key, the position of the semitone varies ; and a piece of music, composed on one key or tone, is completely altered, and becomes insufferable if transposed into another."—(Lect. II.)

This system of music is essentially melodic ; the music is to be sung in the same melody by all the voices. It is purely diatonic. According to Rousseau, "it is superior to all modern music in that pathos which a majestic strain can give to the human voice." It stands majestically alone ; and every modern effort to compose in imitation of it has signally failed.

Great corruptions crept early into church music, and it was very much degraded when Gregory XI. brought with him from Avignon his choir of French, Spaniards, and Flemings. These used harmonised music, in which no words could be distinguished. They had an idea that the Italians could not sing, and many are the jokes and sharp retorts of the latter at the expense of the foreigners. Baini, quoted by Cardinal Wiseman, relates two :

Pope Nicholas V. asked Cardinal Capranica, one day, what he

thought of his choir. His Eminence answered that they seemed to him like "a sackfull of young swine, for he heard a dreadful noise, but could distinguish nothing articulate." Cirillo Franchi describes them in 1549 as singing "with certain howls, bellowings, and guttural sounds, so that they more resemble cats in January than flowers in May."

These abuses soon reached their height, and then Palestrina appeared. He put an end to the discordant jarring, brought harmony back again to earth, and gave us that grand church music which can neither be surpassed, imitated, nor equalled. How plaintive, and yet how angelically sweet, is the music of the Lamentations! how prayerful and solemn that of the Preface and the *Pater Noster*! Then the chanting of the Passion on Good Friday; the loud and brusque recitative of the historian; the deep, pathetic and solemn bass of Jesus, and the high tumultuous treble of the Jewish rabble! What mournful cadence in the *Dies Iræ* and the *Stabat Mater*! What exultation in the Paschal hymn of the deacon, as on Holy Saturday he blesses the paschal candle!

When sung by many voices, Gregorian music is truly sublime and ravishing; its melodic nature seems to have been formed in Heaven. The four living creatures—the number of perfect harmony—sing "Holy, holy, holy, to the Lord God of armies!" The one hundred and forty-four thousand virgins who follow the Lamb whithersoever He goeth, sing a song which none others know; while "thousands of thousands" sing in a voice like the roaring of the sea, that magnificent canticle, "To the Lamb that was slain."

The multitudinous singing of this grand church music is exquisitely touching, and entrancing in the extreme. The writer will never forget the thrill he felt when, in Montreal, at the Corpus Christi processions, amid the booming of cannon, the melodious chiming of numberless bells, and the deafening peals of the Gros Bourdon, he heard the glorious *Te Deum* swell to Heaven from the throats of sixty thousand men. Nothing on earth, he thought, could equal it. Yet, when the procession crowded into the grand cathedral of Notre Dame, where nearly twenty thousand people can be packed, the *Tantum Ergo* was intoned; thousands caught it up; it surged towards the altar of the Blessed Sacrament; then it swelled around the walls and echoed from the galleries above—such waves of gorgeous harmony! No wonder that the people felt the thrill! On every side, strong men and tender women were wiping away, as they sang, the tears they were unable to repress; and yet they were happy, for they felt that gladness of spirit which fills the human soul overflowing at the eyes.

The Christian art of each age bespeaks the condition and spirit of the Church at that period. Thus, as we have seen, the paintings and the sculpture of the catacombs reveal the state of affliction which was then the lot of the Church. Christian architecture forms no exception to the rule.

The first churches were the oratories shaped by the Christians among the tombs of their martyred brethren in the catacombs. Coming to the surface under Constantine, they seized on the basilicas and the temples of the gods, and converted them to Christian uses. Subsequent architecture copied Grecian models with but little change, except in the Byzantine and Romanesque styles.

The Christian idea, however, is ever prolific. Therefore when, after ages of darkness, architecture with all the arts arose again in Italy, Michel Angelo built in mid-air "that vast and wondrous dome to which Diana's marvel were a cell," and that gorgeous temple was completed whose like is not in all the earth, which even the infidel Gibbon calls "the most glorious structure that has ever been applied to the use of religion."

"But thou, of temples old or altars new,
Standest alone with nothing like to thee.
. Majesty,
Power, glory, strength and beauty all are aisled
In this eternal ark of worship undefiled."—CHILDE HAROLD.

As early as the twelfth century the Church had at last secured full freedom to realize the divine idea in architecture. She had acquired religious liberty under the first Christian emperor; political liberty was guaranteed to her by the well-won victory of Hildebrand and his successors, and now she was in full possession of artistic liberty, gradually achieved from the time of Charlemagne to the reign of Louis the Fat. Now, if ever, is the time to show that she is progressive! If she now remain sterile, she may well merit everlasting reproach! Let us see whether she can produce anything to eclipse the glories of Grecian architecture, and let the "lazy monks" lead the way!

The northern nations, after sweeping over Europe like so many destructive tidal waves, had finally settled into political calm. Barbarism was fast giving way to civilization. The religion of Christ took possession of the north and demanded fitting temples for the worship of the Almighty. These people had no models, and, of course, they had no architects. But the monasteries had always been schools of art. The monks alone of all the world in the eleventh and twelfth centuries were the masters of Romanesque architecture. They went among the peoples of northern Europe,

bringing with them the arts and civilization. Untrammelled by traditions among peoples who had none, they began to modify the Italian type of architecture, and after scarcely thirty years of successive transformations they succeeded in creating that style so magnificent, so extremely beautiful, commonly, but erroneously, called the "Gothic." Of this style Henri Martin has said that "it is the most solemn form with which religious thought has ever been invested since the origin of worship."

The abbot Suger, the great prime minister of Louis the Fat, personally directed the construction of the church of St. Denis, which has been called by many competent critics "the first of the Gothic monuments." Desiring monolithic columns for his edifice, he was on the point of writing to the Pope for some which he had seen in the baths of Diocletian, but just then he discovered a new quarry, and immediately set about working it. Massive timbers were also needed. In vain did people tell the abbot that all the forests in the vicinity of Paris had been stripped of the largest trees; he and his workmen traversed the whole country, searching bravely everywhere, until at last they came to the forest of Yveline, where the abbot picked out several beautiful trees, and had them felled and carried away.

Beautiful churches on the same model sprang up as by magic; and everywhere under the direction of the monks. Scarcely had Gothic art sprouted forth than it was transplanted by the Cistercian monks, who hastened to carry it to the ends of the earth; so that there is scarcely a country of Europe whose first Gothic churches have not been erected by the sons of Norbert, or Odilon, or Bernard, or Bruno.

Lay architects were unknown until the year 1210, sixty years after the dedication of St. Denis. Guilds of workmen did not appear until ten years afterwards, in the latter part of the reign of Philip Augustus. For a long time, however, the direction of the work remained with the monks, and when this was taken from them, Gothic art began to decline. "It is remarkable," says Raymond of Bordeaux, "that religious architecture has always declined in the proportion in which laymen have been employed in it." "Without doubt," says Albert Lenoir, "the first lay architects called on to replace them (the monks) were but little different with regard to faith and science, but from generation to generation these indispensable qualities could only decrease in the secular life, and the fall of sacred art was the consequence."

The great difference between Gothic and Grecian architecture is thus stated by Cardinal Wiseman:

"The architectures of Greece and Rome, like their religion, kept their main lines horizontal or parallel with the earth, and

carefully avoided breaking this direction, seeking rather its prolongation than any striking elevation. The Christian architecture threw up all its lines, so as to bear the eye towards heaven; its tall, tapering and clustered pillars, while they even added apparent to real height, served as guides and conductors of the sense to the fretted roof, and prevented the recurrence of lines which could keep its direction along the surface of the earth. Nothing could more strongly mark the contrast between the two religious systems. The minute details of its workmanship, the fretting and carving of its many ornaments, the subdivision of masses into smaller portions, are all in admirable accord with the mental discipline of the time, which subtilized and divided every matter of its enquiry, and reduced the greatest questions into a cluster of ever ramifying distinctions. The "dim religious light" that passed through the storied window, and gave a mysterious awe to the cavern-like recesses of the building, excellently became an age passionately fond of mystic lore, and the dimmest twilights of theological learning. Nothing could be more characteristic, nothing more expressive of the religious spirit which ruled those ages, than the architecture which in them arose."

The purity of the Gothic does not exclude the peculiar genius of a nation; in other words, under the general inspiration a people does not lose its characteristics. The splendid genius of the French people has given us Notre Dame, the church of the monarchy; the cathedral of Rheims, the royal sanctuary; St. Denis, the mausoleum of the kingly dead; St. Severin, of Paris; Auxerre, Chartres, Amiens, Beauvais and a hundred other splendid piles. The patient perseverance of English thought is embodied in the wonderful cathedral of Salisbury, the choir of Ely, the nave of Durham, and in the magnificent national abbey of Westminster. In Belgium we find the church of St. Gudule, in Brussels, and that of Dunes, built by four hundred monks in forty-eight years. In Spain are the beautiful cathedrals of Toledo, Burgos and Seville. The soil of Germany is dotted with Gothic monuments; Cologne stands complete after six hundred years, and forty cities gaze on the spire of Strasburg, that marvel on the Rhine; while Treves, Freiburg and Marburg are the admiration of the world. In Ireland "of the saints," the cathedrals have been stolen and the abbeys are in ruins. Athenry and Kilconnell, Mellifont and Dunbrodie, Holy Cross and Cashel uplift "their stately heads in ruined beauty over the land they once adorned," and their cloisters and their chapels are filled with the graves of the silent dead.

It is strange, yet it is true, that during three hundred years—from the Renaissance until some time during the last century—the prodigious manifestation of religious sentiment and ideas every-

where resplendent in the monuments of the Middle Ages, was really uncomprehended and apparently unknown. These were despised and ignored as relics of barbarism, whence the name "Gothic," a synonym of "barbaric." Voltaire, that prince of scoffers, did not hesitate to assert that, one hundred and fifty years before his time, there was not in all Europe a single monument of architecture worthy of attention.

But the clouds of ignorance, error and prejudice have long since rolled away; the name of reproach has become a glorious title, and men of genius have unfolded before us the incomparable beauties of Gothic art.

The Gothic cathedral has been admirably styled *la pensée chrétienne bâtie*—Christian thought architecturally expressed. And indeed, if we examine it in the light of its mystic meaning, we shall find that in it is recorded the complete history of religion, and the full teaching of its mysteries, a veritable *summa theologica* and historical epitome written in marble by the Christian generations of the Ages of Faith. Eternity and time, the spirit creation and the kingdoms of nature, both are there, two worlds in miniature.

The temple itself, constructed of many stones, some bearing and some borne, some both borne and bearing, some borne yet not bearing, some great and some small, some visible and some hidden, some near the corner-stone and the foundation and some far from both, some high and some low, but all united, all joined in closest union, all forming a compact whole, all resting on the foundation and the corner-stone—what is it but the mystic body of Jesus Christ formed from the members of the human family, joined to His sacred humanity by the sacrament of baptism, "built upon the foundation of the Apostles and the Prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner-stone?" In Him "all the building being formed together groweth up into an holy temple of the Lord, in Whom you also are built together into an habitation of God in the Spirit." (Eph. II., 20, 21, 22.)

Within the sacred walls, human differences are forgotten; rank and age and wealth bend low the knee in unison with poverty and youth and lowliness; the stranger within the gates and the citizen of the realm together offer homage to Him who is equally their King. "For by Him we have access both in one spirit to the Father. Now, therefore, you are no more strangers and foreigners, but you are fellow-citizens with the saints and domestics of God." (*Ibid.* 18, 19.)

We are reconciled "to God in one body by the cross" (*Ibid.* 16), and the Gothic temple, in its divine geometry, represents the altar of the victim Who offered Himself to save the human race; the

nave, extending its two arms, is the Man-God on the cross, while the choir, inclined as compared with the nave, is His head bent down in agony.

In the midst of nature cursed in his fall, man drags out the weary length of his existence, drawing nigher and still more nigh to Him who made him, until, his day of pilgrimage over, he sinks to rest at last in the bosom of his God. Thus, too, in the Christian temple, we tread the "long-drawn aisle," now amid deepening gloom, again with painted rays across our pathway, until we reach the very extremity of the sacred edifice; and there we sink in prayer and adoration in the presence of Jesus Christ. For there, in the depths of the tabernacle, under the luminous cloud of the Eucharist, resides the God who fills the temple with the majesty of His presence; to that point converge all the lines as from it they have diverged: creation, emanating from its principle, returns to it again; man, fallen from grace, returns to God "through Jesus Christ our Lord."

Nature here dons the garb of art, and in it pays homage to "the Creator of heaven and earth." The vault above us unrolls in majesty like heaven's own blue arch, while the building itself stretches away in its vastness like the horizon of nature. Clustered columns, like the gnarled and knotted giants of the forest, lifting high their foliated heads, mingle with the tracery of the arches, and are crowned with sculptured flowers. Living creatures come forth in stone and bronze to people this forest of man's creation. The pavement is the sea, and from its bosom, like islands from the ocean, arise the many chapels, while in its waters mimic monsters of the deep disport themselves in glee.

As the sky bends down to meet the earth, so, too, heaven seems here to meet this "vale of tears." The happy spirits that people the blessed land hover over us with outstretched wings, or stand in seeming meditation in the Gothic niches and under the sculptured canopies. The saints of both Testaments shine in glory on the sun-lit windows, just as in the firmament of God's love they shine "as stars to all eternity." (Dan. xii., 3.) Mary, our mother, blessed by all generations, looks down on us with love, with an aspect calm and beautiful, with a virgin-mother's smile. And, at the extremity of the apsis, brightly crowned with gold mosaic, stands a colossal figure of Christ the Saviour and Supreme Judge, "a smile of mercy playing about the half-opened lips, the eyes soft, yet firm, and fixed as eternity."

No wonder is it, then, that Catholic worship and Christian art have ever exercised a powerful influence on the worshiper. Sometimes the heart stands still in awe; more often it overflows with love; nearly always it cannot give expression to its feelings. The

brilliant Lamartine, in language chaste, choice and eloquent, thus apostrophises the splendid churches which Christianity has given to us, where God is worshiped "in spirit and in truth," and true art has found its lasting habitation :

" Hail, sacred tabernacle, where thou, O Lord, dost descend at the voice of a mortal ! Hail, mysterious altar, where faith comes to receive its immortal food ! When the last hour of the day has groaned in thy solemn towers, when its last beam fades and dies away in the dome, when the widow, holding her child by the hand, has wept on the pavement and retraced her steps like a silent ghost, when the sigh of the distant organ seems lulled to rest with the day, to awaken again with the morning, when the nave is deserted and the Levite attentive to the lamps of the holy place with a slow step hardly crosses it again, then is the hour when I come to glide under thy obscure vault, and to seek, while nature sleeps, Him who aye watches ! Ye columns who veil the sacred asylums where my eyes dare not penetrate, at the feet of your immovable trunks I come to sigh. Cast over me your deep shades ; render the darkness more obscure, and the silence more profound ! Forests of porphyry and marble, the air which the soul breathes under your arches is full of mystery and peace ! Let love and anxious care seek shade and solitude under the green shelter of groves to soothe their secret wounds ! O darkness of the sanctuary, the eye of religion prefers thee to the wood which the breeze disturbs. Nothing changes thy foliage ; thy still shade is the image of motionless eternity ! Eternal pillars, where are the hands that formed ye ? Quarries, answer, where are they ? Dust ! The sport of the winds ! Our hands, which carved the stone, turn to dust before it, and man is not jealous ! He dies, but his holy thought animates the cold stone and rises to heaven with it. Forums, palaces, crumble to ashes ; time casts them away with scorn ; the foot of the traveller who tramples upon them lays bare their ruins ; but when the block of stone leaves the side of the quarry and is carved for Thy temple, O Lord, it is Thine ; Thy shadow imprints upon our work the sublime seal of Thine own immortality ! . . . I love the obscurity of Thy temple ; it is an island of peace in the ocean of the world, a beacon of immortality ! Inhabited alone by Thee and by death, one hears from afar the flood of time which roars upon this border of eternity. It seems as if our voice, which only is lost in the air, concentrated in these walls by this narrow space, resounds better to our soul, and that the holy echo of Thy sonorous vault bears along with it the sigh which seeks Thee in its ascent to heaven, more fervent before it can evaporate !"—(Quoted by Digby, *Mores Catholici*.)

THE NORSE HIERARCHY OF AMERICA.

WE mentioned in this REVIEW last October that Greenland contained in the eastern settlement twelve churches, including a fine and massive cathedral, dedicated to St. Nicholas, at Gardar, the episcopal see; and in the western settlement four churches. The first bishop, Eric Upsi, bore the title of the Bishop of Greenland, and the episcopal residence is said to have been at Steinnes; the other Greenland bishops bore the title of Bishops of Gardar. We have no Bulls to show the first erection of an episcopal see in Greenland, nor the appointments of the earlist bishops, for it would seem from the documents which we have found extant that the metropolitans of those distant and northern nations, by long and recognized usage, and by the concurrence, permission or acquiescence of the Holy See, exercised the function of appointing bishops when needed in their provinces or jurisdictions. We will give the list and the histories of the Catholic bishops of Greenland as far as the materials within our reach will enable us to give details on this most interesting branch of our article,—the Ecclesiastical History of the Northmen in America, which we have endeavored now, for the first time, to treat as a separate subject.

I. Eric Gnupson, or Upsi, is mentioned in several of the ancient annals and Sagas as the first Bishop of Greenland, and it is alleged that he was appointed in 1112, but not consecrated, that he returned to Iceland in 1120, and afterwards went to Denmark, where he was consecrated, in Lund, by Archbishop Adzer. It is believed that he never returned to his duties in Greenland, but soon after went as a missionary bishop to Vinland, where he announced the Gospel and probably gave his life for the faith. During his residence in Greenland he is said to have resided at Steinnes. As the first settlement in Vinland by Leif Ericson was about the year 1000, and Bishop Eric's voyage to Vinland is placed in the year 1121, there is probability of a continuous settlement, or intercourse at least, of the Northmen with Vinland, covering this period of more than a century. Vinland is now recognized, without dissent among historians and geographers, as located in the southern part of Massachusetts, and embracing Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard, and especially Rhode Island. Indeed, there is reason to believe that the Northmen from Norway, Iceland and Greenland made voyages to the coast of the mainland from Nova Scotia to Vinland from 1121 to 1357, and perhaps longer, for in the *Antiquitates Americanæ* Professor Rafn gives from various an-

cient and authentic Icelandic works several passages which show this fact, of which we transcribe several: "1121. Eric, Bishop of Greenland, went to search out Vinland." "Bishop Eric Upse sought Vinland." "1285. A new land is discovered west from Iceland." "New land is found." "Adalbrand and Thorvald, the sons of Helge, found the new land." "Adalbrand and Thorwald found new land west of Iceland." "The Feather Islands are discovered." "1288. Rolf is sent by King Eric to search out the new land and called on people of Iceland to go with him." "1289. King Eric sends Rolf to Iceland to seek out the new land." "1290. Rolf travelled through Iceland, and called out men for a voyage to the new land." "1295. Landa Rolf died." "1355." "There came likewise a ship from Greenland, smaller than the smallest of Iceland ships, that came in the outer bay. It had lost its anchor. There were seventeen men on board, who had gone to Markland (Nova Scotia), and on their return were drifted here. But here, altogether, that winter were eighteen large ships, besides the two that were wrecked in the summer. There came a ship from Greenland that had sailed to Markland, and there were eight men on board."

Crantz says: "He (Bishop Eric) was never regularly ordained a bishop and had no Episcopal seat, but principally travelled around the country to edify the churches, and at length went over to Wine-land to convert the heathen there." This same historian is of the opinion that from the time of the unfortunate expedition of Helgo and Finbog, with the Amazon Freydis, in 1110 and 1113, to the time of Bishop Eric, there remained Greenland colonists at Vinland, for he says: "We have at least from that time no accounts of that colony, except that one hundred years after the discovery of the country, Eric, a Greenland bishop, is said to have gone thither to convert his forlorn countrymen. The remaining colonists probably had fled, and dispersed themselves over the country for fear of punishment. From these outcasts are probably descended the present Indians in the neighborhood of New Foundland, who are so strikingly distinguished in their person and mode of life from other Americans."

II. The Sage Einar Sokkeson gives an account of the second Greenland bishop, Arnold, who was the first to bear the title of Bishop of Gardar. In 1123 Sokke Thorerson, who lived at Brattahlid, in Greenland, called together his neighbors, the Greenland colonists, he being recognized by them as a man of great influence and authority, and he said to them that so large and flourishing a colony as Greenland, where, too, there were so many Christians, should be provided with a bishop and an Episcopal see. As the colonists were all in favor of this important step, and were

willing to support a bishop and maintain him in his authority, they all agreed in selecting Einar, the son of Sokke, to proceed to Norway and carry their petition for the appointment of a bishop. We prefer here to give the language of the Saga itself in relation to the mission of Einar, and the appointment of the first Bishop of Gardar:

“Einar took with him in his ship many walrus teeth and costly skins to gain the good will of the Norway court. They came to Norway, and there was Sigurd Jorsalafarer, king of that country. Einar sought the king and was well received by him, and he detailed to him his errand, and besought the king's powerful aid for that of which the land he had left was sorely in need. The king deemed that it would greatly benefit the land, and he called unto him a man named Arnold, a learned clerk, and one well versed in the history of the people. The king besought Arnold to undertake this heavy task, for God's sake and for his (the king's) own sake, and I shall send thee, quoth he, to Archbishop Ossur, in Lund, with my sealed letters. Arnold answered that he had little wish to accept the proffered task for various reasons; and first, on his own account, for that he was ill fitted thereunto; and secondly, that he must leave behind him all his friends and relatives forever; and lastly, that he would have a wild and savage people to govern. The king replied that the greater the evils he endured from men the more glorious would be his reward in heaven. Arnold answered, that he would not refuse the king's prayer, ‘but,’ quoth he, “I insist on this, that Einar shall swear to me an oath to defend all the rights and privileges of the future bishop's see.” And to this Einar agreed. Therefore Arnold proceeded to Archbishop Ossur, and told him his errand, and showed to him the king's letters. The Archbishop received him well, and examined closely his spiritual and moral character, and being convinced that this man was well fitted for so high a dignity, he consecrated him bishop.”

Now the Saga relates that Bishop Arnold, forced by stress of weather, on his voyage to Greenland, to land in Iceland, passed the winter at Oddé with Saemund the learned (an ecclesiastic of the Church of Iceland), and then relates the following occurrence:

“It is told that as the bishop and his men rode up to Oddé from the ship, they stopped to rest their horses at a bonder's house in Laudey, and they themselves sat before the door. An old woman came out of the house with a card for teasing wool, and going up to one of the strangers, she said, ‘Wilt thou, my brother, fasten this tooth to my card?’ And the stranger readily agreed to do so, and taking a hammer out of his haversack, he fastened the tooth in the card, so that the old woman was well pleased therewith.

And the stranger was Bishop Arnold himself, who was skilful in such handiwork, and the story was told thereafter as an instance of his humility."

The consecration of Bishop Arnold having taken place in 1128, the bishop and his retinue arrived in Greenland in the following summer, and he then took possession of his Episcopal see of Gardar. The location of Gardar in Greenland is not certain. The principal Greenland settlement was on the west coast, and what was known as the eastern Bygd or settlement did not extend farther than the southern extremity towards Cape Farewell. The eastern coast of Greenland was not settled, and the eastern Bygd should rather have been called the southern Bygd. The western and southern coasts were the seats of the two settlements. As Bishop Arnold remained twenty years in Greenland, the erection of the Cathedral of Gardar, of many of the sixteen churches we have mentioned, and the endowment of the Episcopal see with its rich revenues, must have chiefly been accomplished during his administration, for the Church of Greenland became richly endowed for so poor a country. Several small islands and fiords and their fisheries belonged to the Bishops of Gardar, and no one could fish therein without the bishop's permission. Also besides his Episcopal residence, the Bishop of Gardar had several villas, to one of which the old annals apply the word "*magnifica*," and of another it was said that it was "a house worthy of a king."

It happened that the bishop's ship on the voyage from Norway to Greenland was accompanied by a Norwegian named Arnbjörn with his ship, also, and crew; but the two ships were separated by storms on the ocean and Arnbjörn and his ship and crew were believed to have been wrecked, for when the bishop arrived at Greenland, Arnbjörn had not arrived, and his fate was not ascertained until four years afterwards. In 1130, after four years, a Greenland, named Sigurd Nialson, went on a fishing voyage as far as Cape Farewell. Meeting with but little success, he and his companions concluded to explore some of the unknown fiords of the east coast, and in one of these distant inlets they saw a large ship stranded there at the mouth of a river, and a small bark near by. The ship was large, had carved figures on it, was well painted and well equipped for the ocean. On landing they saw a large hut, and a tent not far from it, and on repeating their visit to the shore next morning they saw first a piece of timber with an axe sticking in it, and close beside it lay the body of a dead man. Proceeding cautiously, they soon saw another dead body, and then approaching the tent they raised the roof off, in order to allow the escape of the noxious vapors from the dead bodies they expected to find therein, and there they found the corpses of Arnbjörn and his

companions, and a considerable quantity of goods. Placing all the dead bodies in a caldron, so as to remove the flesh from the bones, the skeletons and all the goods were placed in the ship, for it was the intention of Sigurd to carry the bodies to the bishop for interment at the church; the ship he intended to present also to the Church for the souls of the dead, and the goods were divided among the captain and the sailors, according to the laws of Greenland. The bishop accepted the fine ship for the Church and buried the dead. The sequel of this story was unfortunate for the Greenland Church and colony, and not creditable to the memory and character of Bishop Arnold. The relatives of the shipwrecked Arnbjörn in Norway, having received the news that his ship had been found, that his fate had been ascertained, and his body recovered and buried at the church, came to Greenland the following year, 1131, and claimed as their property, by legal succession, his ship and its contents. Bishop Arnold refused their demand, alleging that the goods had been disposed of according to the laws of Greenland, and that they were at all events the property of Arnbjörn and could not be more appropriately disposed of than for the benefit of the souls of the late owners. Ossur, the principal relative of the deceased and shipwrecked Arnbjörn, incensed at the bishop's refusal, left his presence with threats of revenge. This misunderstanding continued through the winter. Ossur appealed to the Althing, or court of justice, held by the assembled people, and failed to get a hearing, and through revenge cut two planks from the side of the vessel. Bishop Arnold did not disguise his rage at this act; he sent for Einar, reminded him of his oath in Norway to defend the rights and emoluments of the Church, observed that Ossur had forfeited his life for the injury he had done to the ship, and that he would hold Einar as a perjured man if nothing was now done. We will here give the narrative of this unfortunate transaction in the language of the Saga itself:

"Thereafter the people collected to the feast of the consecration of a church, and to a banquet at Langenæs. The bishop and Einar were there, and many others, and the bishop himself sang Mass. Thither, likewise, had Ossur come, and he stood against the south wall of the church conversing with a man named Brand Thordarson, who dwelt with the bishop. Brand besought Ossur to yield to the prelate; but Ossur replied that he could not bend himself thereto, so ill had he been treated, and they were deep in converse together as the bishop left the church; and Einar was with him, and they both moved towards the house. When they came to the entrance of the great chamber, Einar turned suddenly back from the crowd, and returning alone to the churchyard took an axe from the hand of a man who had come to attend Mass, and proceeded

to the south side of the building. Ossur stood there leaning upon his axe. Einar struck him straightways a fatal blow, and then went back to the house, where the feast was ready, and he went up to the table opposite to the bishop, but spoke no words. Then came in Brand Thordarson, and went up to the bishop and said: 'Hast thou heard aught new, my lord?' The bishop replied: 'I have heard nothing, but hast thou?' 'There is one that hast fallen outside and needs thy blessing,' quoth Brand. 'Who hath done this?' cried the bishop, 'and to whom?' Brand answered that they were near him who could tell all. 'Hast thou, Einar, caused the death of Ossur?' demanded Arnold. He answered: 'Truly I did so.' The bishop observed: 'Such deeds are indeed evil, but this one may be excused.' Brand then besought that the body might be washed, and might have Christian burial, but the bishop said there was time enough for that. They still continued at table, and heeded little more of the matter, nor would the bishop give orders for singing over the dead body till Einar himself begged that it might be done. Then the bishop said: 'It were but just that Ossur's body should not be buried near the church, but for thy prayer, Einar, he shall be buried near unto this church of Langenæs, for it has no priest attached to it.'"

A Catholic and judicious writer in the *Dublin Review* of September, 1849, says: "The sequel of this history by no means redounds to Bishop Arnold's praise. This prelate seems to have been not only grasping and avaricious, but even to have been a consenting party to a foul murder committed by his friend Einar." And again: "The ruins of the church of Langenæs, near the head of the present fiörd of Igaliko, have not yet been carefully cleared. Well might the curse of God fall upon the colony of Greenland when such fearful assassinations were countenanced by the unworthy prelate Arnold. Let us not, however, judge too hastily of this man, for it is possible that the history of Einar Sokkeson may have been written by one of the opposite party, who, of course, would spare no efforts to blacken the memory of the bishop. Einar Sokkeson was subsequently murdered by Ossur's friends, and a long and bloody feud continued for some time between the parties."

The following continuation of the account of this disgraceful affair, which further illustrates the appalling trials of the early Church in her efforts to carry Christianity to the pagan nations of the north, is from Crantz's "History of Greenland": "Some time afterwards, Ausur, the nephew of the unfortunate Arnbjörn, came to Greenland, and demanded his uncle's effects. Einar, who had promised to defend the claims of the church, refused his demand in an assembly of the people. The exasperated Ausur secretly

destroyed the disputed ship, and repairing to the western coast met with two merchant vessels, whose crews he prevailed upon to lend him their assistance, and revenge still further the injury offered in his person to all Norwegian subjects. On his return to Gardar, Einar, piqued by a reproof from the bishop for suffering the property of the church to be damaged contrary to his oath, treacherously slew him with an axe in the churchyard, as they were returning together from divine service. His comrades immediately rose to revenge his death. Old Sok (father of Einar) vainly attempted to compromise the matter in the general assembly by the offer of a trifling pecuniary compensation for the blood of their leader, and they murdered his son Einar on the spot. A confused affray instantly arose, in which several lives were lost on both sides. Sok proposed to attack the three ships, but was persuaded by a discreet old farmer to lay aside his purpose and enter into a treaty with the murderers of his son. Ausur's party having lost one man more than their adversaries, Sok paid a sum of money to make up the difference on condition that the intruders should immediately weigh anchor and leave the country to return no more. The story is told at length by Torfæus, but this brief abstract will be sufficient to illustrate the manners and government of the old Norwegians in Greenland." It is impossible to suppose that a word from Bishop Arnold, who had in fact been the guilty instigator of the feud from the beginning, would not at least have quieted the affair, and prevented further bloodshed and violence. But we do not find any account of his having exercised the ministry of peace among these barbarous and newly converted members of his flock on this fatal occasion, and from all accounts he insisted to the last on holding the ship, even at the cost of several human lives.

Bishop Arnold continued to reside in Greenland for twenty years altogether, and must have erected many of its churches. The blood of Ossur never ceased to cry out against him. He finally returned to Norway, where he died, after having been, according to Crantz, Bishop of Hammer in that country.

III. John Knutus, or Kutus, became Bishop of Gardar in 1150, and is mentioned by Crantz as Jonas I. He was probably an Icelander. The only further mention we find made of this prelate is in the Saga of Bishop Paul, of Skalholt, in Iceland, where it is said he assisted that prelate, in 1186, in blessing the holy oils at Easter. But it is quite probable that he never returned to Greenland, for his successor was Bishop of Gardar in 1188. Father Moosmuller says that he was consecrated at Drontheim, but assigns him to a later date, 1204.

The Saga, whose words also show the antiquity of the custom of blessing the holy oils on Holy Thursday, says:

"In Bishop Paul's days came Bishop John from Greenland, and he staid for the winter in the East fiörd in Iceland. But in the time of the long fast (Lent) he travelled to Skalholt, there to meet with Bishop Paul, and he arrived there on Maunday Thursday, and the two bishops consecrated on that day much holy chrism, and had together many learned and confidential conversations."

IV. John II. We know nothing of this bishop but the date of his appointment and consecration in 1188, in which year we find from the ecclesiastical annals of the archdiocese of Drontheim that Eric was archbishop, by whom Bishop John II. must have been consecrated.

V. Helgius became Bishop of Gardar in 1212, and was consecrated by Archbishop Thor I., of Drontheim. He died in 1230.

VI. Nicholas became Bishop of Gardar in 1234, and was consecrated by Thor II., Archbishop of Drontheim. He died in Greenland in 1240.

VII. Olaf became Bishop of Gardar in 1246, and was consecrated by Sigvard, Archbishop of Drontheim. Under this bishop three Greenland deputies, Odd, Paul and Leif, were sent to the court of Norway, either to make peace or to offer their allegiance to the crown. He also assisted at the consecration of Gellius, Archbishop of Drontheim, in 1256. This was ten years after his own consecration, and shows the intercourse between Greenland and Norway, and between the bishops of Greenland and their metropolitans. It may also suggest a probable custom of paying a decennial visit by suffragans to their metropolitans, as the ecclesiastical law now requires from all bishops a decennial visit to Rome. Bishop Olaf was charged by the Court of Norway with the important mission of uniting to the crown the Scandinavian establishments beyond the seas, and he availed himself of the opportunity of preaching the crusades and promoting the interests of the Church in the recovery of the tomb of Jesus Christ.

In 1271 the Holy See resolved to ask the Peter-Pence from the distant flocks of Greenland, and by letters of December 4th, 1276, John XX. authorized Archbishop John II. of Drontheim, on account of the length of the voyage, not to make the voyage to Greenland in person for this purpose. In 1279 Archbishop John availed himself of a vessel about to sail to America to send "a wise and discreet person" to collect in his name the *tithes* and the products of the communes "taken of vows, as well in the diocese of Gardar as in the islands and neighboring territories"; which last words may have alluded to the Church of Vinland in our own country. By letter dated at Rome, January 31st, 1279, Pope Nicholas III. confirmed the plenary powers given by the archbishop to this collector of the Papal revenues, whose name is not now known. Three years later

this "wise and discreet person" returned to Norway with a cargo of walrus teeth, whale bones and furs. The American colonists in that remote year, 1283, probably possessed none of the precious metals, and the currency of the country must have been chiefly the ivory and furs of the north. But they responded to the call of the Holy Father, and practically said: "Gold and silver we have none, but such as we have we will give unto thee." The Archbishop of Drontheim was embarrassed by this novel method of paying the Peter-Pence, and on his requesting instructions from Rome, he was directed to sell the walrus teeth, whale bones and furs for the Church.

VIII. Thororder or Theodore, consecrated in 1288 by Jorunder, Archbishop of Drontheim; he died in Greenland in 1313. During his administration, in 1307, the tithes of Greenland and Vinland figured again in the collections of the Peter-Pence.

IX. Arnus or Arno, was consecrated in 1314 by Eilegh, Archbishop of Drontheim, and arrived in Greenland in 1315. Gravier mentions that the fate of this bishop is buried in obscurity, for his successor was appointed in the absence of any knowledge of his fate. The Council of Vienne, having levied subsidies for the Peter-Pence, Arnus, Bishop of Gardar, who had arrived in Greenland in 1315, caused the Papal contributions to be collected in the ivory and furs of the country and sent them to Europe. In 1325 the American merchandise thus sent was sold to the Flemming, Jean du Pré, and the proceeds amounted to 12 livres and 40 sols of Turin currency.

X. John Calvus, 1343, consecrated by Olaf I., Archbishop of Drontheim.

XI. Alfus or Alfo, consecrated in 1376, by Winold, Archbishop of Drontheim, and died in 1378. It was during this bishop's administration that the Skraelings, or savages of the country, who had been seen on the coasts of New England by Leif, Thorfinn, and the other Vikings in the beginning of the eleventh century, now made their first appearance in Greenland; an important fact, showing that the Esquimaux came from the south and from our own country to Greenland. Their appearance in Greenland was a sad omen for the colony, for they finally exterminated the Norse settlements.

So much had the intercourse with Greenland declined that in 1383, six years after the death of Bishop Alfus, we find the following curious entry in the ancient Icelandic annals:

"A ship came from Greenland to Norway, which had lain in the former country two whole years; and certain men returned by this vessel who had escaped from the wreck of Thorlak's ship. These men brought the news of Bishop Alf's death from Greenland, which had taken place there six years before."

The Greenland colonists were now, no doubt, suffering terrible disasters from the attacks of the Esquimaux and from the ravages of disease.

Between Alphus and Henry, we have the names of four bishops of Gardar, but only their names, as follows :

XII. Berthold.

XIII. Gregory.

XIV. Andrew.

XV. John.

XVI. Henry, who was consecrated in 1389 by Winold, Archbishop of Drontheim. His Episcopal seal has been found and published by the Society of Northern Antiquarians. Although this prelate was consecrated in 1389, he must have been preconised in 1386 or earlier, for he is said to have been present in 1386 at the assembly of the nobles convoked by King Olaus, at Nyburg, in Fünen, where he and other bishops procured various immunities for the churches and convents. Bishop Henry is known to have been residing in Greenland in 1391, but his final fate is still unknown. It is related that in 1388 Bishop Hendrick from one of the sees of Norway went to Greenland, probably to see to the collection of the royal dues and the Peter-Pence, for he had orders to see that the former were deposited in some safe place, as there was no ship passing between the countries.

XVII. No tidings having been received of Bishop Henry for many years, Archbishop Askill, of Drontheim, in 1406, consecrated Andreas or Endride Andreasson as Bishop of Gardar, "but whether he ever reached Greenland was unknown," as Mr. Beamish writes, "until Prof. Finn Magnusen, a few years since, states that three years subsequent to that period, namely in 1409, he filled the office at the Episcopal seat at Gardar, and there prepared, or was a party to, the contract of a marriage, from which the learned Runologist himself, as well as many other distinguished Icelanders, owe their descent."

XVIII. James became Bishop of Gardar in 1417, and was ordained by Eschillus, Archbishop of Drontheim. His Episcopal seal has been recovered and published by the Royal Society of Northern Antiquarians at Copenhagen; it bears the legend: "S. Jacobi Dei gra. epi. Garden.," which may be thus translated: *The seal of James, by grace of God, Bishop of Gardar.* Gravier states that in 1418 Greenland was paying annually to the Holy See, under the head of tithes and Peter-Pence, 2600 livres in the walrus teeth, and gives Malte Brun and Dr. Kohl as his authorities for the statement.

XIX. In 1433, Pope Eugenius IV. nominated one Bartholomæus as Bishop of Gardar. It is also mentioned by Crantz that

the Bishop of Roeskilde subscribed himself Bishop of Greenland in 1533.

Henceforth Christian Greenland and her forlorn colonies seem almost to disappear from the sight and the memory of the rest of Christendom.

But the Father of all the faithful at Rome did not lose sight of the Christians in Greenland, for there has been found in the archives of the Vatican a remarkable brief of Pope Nicholas V. to the Bishops of Skalholt and Holum, in Iceland, written in the year 1448, in which, with paternal sympathy, he deplores the sad condition and the impending fate of his beloved Catholic children in this western world:

“ With reference to my beloved children, who are natives of and dwell in the great island of Greenland, which is said to lie on the extremest boundaries of the ocean, northwards of the Kingdom of Norway, and in the district of Throndjem, have by their pitiful complaints greatly moved my ear, and awakened our sympathy, seeing that the inhabitants, for almost six hundred years, have held the Christian faith, which by the teaching of their first instructor, King Olaf, was established amongst them, firm and immovable under the Roman See, and the Apostolic forms; and seeing that in after years, from the constant and ardent zeal of the inhabitants of the said island, many sacred buildings, and a handsome Cathedral, have been erected on this island, in which the service of God was diligently performed, until heathen foreigners from the neighboring coast, thirty years since, came with a fleet against them, and fell with fury upon all the people who dwelt there, and laid waste the land itself and the holy buildings with fire and sword, without leaving upon the island of Greenland other than the few people who are said to be far off, and which they, by reason of high mountains, could not reach, and took off the much-to-be commiserated inhabitants of both sexes, particularly those whom they looked upon as convenient and strong enough for the constant burden of slavery, and took home with them those against whom they could best direct their barbarity. But now since the same complaint further saith that many, in the course of time, have come back from said captivity, and after having here and there rebuilt the devastated places, now wish to have the worship of their God again established, and set upon the former footing; and since they, in consequence of the before-named pressing calamity, wanting the necessary means themselves, have hitherto not had the power to support their priesthood and superiors, therefore, during all that period of thirty years, have been in want of the consolations of the bishops, and the services of the priests, except when some one, through desire of the service of God, has been willing to undertake tedious and toilsome journeys to the people

whom the fury of the barbarians has spared,—seeing that we have a complete knowledge of all these things, so do we now charge and direct ye brethren, who, we are informed, are the nearest bishops to the said island, that ye, after first conferring with the chief bishop of the diocese, if the distance of the place allows of it, to nominate and send them a fit and proper man as bishop.”

In the year 1520 the famous Eric Walkendorf, the last Catholic Archbishop of Drontheim, made great efforts to collect information of the long unheard from see of Gardar, with the view of renewing intercourse between it and his metropolitan see. But the direful advance of the so-called Lutheran Reformation put an end to his noble efforts.

Of the priests engaged on the Greenland missions from the tenth to the fifteenth centuries we have but little information; some conjectures might be formed as to their numbers from the number of churches in the colonies. In two cases only we have found the mention of priests by their names. In the year 1188, the priest Ingemund, who had arrived the year before in Norway from England, sailed for Eric's fiord in Greenland. No tidings of his arrival in Greenland were ever received, but fourteen years after the ship in which this zealous priest from Catholic England went on his heroic apostolate was found in an uninhabited part of the country, probably on the east coast, and beside the ship lay the corpses of Ingemund and his six companions in a cleft in the rock. Let the ancient Saga speak of this touching incident, in which God rewarded in this world even the faith and charity of this martyr to religion.

“Among these was the priest Ingemund, his body was whole and entire (after fourteen years), but the skeletons of the six men lay around him. Wax was also at his side (probably a waxen tablet), and Runes thereon, telling of their hard fate and approaching death. But it seemed to men a great sign that God had been so well contented with the priest Ingemund's life and conversation, that his body should have so long lain uncorrupted.”

In 1266 three priests of the diocese of Gardar made an expedition to the Arctic regions, and penetrated Barrow's Strait and the Wellington Canal. They went upon this brave and perilous voyage in the interests of discovery and science; their recorded observations give the declination of the sun and the obliquity of the ecliptic, and they penetrated nearly as far towards the North Pole as the vaunted scientific expeditions of our own day, for they reached the 75th degree of north latitude. They returned safely back to Gardar aided by the polar current.

It is also stated that two Greenland priests, Adalbrand and

Thorwald Helgason, in 1285, discovered a new land, which was afterwards identified as Newfoundland.

Mention having been made of the monasteries and convents of Greenland, we would wish to give interested readers all we know on this fascinating subject, but we must now, for want of space, confine ourselves to the description of the most famous one, the Dominican convent of St. Thomas, the description of which we will give in the language of Father Kircher, taken by him from the narrative of Nicholas Zeno, a Venetian sea captain, in the service of the king of Denmark, who was driven by stress of weather on the coast of Greenland, in 1380, and saw this mediæval convent, in the western world, which, wonderful as it may seem, in its mechanical and scientific appliances and developments, far exceeded the most elegant *apartments* of our own day and country, even though they be supplied with "all the modern improvements and conveniences." Father Kircher's description reads :

"Here is also a Dominican convent to be seen, dedicated to St. Thomas, in whose neighborhood there is a volcano that vomits forth fire, and at the foot thereof is a well of burning hot water. This hot water is not only conveyed by pipes into the convent, and through all the cells of the friars, to keep them warm, as with us the rooms are heated with stoves of fire-wood or other fuel, but here they also boil and bake their meat and bread with the same. This volcano, or fiery mountain, throws out such a quantity of pumice-stone (lava?) that it had furnished materials for the construction of the whole convent. There are also fine gardens, which reap great benefit from this hot water, adorned with all sorts of flowers and full of fruit. And after the river has watered these gardens, it empties itself into the adjoining bay, which causes it never to freeze, and great numbers of fish and sea-fowl flock thither, which yield plentiful provision for their nourishment."

This account of St. Thomas' Convent, marvellous as it may appear, was singularly confirmed by a friar, a native of Greenland, who spent his youth in this convent, but returned and spent the remainder of his life in Iceland, about the middle of the sixteenth century. Two different authorities received the story from the lips of the Icelandic friar, and they have transmitted it to us, in confirmation of the account of Nicholas Zeno, given by Father Kircher and other authors. Our Patent Office contains many patented inventions for heating houses and cooking food with steam and hot water, and for raising fruits and flowers by the same means, and we see them in our daily use ; does not the prior invention of the Dominican monks of Greenland in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries rob these modern inventors of their claim to originality? Familiar as we are with the present applications of

steam and hot water, the foregoing account of the Convent of St. Thomas must seem freed from all difficulties of belief, but the story, though well authenticated and received by the learned, was regarded as marvellous and bordering on the exaggerated by the people of a half century ago.

Crantz in his "History of Greenland" says: "A German author, Dethmar Blefken, tells us that, being in Iceland, in 1546, he met with a Dominican monk from the monastery of St. Thomas in Greenland, who, having in the preceding year accompanied his bishop from that country to Norway, had finally settled in Iceland. From this monk he professes to have received a description of the monastery; and though the incoherence of his account makes it appear questionable (Crantz had not lived to see the uses to which steam and hot water are applied in our day, for he wrote nearly three quarters of a century ago), I find it confirmed by Cæsar Longinus. He mentions that James Hall, an Englishman, who made many voyages to Iceland and Greenland in the Danish service, and gave a most detailed and faithful account of the Greenlanders, likewise conversed with the same monk in the presence of the governor of Iceland. To this person, also, he gave an account of his convent, stating 'that it contained a well of hot water, which, being conducted in pipes through all the apartments, warmed not only them, but also the chambers of the upper story; that meat was boiled over this spring as quickly as over a fire; that the walls of the convent were composed of pumice stone; and that hot water poured upon stones of this substance reduced them to the consistency of clay, so that they could be used for mortar.'" . . . "We meet with a similar notice of this convent in the Danish Chronicle, with the addition of a garden, which, being irrigated by a tepid rivulet, produced the most luxuriant flowers and fruits."

Our notice of the churches of Greenland must be brief. 1st. In Herjulsnes was situated the church of Herjulsfjörd. 2d. The second church was at Vatsdol in Ketilsfjörd. 3. The church at Vika, also in Ketilsfjörd. 4th. The church at Vog in Siglufjörd. 5th. The church below Höfdes at Vestfjörd. 6th. The cathedral church of Gardar at Einarfjörd. 7th. The church at Hardsleinaberg. 8. The church of Brattahlid in Einarfjörd. 9th. The church below Solarfjall at Isafjord. 10th. A church located at the same place as the 9th. 11th. The church at Hoalseyarfjörd. 12th. The church of Gardanes. Such were the churches of the eastern or southern province. Those of the western province were: 1st. The church of Sandres in Lysufjörd. 2d. The church at Hopi in Agnafjörd. 3d. The church of Anvida in Rangafjörd. The church at Ketilsfjörd was dedicated to the Holy Cross, and was popularly called Avos. The church at Nadsdal was dedicated under the patronage

of St. Peter. Father Moosemuller also here speaks of another monastery of Regular Deans (*Canonici Regulares*), whose founder was St. Chrodogang, Bishop of Metz. At Rafnsfjörð is also said to have stood in the inner part of the bay the monastery of the Benedictine nuns. The church of Vog in Siglufjörð was dedicated under the patronage of the sainted King Olaf. At Vas, the king's villa, between Einarsfjörð and Rafnsfjörð, stood the splendid cathedral of St. Nicholas.

The ruins of the cathedral church, which are described by geographers as situated in the background of the Bay of Igalico, have been discovered and cleared off in modern times. The building is one hundred and twenty feet long and one hundred feet wide, and the walls are six feet and over in width. The discovery of the ruins of this great church, which is near Igelikofjord, has enabled us to place the location of Gardar, the Episcopal see. Near the ruins were also discovered relics, crosses, and engraved stones. This, no doubt, is the same cathedral church mentioned by Pope Nicholas V. in his brief above quoted. This church is cruciform, and close to the east wall of the south transept was found the celebrated stone with the Runic inscription: "Vigdis, the daughter of Mars, lies here; God rejoice her soul."

The church of Kakortok is the best preserved of all the ecclesiastical ruins of ancient Greenland that have been found; we will describe it—would that time and space permitted us to devote more attention to the archæological remains of this interesting country. While in one place we find an inscription, "Here lies . . . ; God rest her soul," in another we find the touching prayer to the Blessed Virgin, so beautifully expressed in the old Norse language, and beautiful in every tongue, "*Mary mine, pray for me.*" And so we could proceed to draw from the relics of an extinct Christian race in inscriptions, crosses, baptisteries, and churches, the pious teachings of a devotional faith. But we must hasten to a conclusion.

The church of Kakortok is located in Kakortok fjörð, near the modern Danish colony of Julianehaab; is built in a plain, on the bank of the fjörð, at the foot of a hill whose beds of stone must have supplied the material for the church. The stones are massive, are carefully put together, and while the mortar is slightly visible on the inside of the walls, the outside appears to have been hewn over so as scarcely to show any seams. The orientation of the church is perfect. There are four windows and two doors on the south side looking to the sea, and the most eastern door of these is nearly eighteen inches lower than the others, and is believed to have been the door for the entrance of the priests and their attendants. On the north side there is but one window now

seen, the wall being greatly broken down where the other would have been. The principal entrance was, no doubt, in the western wall, over which is a large window; and in the eastern wall, at the same elevation, is another window, handsomely and correctly arched. The eastern wall is still nearly twenty feet high. There are several small niches, about five feet from the ground, in the interior of the church, and which it is believed were intended to hold the images of the saints; the north wall possessing three such niches, the south wall four. Its length is fifty-two feet, its breadth is twenty-six feet. The north and south walls are about four feet thick, while the east and west walls are nearly five. The arched window on the east end is, on the outside, three feet ten inches high, and two feet two inches broad; while on the inside it is five feet six inches high and four feet five inches broad. A wall extending around the whole building, at the distance of twenty-one to twenty-six feet, is quite dilapidated. The whole interior of the church and part of the church-yard have been excavated. It is generally believed that this was the last church built by the Greenlanders, and that it was the last they abandoned.

We have noticed already the decline of commerce, and even of communication, between Greenland and the mother countries. The fate of the last three bishops of Greenland, Henry, Andrew, and Bartholomew, is still unknown. Reduced in numbers by the fierce assaults of the Esquimaux, and by the ravages of pestilence, the Norwegian Greenlanders retired from one settlement after another. In 1348 a pestilence called the Black Death desolated Europe, and is believed to have reached the European colonies of Greenland, and it is thought it swept away one-half the population of Greenland. About the same time the western settlement was repeatedly attacked by the Esquimaux, and by the time their countrymen from the eastern settlement came to their assistance they found the settlements completely destroyed. The inhabitants had been slaughtered or carried off by disease, the villages had disappeared, and naught remained but a few of the domestic cattle roaming wildly and mournfully in the open country. The resources of the country had been exhausted by taxes levied to sustain the royal household of the kings of Norway. Queen Margaret sent an expedition for the relief of her perishing subjects, at the request of Bishop Henry, but as no tidings were ever received of these vessels, it is believed they must have all perished. Political cares and agitation, the remoteness of the country, and the perils of the voyage, caused Greenland to be forgotten and neglected. The eastern settlement lingered on for two centuries after the western settlement was destroyed. Here, too, town after town was abandoned;

some unusual blockade of ice prevented the remnant of the colonists from escaping to Europe; and finally, pressed by the Esquimaux and exhausted, the remaining colonists clustered around the church of Katortok, and when attacked by the unrelenting Esquimaux, again and again took refuge in the sacred edifice. Here dwelt the leader of the forlorn band, called by some Ungertok, and by others Olavik, perhaps Olaf.

The sad story of the final extermination of this forlorn remnant of an intrepid race of Christian warriors and sea-kings is thus told: The two hostile races lived almost face to face, inimical to each other, and yet the weaker party cautiously abstained from giving cause of offence to their more powerful and more numerous enemies. A Norwegian boy's imprudence was the immediate cause of an outbreak, and of the extermination of his race. One day, an Esquimau from the neighboring island of Akpeitevik rowed out towards the church of Kakortok to try some new arrows which he had just made. As he was passing a small point near the present ruins of the church, a small boy of the Norse colony, who sat there, ridiculed the Esquimau on the unskilful way in which he used his weapons. Imitating the cry of a bird, the boy dared the savage to hit him with his arrows. The Esquimau was enraged at the youthful taunts, and in an instant the boy lay pierced fatally with arrows. Soon, another Norseman fell in the same way. Ungertok, the last of the Norse leaders in Greenland, in turn became enraged, and he resolved to take a signal vengeance on his savage neighbors. On a moonlight night, he and his Norse companions climbed to the top of a high and steep hill behind Kakortok, with the intention of rushing suddenly down upon the Esquimaux and slaughtering them all in their sleep. But as they passed along the lake near the huts, a young Esquimau girl, who had gone out to fetch some water, saw their long shadows reflected on the still surface of the lake, and gave the alarm. The Esquimaux men, rushing from their huts, escaped, but the women and children were mercilessly massacred, except a little boy, who hid himself in the tumult in the cleft of a rock, which the Esquimaux point out to this day. While Ungertok's vengeance was but partially satisfied, the Esquimaux resolved on revenge. During the winter the men prepared a great supply of bows and arrows, while the women dressed a quantity of white seal skins for covering their boats. On the return of spring the Esquimaux, availing themselves of a favorable wind, rowed from Marksak round the shore where now stands the modern Danish colony of Julianshope. Arrived at the entrance to the Kakortok fjörd, they rested on their oars and allowed the boats to drive before the wind down upon the dwellings of the Norsemen. The latter rushed from their houses,

ranged themselves on the shore, and shielding their eyes, gazed eagerly out into the fjörd. Deceived by the white seal skins, which looked like pieces of drift-ice, their suspicions were calmed, and they returned into their dwellings. At nightfall, the Esquimaux landed a few bow-shots from the church, where the stone is still covered with dwarf wood, and stealing up to the doors fastened them securely, and then fired the buildings. All the Norsemen were consumed in the flames, except the chief Ungertok, who, with his infant son under his arm, sprang through one of the windows of the burning church and fled to the eastward. Closely pursued by numerous enemies, at first Ungertok made such speed that most of his pursuers dropped off, but when those that kept up the pursuit were pressing and gaining on him, he lightened himself of his burden by throwing his son into the lake, and then succeeded in making his escape to Igaliko. His enemies, however, still pursued him, and he wandered as best he could towards the south, in hopes of sighting a chance vessel that might carry him to the mother countries. His enemies succeeded finally in discovering him, and set upon him again. His immense strength and resolute courage kept his enemies at bay, while he defended himself desperately with an axe. Finally, an Esquimaux is said to have killed him with "a charmed arrow, formed of the terminating process of the back-bone of a barren woman."

The paternal voice of Pope Nicholas V., raised in pity for this distant and perishing western flock, in 1448, had died away, and within a century thereafter, and perhaps while the last of the Catholic archbishops of Trondjeim was struggling to send them relief, the last of the Catholic Greenland-Norsemen perished by the hands of the Skraelings, a people whom they had at first so much despised.

When we see from human history, in every age and every land, how many entire nations have perished by the sword, are we not forced to the conviction that the greatest crime of nations against human nature is human warfare?

DR. DÖLLINGER AND THE "OLD CATHOLICS."

IT is nineteen years since Dr. Döllinger left the Catholic Church, and three months ago he died without being reconciled. We must all of us feel a certain compassion for Dr. Döllinger. He was so superior to his own heresy and to his surroundings. He was not of the stuff of which heresiarchs are made, being rather studious than militant in his temper. "*Il Signor Döllinger*," said Pope Pius IX., "*e un dottore, ma non un pastore*"; and this is all that we should wish, in charity, to say against him. It does not appear that he ever wilfully perverted anybody; he rather assented to than sought to create new apostasies. No big separatist ever took less pains to make a following. Indeed, he appeared to be a little ashamed of his imitators. Now that we are about to speak of him with reference to that sad havoc with which his unfortunate example was associated, we should wish to do so in the kind spirit of a physiologist who has said, "There are some men who have a constitutional predisposition, after they have studied hard through a long life, to get a twist which makes them go wrong about something, though we must hope that they are not morally culpable."

Dr. Döllinger "went wrong" about obedience. But the "twist" was most manifest in the fact that his disobedience was in contradiction to his own predetermined faith. No historian had written more strongly, more enthusiastically—so far as enthusiasm could ever be noted in his calm style—in favor of the "infallibility" of the Supreme Pontiff than had the reputed author of the new religion called "Old Catholicism." (It is true that he was only "reputed" to be its author, for he warmly opposed its constitution as a new "church.") In his private and in his official life he had often expressed his conviction that there could be no appeal from the Supreme Head of the Church. One example may suffice, and it was in 1845, when he was addressing a company of savants at Munich. "Gentlemen," he said, "the question is this: it is true that the infallibility of the Pope is not a dogma defined by the Church; yet any one who should maintain the contrary would put himself in opposition to the conscience of the whole Church, in the present as in the past." From his "History of the Church" it would be easy to quote whole pages which contain examples of the *action* of the early Church in her insistence on the *truth* of infallibility. Here are two or three fragments, which may suffice:

"There are not wanting names and titles which, in the fourth and fifth centuries, fully expressed the supreme ecclesiastical power and dignity of the Pope. He was called the Father of the Fathers, the Shepherd and Guardian of the flock of Christ, the Chief of all Bishops, the Guardian of the vineyard of Christ. The Church of Rome was named, by pre-eminence, the Apostolic See, the Chief of all the Churches, the rock and foundation of faith. . . . That the decrees of synods, regarding faith, obtained their full force and authority *only* by being recognized and confirmed by the Pope was publicly acknowledged in the fourth century. . . . The fifth General Council, held in 381, which was a council of only oriental bishops, acquired the authority of an Ecumenical Council by the subsequent acceptance and confirmation of the Pope, and St. Augustine declared, after the two African synods had been confirmed by the Pontiff, '*Roma locuta est, causa finita est.*'" (Here follow several examples of the decisions of merely isolated synods being regarded as of ecumenical value from the one fact of the Pontifical approval.) "On the other hand it was acknowledged to be the prerogative of the first See in the Christian world, that the bishop of Rome could be judged by no man. It was a thing unheard of that the head of the Church should be placed in judgment before his own subjects. He who was not in communion with the Bishop of Rome was not truly in the Catholic Church."

Now, it would be difficult for precise writing to convey more emphatically that the whole Christian Church, "during the fourth and fifth centuries," acknowledged the infallibility of the Pope, and that Dr. Döllinger agreed with that estimate. On what possible ground of faith or consistency could decrees of councils obtain their authority, "*only* by being confirmed by the Pope," except on the ground that the Pope was believed to be, pontifically, exempt from teaching error? On what possible ground could a merely national synod enjoy ecumenical importance—the decisions of the bishops being rendered binding "*by* the acceptance and confirmation of the Pope"—except on the ground that *his* infallible teaching overruled *their* defect in point of number? On what possible ground could the first General Council of Constantinople, which condemned the heresy of Macedonius and added its definition to the creed, be recognized as of ecumenical value, or the fifth General Council, which was purely oriental (but which decreed fourteen dogmatic propositions) be regarded as didactic to the whole of Christendom, except on the ground that the authority of the Pope was regarded as the authority of God? On what possible ground could the Pope be called, by the whole Christian Church, and that, too, "in the fourth and fifth centuries,"

the rock, the foundation of faith, except on the ground that a rock and foundation are symbols of indestructible force? And further, if Dr. Döllinger assures us that it was "a thing unheard of" in those earliest times that the head of the Church should be placed in judgment before his own subjects, and that all who were not in communion with *him* were not truly in the Catholic Church, then we may say that Dr. Döllinger is our authority for the historic justice of the Vatican dogma, and that in subsequently denying it he arrayed his own testimony against the novelty of his "Old Catholic" position.

Well might Mgr. von Ketteler write of Dr. Döllinger, *after* the Doctor's lapse from the faith: "I am with that Döllinger whose teaching in former days filled his disciples with love and enthusiasm for the Church and the Holy See, but I have nothing in common with that Döllinger whom the enemies of the Church and of the Holy See load with praises."

Yet we cannot class the fallen Döllinger with that weak and babbling crew which took the lead in the formation of the new sect, perhaps the weakest and most babbling of all the self-worshipping Protestants who ever tried to make a schism in the Church. Let us recall a few of the vagaries of this new sect, so as to better appreciate the silliness of that disobedience which the example of one great man rendered respectable. Take away Dr. Döllinger from the Old Catholics, and their insignificance would have been their best shield from ridicule. Take away the Old Catholics from Dr. Döllinger, and his importance as a separatist would have been increased. Old Catholicism is now dead, though not buried. Let us remember, just for a moment, what it *was*, so that we may both appreciate the mistake of its only master, and its own immeasurable puerility and inanity.

We may, most of us, remember that very comic little congress which was held just after the closing of the Vatican Council, and which was known in the minute history of the new sect as "the Congress of the Old Catholics at Cologne." At that congress were gathered most of the "brilliant lights" of the new apostasy—of the German, Russian and also Anglican schools of heresy. We recollect that the schismatical Archbishop of Syra and Tenos sent his blessing to this motley little gathering; that Dean Stanley, of Westminster, who was a sort of suppressed drawing-room Arian, honored the conversations with his presence; that Dr. Wordsworth, Bishop of Lincoln, did the same thing, though neither gentleman held a brief for his own communion; and we remember that the Bishop of Lincoln uttered this remarkable sentence, which was thought perfectly worthy of the "new attitude": "In the Church which is truly Catholic, the battle is to be fought against

the heretical and schismatical Church of the Papacy ;" adding as a very fine rhetorical outburst, " the Pope has trampled under foot all laws, both human and divine." And the German separatists were fully worthy of such allies. There were Profs. Reinkens and Schulte ; the former, like Zwingli, surpassing his Luther, and the latter, like Carlstadt, eclipsing them both ; and there was Prof. Friedrich, perhaps the vainest man of the century, who carried self-praise to a point that was captivating. This gentleman kept a diary, and his friends quoted it. It was full of most interesting self-conceits. Prof. Friedrich was, in Prof. Friedrich's opinion, by far the most distinguished man who ever lived, and they who opposed him—that was, the whole Catholic Church—were correspondingly deficient in wisdom. The Catholic bishops, he wrote, were " all afraid of him." " A mean and stupid majority," " a council of robbers and hypocrites " had approved the new dogma of infallibility. " The Holy Spirit must first constrain the bishops to become theologically capable"—that was, to think with Prof. Friedrich—" before they can be rendered His organs to define any article of the faith." " All the German bishops are poor in theology and in scientific culture," and so on through a great many pages. It was evident that whatever doubt might exist in regard to the infallibility of the Pope, there was none whatever about Prof. Friedrich's.

The Congress proceeded to pass its resolutions. The first of them will suffice for quotation ; it reads like a joke from a comic paper : " No excommunication or suspension, on the ground of refusal to accept the Vatican decrees, shall be valid." That settled the matter. *Cologne locuta est.*

But to turn from pure comedy, which is chiefly interesting as showing that all schisms and heresies are ridiculous, invariably illustrating the truth of the saying, " No man with a sense of humor should be a heretic," let us ask how was the new movement received by the Protestant world, and especially in Germany and in England ? In Bavaria the sympathies of the king and people were for a time warmly given to Dr. Döllinger, while Herr Von Lutz, Minister of Worship, and the leader of the anti-Catholic party, addressed a threatening letter to the Archbishop of Munich when he presumed to excommunicate the great Doctor. The University of Munich elected him to be its president by a majority that was simply overwhelming ; he was decorated by his own sovereign with the Order of Merit of Bavaria, and by the German emperor with the order of the Red Eagle ; and he was also elected, as successor to Baron Liebig, to the office of president of the Royal Academy of Munich, a scientific more than a literary institution. As to England, the University of Oxford made him

an honorary D.C.L., and as to Scotland, the University of Edinburgh warmly begged him to come and "occupy a chair," while as to clerical sympathies they were almost too oppressive. Anglican bishops joined hands with Prof. Huber and Père Hyacinthe in proclaiming him their theological ally, an honor which he evidently held to be equivocal; while Dean Stanley, of Westminster, who had stood Père Hyacinthe's "best man" when he was married at the registrar's office in Marylebone, went to Cologne, as we have already stated, to shake hands with the great Doctor, whom, however, he could not persuade to become an Anglican. And at the same time there poured forth from the English press ringing hymns of adulation and sympathy; the religious and the secular newspapers vying in their eulogy of this new Luther who had come to light at a critical moment. It was a little curious, in the apprehension of English Catholics, that Dr. Döllinger, who had positively never been mentioned—if heard of—by the learned or the unlearned English Protestants, whether in clerical, or in lay, or in profane circles, should suddenly have become "the most distinguished of German clerics, who had always held the first place among German Catholics." He must himself have been a little surprised at his new-found fame. Indeed, to do him justice, he had always been unobtrusive, amiable, hospitable, but reserved; a man of books rather than of pulpits or platforms, and much too critical to be imposed upon by flattery. Yet the English press dragged him into a prominence from which his quiet disposition would have shrunk. Just as he was superior to his own heresies, and superior to his Old Catholic followers, so was he superior to the twaddle of mock sympathy, which meant only, "you make one more of *us*."

And now the little schism was completed, and Dr. Döllinger settled down into being a heretic. Let us ask—since his future life was to be studious, just as his past life had been so—how did his new literary ventures harmonize with his early Catholic productions? And that we may answer this question the better, let us consider the several stages by which he arrived ultimately at revolt. "No one changes his faith in a night," may be said of every Catholic who turns Protestant. As Dr. Johnson wisely remarked to Mr. Boswell, the leap from believing so much to the believing so little is, in most cases, too terrible to be sincere. Now, Dr. Döllinger, so far back as 1860, had begun to show sympathies that were risky. It was in the spring of that year that he delivered at Munich two lectures on the temporal power of the Pope, and it was just at this time that the secret societies in Italy were plotting against the temporalities of the Holy See. To have taken the hostile side at such a moment was, to say the least of it, inopport-

tune. Finding that he had occasioned some little scandal, he wrote a work (of great literary merit), which he entitled "The Church and the Churches; or, The Papacy and the Temporal Power"; a work which was soon translated into English by Mr. William Bernard McCabe. The good points in this work, from the purely Catholic point of view, were (1) the uncompromising confession of the Catholic faith; (2) the very careful and very critical distinguishing between the essences and the accidents of the Catholic Church; and (3) the scathing sarcasm on the fallacies of the Church of England, on her contradictions in doctrine and in polity. As to Anglican doctrines, the author called them "a collection of heterogeneous theological propositions, tied together by the Act of Uniformity; propositions which, in a logical mind, cannot exist by the side of one another, and whose effect upon the English Churchman is that he finds himself involved in contradictions and disingenuousness, and can only escape the painful consciousness of it by sophistical reasoning." (From which passage we must infer that Anglican Churchmen were in too great a hurry when they looked upon the "converted" Döllinger as one of themselves.)

But in 1868 there appeared a work, called "Janus," published in Germany, but without confessed authorship, though it was believed to have been supervised by Dr. Döllinger, and in this work the Protestant spirit was so blatant, so unconcealed that it was impossible not to see what was designed by it. Cardinal Manning, in his "History of the Vatican Council," calls this work an elaborate attempt of many hands to destroy by profuse misquotations from history the authority of the Pope, and to create animosity against the future Council." Now we do not know what part Dr. Döllinger may have taken in the putting together of this piece of hostile machinery; we only know that he "supervised" the production, and, therefore, must have more or less approved of it. Nor was this the only "suspicious" performance of Dr. Döllinger's. A short time before the publication of this work—some time in the year 1864—Dr. Döllinger had committed himself to a very dangerous step, in combating an Encyclical of Pius IX. It has been suggested that he was animated by somewhat unfriendly feelings towards the illustrious Pontiff who reigned so long, but who did not recognize in Dr. Döllinger the trustworthy *pastore*, though he respected him as a profoundly read *dottore*. Personal considerations are thus thought to have weighed with him, in his opposition to the decree of the Vatican Council. It would be unfair, perhaps, to lay stress upon such rumors; yet it seems likely, from the general tone of his controversy, during the ten years which

preceded the Council, that he was not quite master of himself intellectually, because morally he was disturbed by wounded vanity.

There was, then, no sudden break between the Catholic Dr. Döllinger and the Dr. Döllinger who finally suffered excommunication; there was rather a "leading up" from a disposition to merely question to a disposition to absolutely rebel against authority. Yet, if we go a long way back, say, to a little more than thirty years ago, we can find nothing in the writings of Dr. Döllinger which would give a hint as to his future falling away. Indeed, may we not say, as to the whole of his publications previous to the year 1860, that Catholics owe him a debt of sincere gratitude for his intellectual services to Catholic truth? His "History of the Church," his books on "the Doctrine of the Eucharist During the First Three Centuries," his "Reformation, Its Interior Development and Its Effects," his "Sketch of Luther," his "Christianity and the Church," his "Fables with Regard to the Popes," his "Origin of Christianity," and also his "Religion of Mohammed," are books which no Catholic can read without feeling wiser, perhaps better. Nor can we wholly refuse our admiration to his recent writings, published subsequently to his lapse from the faith, "The Prophecies and the Prophetic Spirit in the Christian Church," published in 1873, and "The History of the Council of Trent," published in 1876, show the normal studious spirit of Dr. Döllinger, though "the twist" is too manifest to be misleading. And it is to be noted in Dr. Döllinger's favor that he was warmly opposed to the German *Kulturkampf*, and always insisted on the Catholic right to religious freedom. He was never wholly perverted by his falling away. Nor did he perform ecclesiastical functions after he had been formally excommunicated. He lived the life rather of a student than of a rebel, and even continued to be on good terms with his Catholic friends.

So much must be conceded in the way of praise. Yet just as he had taken ten years to become heretical, so was his heresy slowly progressive after his fall. He announced at the Bonn conference, in 1874, that he was not bound by the Council of Trent; and this meant that he was not bound by any Council. He also rejected the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist, while advancing some novel theories of his own. At the time of his death no one knew what he believed, and probably he did not quite know himself. Protestants seldom stand still in heresy. Deep calls to deep in that infinity.

The intimate associate at one time of the brilliant Lamennais, and the intimate friend for twenty years of the learned Montalembert, he was also an admirer of the eloquent Lacordaire, with whom he made a journey to Rome. These three wonderful men

would naturally impress him; though indeed there was a great difference between the three. Shall we say that Lamennais was rash, almost fanatical; Montalembert was both profound and romantic; Lacordaire, whose commanding eloquence seemed to spring from his intense faith, was rather "inspired" than learned or scientific. How far such characteristics were accidental, or really made up the substance of their natures, it is not at all desirable to speculate; yet when we think of these three men as companions of Döllinger, we see that there was not one of them at all like him. He was what is called scientific. The son of a distinguished physiologist, his earliest passion had been to study natural history. He would watch insects on the wing, and distinguish their species by the peculiarities of their flying or settling. Next came a great love for reading; so that the whole of his pocket money went to the booksellers; Greek, Latin, French, English, Italian being all of them familiar to him while still young. When he became an undergraduate at the university of Würzburg, he made up his mind to be a priest; and at the beginning of his career he was assistant-priest in a country village, though he seems to have stayed there only a year. His splendid talents and great learning being already well known, he was made a professor in the seminary of Aschaffenburg; and within a very short period was promoted to a professorship in his always favorite university of Munich. And now began the fixed ways of his long life—ways always studious and tranquil. He rose at five every morning, and worked for about twelve hours a day. For very nearly sixty years he lived in the same town, and for the greater part of the time in the same house. In the summer he usually journeyed to France, Italy, or England, and once he paid a short visit to Ireland. He never permitted himself any idle recreations—his usual summer vacations alone excepted—though he was much attached to the society of his friends.

Yet Dr. Döllinger was a politician, and an earnest one. He represented his university in the Bavarian parliament, and in 1848 took active part in the endeavor to reconstruct the greatly divided Germany. He seems to have headed a laudably combative Catholic party, and to have spoken with great force when it was necessary. On one occasion, when it was objected that the Pope was "the absolute ruler and master of the Church," he said in reply. "If you imagine that there is any room in the Catholic Church for a purely arbitrary power of Pope or bishop, you are greatly mistaken." Some of his friends thought that, had he cultivated public speaking, he would have risen above the ranks as a debater. Yet it seems more likely that as editor of a paper—a position which he held for some years—he was more thoroughly at home than he

was in oratory; his dialectical skill as an "ecclesiastical politician" (a phrase which was applied to him by one of his friends) being best shown in neat, pungent writing.

And now to accompany Dr. Döllinger to Rome. It is thirty years since the cannon of Magenta and Solferino proclaimed the downfall of the Austrian dominion in Italy; an event which was quickly followed by the general concert of the Carbonari, and of the whole of the revolutionary spirits of Italy, who saw their opportunity and tried to seize it. Dr. Döllinger appeared to think that they might be justified. His view, so far as one can trace it in his friends' reports, was that the temporal power was a good thing while it should last, but that, if destroyed, the Pope would do quite as well without it. We may quote his words, however, published in 1861, as throwing light on the state of his mind at that period, for there is a strange interest attaching to "views" upon this subject—the subject of the moral justice of the usurpation. True it is—though we need not now stay to account for it—that many men who have "gone wrong" in regard to faith, have gone wrong antecedently as to the temporal power, as though an obliquity in regard to a point of natural justice opened the door to graver obliquity on spiritual truths. However, Dr. Döllinger may be quoted as writing at least calmly and sincerely: "Let no one lose faith in the Church if the temporal principality of the Papacy should disappear, whether it be for a season or for ever. It is not essence, but accident; not end, but means. It began late; it was formerly something quite different from what it is now. It now justly appears to us to be indispensable, and so long as the existing order lasts in Europe, it must at all cost be maintained; or, if it is virtually interrupted, it must be restored. But it is possible to suppose a condition of Europe in which it would be superfluous, and then it would be only a clogging burden." Dr. Döllinger lived long enough, after the usurpation of the temporal power, to see that no new "condition of Europe" could justify the commission of a great crime.

Yet, though he lived long enough to be often disillusioned, he could never persuade himself to profit by such lessons, in the undoing of the great mistakes of his life. Those mistakes were chiefly two: the entering into polemical conflict with the Pontiff, and the refusing to accept the Vatican dogma. Unlike his great friend, Montalembert, he allowed a sort of *odium theologicum* to embitter his inner life and natural heart. His position, intellectually, became ridiculous. Recognizing some sort of moral authority in the Holy See—so far even as to obey it after his own fall—he at the same time refused to be taught the truth by that authority from which alone he had declared all dogma to proceed. More than

this, he refused to accept the Vatican dogma, although it had been approved by a Conciliar majority which, as a historian, he knew to be unprecedented. So that he really threw overboard both the Conciliar decision and the decision of the Sovereign Pontiff; and this too on a subject of which he had said twenty-six years previously: "Any one who should maintain the contrary" (of Infallibility) "would put himself in opposition to the conscience of the whole Church, in the present as in the past." Such a new position was therefore ridiculous. It was not only untenable, it was ridiculous. And the whole Catholic world viewed it in that light. The very men who *did* follow Dr. Döllinger into the desert of a formal excommunication, were men who by their feebleness, their nobodiness, proved the hopelessness of getting a respectable following. The sympathizers from other sects were simply grotesque; a dozen or two of heretics who would not agree about anything, save that the Pope was "heretical and schismatical." We can well imagine the playful scorn which Dr. Döllinger must have inwardly felt for his new-found friends in the bitterness of his exile, friends of whom he had written, in "The Church and the Churches," "they are involved in contradictions and disingenuousness, and can only escape the painful consciousness of it by sophistical reasoning." Some of the minor features of the painful comedy of his new position must also have humiliated, if they amused him. At Cologne—where he had to listen to the comical resolution, "No excommunication or suspension on the ground of refusal to accept the Vatican decree shall be valid," he must have met the bridegroom, Père Hyacinthe, who was said at the time (by the English newspapers) to have had his bride with him at a hotel during the Congress. Père Hyacinthe was not asked to address the Congress, probably from a sense of humor which, even in new Old Catholics, could not brook such a broad jest as that. But Dean Stanley, who had been Père Hyacinthe's "best man," was asked to address the Congress, and addressed it; though he discreetly avoided alluding to his married friend, or to the lady who was stopping at the hotel. (Pius the Ninth said, when he heard of this Old Catholic marriage, "Divine Providence has His own way of punishing people.") Comedy, or rather farce, was the entire movement. And yet it was with such a shockingly vain folly that the grave and the really venerable Dr. Döllinger had to unite himself, mind, heart and soul. He could not do it. Dr. Döllinger was then seventy-one years old. He had spent his life in deep research and in perfect probity. He might condemn himself for his next nineteen years to fellowship with sectarians, but he could never feel at home with them—nor with his new self.

Only sixty-two Old Catholic priests are now to be found in

Germany; and it seems likely that within another twenty years the sect will have reached its irreducible minimum, not only in regard to priests, but also laity. The "great man" is gone, whose "commanding personality" (in the language of the London *Saturday Review*) gave the sect a consideration not its own. And yet it is a melancholy fact that even the lesson *he* has left—a grave lesson because he was a grave man—has borne no fruit in the minds of most Protestants. Thus, the before-named *Saturday Review*, when speaking of his death, used these curiously inappropriate words: "He bore unflinchingly the sentence which drove him out of the Church. . . . From the bitterness of the present he kept his eye fixed on that future from which he knew, however distant the date, the vindication of his Catholicity must come." The same "criticism" might have been passed on every heretic from the days of Cerinthus to those of Döllinger. No heretic, no schismatic, has ever troubled the Church except on the pretext that *his* orthodoxy was the Old Catholicism, while the teaching of the Church was a new doctrine. How else should a man justify his rebellion? It is quite certain that what is new must be false; it is quite certain that definitions, if didactic of what is new, must be opposed to the unchangeable Christian truth. Catholics and Protestants must be agreed upon that point. The curious thing with Protestants—Old Protestants or New Protestants—is, that they insist on regarding themselves as infallible, while they attribute fallibility to Authority. Popes may err, Councils may believe untruths, but Doctor this or Professor that is an *ecclesia docens*, who is preserved by the Divine Wisdom from thinking wrongly. Indeed, the grand distinction between Catholicity and Protestantism is that, whereas in Catholicity there is only one Pope, in Protestantism there are as many popes as there are Protestants. "There is no infallibility," shrieks the heretic, "though I am myself personally infallible to decide *that* point. Indeed, *my* infallibility is the alone postulate. For, if I am *not* infallible, then it follows that it is impossible for any Christian in the world to know the truth: to affirm which, is to affirm that to believe the truth or to believe error is, intellectually and spiritually, of equal virtue. Ergo, if Christianity is to stand at all, it can only stand on the ground of *my* infallibility; and as to the other gentlemen who agree with me as to their own infallibility, though they pronounce me to be wrong in my divine teaching, well, let me hope that they are in good faith—that is, if there be any good faith where infallibility itself is a roving quantity."

This infallibility of the fallible being a Protestant dogma, and the fallibility of the infallible a sort of corollary, we must be always prepared for the most extravagant admiration of anybody who

typically illustrates such truisms. And, curiously, the very cleverest and even most ingenuous Protestants will sometimes worship the Great Inconsistents. Thus Mr. Gladstone, like the *Saturday Review*, is a great admirer of the schismatical attitude of Dr. Döllinger. "He is to be honored with reverence and love, because in him the spirit of self was down-trodden and extinct, that he might live a larger life; and because pursuing truth as he best could see it, in the spirit of courage and of peace, he united in his aims the things most precious to mankind, and set one more great example for the generations to come." So that "the spirit of self is down-trodden and extinct" only when we oppose our opinions to Divine authority; the "spirit of peace" is in the sowing of discord and divisions; and "the one more great example for the generations to come" is in the one more act of overt rebellion against the Church, and in the one more effort to give scandal by the worship of Number One, and by the supreme contempt for the Living Voice of the Holy Spirit. We, of course, entertain the most profound respect for the political grandeur and the personal eminence of Mr. Gladstone, and we only wish that his fatal "twist" in the single province of heresy did not lead him to write what is simply nonsense.

The "one more great example" having retired from this world, we should like to know how many more great examples will be required before non-Catholics will be induced to open their eyes. The simple question which was proposed to the Vatican Council, perhaps as simple a question as could be proposed to any Council, or indeed as simple a question as could be proposed to the human mind—was: Is the head of the Christian Church preserved from teaching falsehood, when he teaches what must be believed unto salvation? It was manifest that no side-question could enter into the subject, such as: Are general councils, *with* the Pope, preserved from error? because the question of Conciliar majorities would have first to be decided; and it would need infallibility to decide that question. Some Councils have been nearly unanimous; some have been widely divergent; some have been approved as authoritative by the Pope, and some have been disapproved as irregular. There could be no possibility of settling Conciliar authority, except with the aid of infallibility; and it was this very question of infallibility (with whom does it rest?) which the Vatican Council was summoned to consider. As it happened, all the bishops in the Council, three only excepted (and the Council was the largest of all general Councils), were of the same opinion as was Dr. Döllinger when he was seventy-one years of age, that "it was acknowledged (in the third and fourth centuries) to be the prerogative of the first See in the Christian world that the Bishop of Rome could

be judged by no man. It was a thing unheard of that the head of the Church should be placed in judgment before his own subjects. He who was not in communion with the Bishop of Rome was not truly in the Catholic Church." The Council, being of this opinion, had only to refer the main question to the decision of the acknowledged head of the Church. Had the Pope disagreed with the majority, the decisions of the majority would have gone for nothing. Infallibility did not rest with the majority, nor did any bishop in the Council suppose it did. Infallibility rested only with the head. And now suppose, for the sake of testing the Protestant error, that the Pope had taught that Popes were not infallible; in other words, that the Popes, when teaching what is the truth (solely, of course, as to the doctrines necessary to salvation), could be permitted by the Holy Spirit, or had been permitted by the Holy Spirit, to teach lies as being the divine truths of Christianity. What must have been the consequence of that decision? First, there would have been an end of divine faith; since it would have been an absolute impossibility for the human intellect to have divine faith in what was pronounced to be only human conjecture. The Pope not being infallible, and all Councils being divided, the Pope could never have authorized the decision of any Council, and no Council could have taught the Pope what to believe. The head, like the body, being fallible, the whole Church would have tumbled down into fallibility. Away would go the teaching, divine Church. Away would go the primary idea of a revelation; which is not a revelation of freedom for human opinion, but of obligation to believe only what is divine. The "no" of the Vatican Council would have meant: "The body is not infallible; the head is not infallible; the whole Church is without divine voice or guidance; so believe what you like; create and follow your own doctrines; and let your Christianity be *L'Église, c'est moi!*" What, then, would have been left to the Christian intellect—assuming that any intellect could be called Christian? It would still, indeed, have been possible to believe in the *fact* of a life of Christ; but since it would have been impossible to believe in the divine authority of the Church, there could be no divine authority for her doctrines. The only authority would have been private judgment, private opinion; the private interpretation of certain scriptures privately approved, with the private estimate of certain patristic views or statements. In short, Christianity would have been asserted by the Supreme Pontiff to be Protestantism *minus* its Catholic aids; a mere bundle of human opinions, tied together by pious sentiment, resting on the presumed fact of the life of Christ, and on the presumed accuracy of the Four Gospels in regard to it. Private judgment would have been enthroned as Pontiff by the Pontiff. Heresy would have been pro-

nounced by him to be an imaginary sin, a mental state that could not exist in point of fact, since no man can be disobedient to his own opinion. Schism would have been declared by him to be the most honorable separation of every man's own religion from that of his neighbor. Error would have been the differing from one's own impressions. Authority would have been the commanding of ourselves to obey ourselves. Disobedience would have been unfaithfulness to our own conceits. And so on, through the category of Christian virtues. Yet in picturing all these absurdities we should be simply describing what Protestantism *would be*, were it not happily saved from itself by Catholic teaching. Protestantism, *per se*, is pure egotism. Left to itself it is only speculative negativeness, tempered by the personal sentiment of Christian piety. But, most happily, the traditions which have come down to it from the Catholic Church, *plus* the living teaching of the Catholic Church before its eyes, enable it to live above its own fallacies, and to try to unite the two extremes, faith and heresy.

So that we may ask of the *Saturday Review*, and of Mr. Gladstone: Why should you be sorry that the Vatican Council decided that there is truth; and that all Christians can know infallibly what it is? Why should you be sorry that there never can be (and never was) Catholic dispute as to the final authority of any Council, Catholic doubt as to its teaching truth or teaching falsehood? Why should you be sorry that divine faith is *not* human opinion? that bitter controversy, sectarianism, schism, deadly hatreds, are removed out of the path of the obedient Christian, who has quite enough to do in trying to save his own soul, without being his own Council, his own Pontiff—we might almost say his own Divine wisdom—in inventing and creating his own creed? Or, conversely, why should you be glad that Dr. Döllinger set the example of stultifying the teachings of his own long life, of preaching self-opinion in matters of divine faith, whereas he *had* preached the duty of obedience? Why should you be glad that a grand and noble historian, who had devoted his labors to proving the truth of Roman Catholicity, should have died excommunicated, unrepentant, unhappy; “his funeral obsequies being performed by Prof. Friedrich, assisted by the Greek archimandrite and some English clergy?” The picture is not edifying nor lovable. We would rather have read that Dr. Döllinger had sought his peace in his last hours by asking to be reconciled with God's Vicar, whose office, whose authority, whose supreme power he had passed some fifty years in supremely honoring. What is there in the bewitchment of this arrogance, of this revolt against the instinct of obedience, which so intoxicates the intellect, the heart and soul of most Protestants that it makes them fall down

and adore the god heresy? Curious "twist" of many otherwise admirable souls! Mr. Gladstone would think a man insane who should approve such a political resolution as "no ostracism inflicted by English society, and no punishment inflicted by English magistrates, shall be accounted valid by the new, perfectly independent democrat." Yet he applauds the jest—the grim "spiritual" jest—of Dr. Döllinger approving the "resolution" that persons who have been excommunicated by the Catholic Church are not only not excommunicated, but have become the Church; the late Church, which was the Catholic Roman Church, having been deposed by the new Protestants of Cologne, for having dared to use its authority against *them*. Was it not St. Gregory Narianzen who said: "Suffer me to be merry on a merry subject," when he was twitting some "Old Catholics" of his own day? The comedy of heresy was always the same; rendered the more broad by the fact of its pretensions being not only human, but divine. Its inconsistency is the soul of its comedy. Statesmen, who look upon disloyalty as a capital crime, advocate disloyalty to the Holy See. Literary critics, who make sport of human pretensions, fall down in homage at the feet of a sectarian who prefers his own wisdom to the Catholic Church's. Men who have no particular belief in any religion, but sit lightly to even the fact of the Christian Redemption, are filled with applause for a man who has left the Church, though he cannot precisely tell us what he does believe; while at the same time they are shocked by the consistency of the Holy See, which simply says to those who want to be their own Pontiffs, "there is room only for one pontiff in the Christian Church." The indignation of the Protestants at the positive faith of any Catholic is in the proportion of their own doubtingness or negation; while their approval of the disobedience of any heretic is in the proportion of their own love for self-pleasing. Now all this may be human nature, speaking morally, but it is not "scientific" intellectually. Mr. Gladstone, with his superb energy of intelligence, knows, intellectually, that if human things require judgment, divine things require infallibility; he knows intellectually that the wisdom of the Holy Spirit is impossible to the apprehension of the natural man, and he knows, intellectually, that, Divine Truth being One, any lie as to a Christian Doctrine must be diabolical. Knowing this, he should not talk about the "great example" of an aged Christian falling down and worshipping his own conceits, and trying to add one more new church to the thousand Protestant churches which have already ridiculed the Divine Unity of the Divine Mind.

Englishmen who remember the assembling of the Vatican Council, and who watched its progress from beginning to end (though,

in truth, it was not ended, but only stopped, by the political impediments thrown in its way), will also remember the tone of the English press in regard to its objects and deliberations. The assumption was that the Vatican Council was originated by the Jesuits for the purpose of imposing a new dogma, Infallibility, on the unwilling consciences of the Catholic world. This being taken for granted, it was next necessary to demonstrate that the Council was "not free in its deliberations"; the few dissentients who dared to speak their minds being nobly contrasted with the scores who dared not do so. Finally, when the Pope promulgated the dogma, the vast majority of the Council were called timorous, and the few dissentients or inopportunities were praised to the skies—until *they* also gave an example of obedience. The English press, being disappointed by this "weak" submission to authority, was driven to seek consolation outside the Council, and the outbreak of a little schism in Germany caused it unspeakable rejoicing. This "attitude" of the press was warmly encouraged by English bishops, by English clergy of even advanced High Church views; in short, the "attitude" of half England meant: "Thank God for another schism, for another, though extremely stale, Protestant heresy." Dr. Döllinger became the hero of all free-thinkers. Let us say our last word of the departed hero, in a hopeful spirit that the utter fiasco of his "great example" may lead *another* generation to profit by it. For the present generation there seems to be little hope; yet, perhaps the reason is, that the experiment of High Churchism has not been fully wrought out to its bitter end. High Churchism is only forty years old, and Ritualism is little more than twenty; and this is true in all parts of the Protestant world, in free America and in tradition-hampered England. Many Protestants are still deceiving themselves with the idea—it is not an expectation but an idea—that the watchwords of the New Catholicism within High Churchism may take substance as an actual possession of Catholic heritage; that even "Rome" may come to be respectful to that "idea of corporate re-union" which is based on pious sentiment, *minus* obedience. True, such persons do not consider the difference between submission and an exceedingly amiable invitation to agree with *them*; yet, at least, they admire unity in the abstract, and they may possibly—or, what is more likely, their children, "the next generation," may, possibly—come to confess the truth, that "submission" and "invitation" are quite opposed in point of will, if not of sentiment. The present generation seems still tentative. Speculation, not decision, is its mood. And, unhappily, a large section of the Ritualists have taken to abusing the very Church they desire to imitate—the Catholic Church, with which they "pray for corporate re-union."

Poor Dr. Littledale, who died just after Dr. Döllinger, was one of those who was too impatient to only "pray"; he found the delay so very painful to his aspirations that he took to reviling the whole fabric of the Catholic Church, its history, councils, orders, even its clergy. He was the most intensely Protestant Anglican of the present age. Now he is gone, perhaps his admirers may come to think—what the admirers of Dr. Döllinger may also think—that the spirit of protest against authority is no more religion, is no more Christianity, than is the spirit of protest against morality. High Churchism has now arrived at this point in its demonstration, that it is proved to be only able to exist as a theory on the postulate of the corruption of the Catholic Church, and this postulate must make "corporate re-union" most undesirable, even if it does not make it anti-Christian. Men do not want to be united with teachers of error; so, "Rome" teaching error, the whole ground of "corporate re-union" is taken away from the Dr. Littledales and the Dr. Döllingers. The present generation of Ritualists, or High Churchmen, have worked out the "re-union" problem to this point: that (1) re-union being desirable, but (2) re-union being impossible on account of the corruption of the Catholic Church, (3) there is nothing left but either to submit or to revile. Now, reviling has gone on for three centuries. So that High Churchism must either profess itself to be the infallible teacher of the Catholic Church, or must abandon its claims to be a Church at all. It cannot both teach the Church and *not* be infallible, for this were to say that one fallible has the power to teach another fallible what is, infallibly, the whole divine truth; or else it is to say that the personal enlightenment of High Churchmen is as a sun compared with the candle of Catholic brains. Was there ever such a muddle in a muddled mind? And the hope is that the coming generation, having inherited the practical proofs of the absurdity, having digested all the theories, and witnessed all their results, and been made aware of the miserable end of the Döllingers and the Littledales, and all the strivers against logic and against common sense, will first treat themselves to a manly laugh at the comic side of the absurdity, and then address themselves to their spiritual obligations. If Dr. Döllinger's fiasco should help on this happy solution, he will have done something, unwittingly, for his brother-Protestants. Even Dr. Littledale will have helped to shiver to atoms the delusion that there can be corporate re-union with a wicked Church. At least, we may say that, if such men do not prove the truth, they help to prove the absurdity of false positions, and this is something in an age of false positions. "Good old Protestantism" seemed to be almost honest in its wild theory that there is no Church, and there are no doctrines, save

what every man chooses to invent for his satisfaction out of his private interpretation of the Four Gospels and the Epistles. Here we had a grand, sweeping hypothesis, which got rid at one blow of all Councils, all dogmas, all pontiffs, all authority, all obedience. It was almost magnificent in its demolition. Christianity was clean gone—bar sentiment. But the modern theories for trying to combine exact opposites have only intensified the spirit of "rank" Protestantism, in the fact that they have *included* Pontiffs, Councils and dogmas, with all authority, sacraments and also discipline, within the area of every man's private judgment.

WHEN BRIGHAM YOUNG WAS KING.

I.

IT is about twenty-four years, so far as we can ascertain, since the first Mass was said in Salt Lake City. The celebrant was Rev. E. Kelly. The place was an old adobe building on the site of the present church. The Mormon capital was then under the spiritual jurisdiction of Right Rev. Eugene O'Connell, Bishop of Grass Valley, California. In December, 1866, Father Foley became second resident-pastor. Utah passed from Bishop O'Connell to Bishop Machebœuf, and from him to Archbishop Alemany, who, in January, 1871, appointed Rev. P. Walsh pastor. Father Walsh built the present church, which was dedicated November 26, 1871, under the patronage of St. Mary Magdalen. It is situated on the west side of East Second street, about 200 feet north of the northwest corner, and is 34 by 60 feet, exclusive of the sanctuary. The basement is built of stone, the rest of brick. The style is said to be Gothic, but it did not strike the writer as distinctively such. It has a very clean, neat appearance, but is rather small for the congregation. Sometimes it is called in the holy city "The Little Church around the Corner."

In August, 1873, Father Scanlan succeeded Father Walsh, and thirteen years later became Vicar Apostolic of Utah. All Hallows College, St. Mary's Academy, St. Joseph's School for small boys, convents and schools at Ogden, Park City, Silver Reef, and three hospitals, are but a few of the good works set on foot by this zealous prelate. Catholics in Utah have increased a hundred

per cent during the last ten years. In no other part of America have they had such a struggle for existence. They came at the risk of their lives. Not open warfare, as in parts of New England, was to be dreaded as much as secret assassination, taught and justified under the name of "blood atonement" by the Latter-Day Saints, who, as avenging angels, sometimes destroyed members of their own body through love, to procure them a more certain admission to the Mormon heaven, and were always ready, when so directed, to destroy the intruding Gentile through hatred. The priests were threatened and circumvented in every possible way. But Father Kelly averted serious consequences by a bold stroke of policy; he put himself under the protection of the arch-conspirator, Governor Young himself, and caused it to be generally understood that, if he were made away with by the belligerent Indians,—always convenient scape-goats for Mormon atrocities,—he had friends in high places who, like the twenty thousand Cornish men of the ballad, "should know the reason why."

Poorer and meaner, then, in a worldly sense, than the beginnings of the Church in the Cenacle, in the upper chamber, or on the morning of Pentecost, were the beginnings of the Church in Utah—a handful of miners, smelters, stokers, besmeared and begrimed, led by apostolic men, whose garments were poorer than the coarse raiment of their disciples, who felt the pinching of hunger, and whose privations gave additional zest to their cheerfulness. But "Jesus stood in the midst of them," and Mary was their shield. And so, having nothing, they possessed all things.

II.

Before the opening of the railroad, few,¹ besides the saints, found their way to Salt Lake City. Occasionally, some trappers and traders, a Mexican caravan, or a band of Indians fresh from the war-path, stood without the walls begging admission; but as a rule the inmates were little disturbed by pilgrims from the outer world. The soldiers and the railways made it comparatively safe to enter the Mormon capital; the Gentiles began to come, and not a few of them came to stay in Zion.

About twenty years ago Right Rev. James O'Gorman, Vicar

¹ Gold-seekers and other emigrants, going by land to California, sometimes visited Utah, not always a safe proceeding, as the Mountain Meadows' massacre showed. But this terrible blot on his memory King Brigham desired should be forgotten. The cairn,—who would expect to find a Celtic cairn in Utah?—the stone on which was engraved, "Here one hundred men, women and children, from Arkansas, were massacred in cold blood, early in September, 1857," and the red cedar cross, with the words, "Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord," were all destroyed by order of Brigham. When the massacre of these emigrants took place, Young was Governor of Utah, Commander-in-Chief of the Militia, and Indian Agent.

Apostolic of Nebraska, sent two religieuses of his vicariate to the western portion of the continent on some business connected with the good of religion, and it was arranged that their itinerary should include Salt Lake City. At that period, and indeed until his death in 1877, Brigham Young was *de facto* king of Utah, and had been privately anointed as king in an early period of his despotism. Immigrants had come in myriads. Before 1853 fifteen thousand had found their way to the region of the blest. The saints were in a chronic state of oriental prostration before the terrible Mokanna, some of whose sons and daughters assumed superiority over their fellow-citizens, as being of the "blood-royal" of King Brigham.

The religieuses reached the holy city in June, and never could they forget the beautiful appearance it presented as they moved towards it. In form it seemed semi-circular. Beyond it, lying, as one might say, at its feet, was the vast sheet of water known as the Great Salt Lake. On almost every side, sheltered by the Oquirrh and the Wasatch ranges, its rich lawns and fragrant meadows contrasted charmingly with the bleak hills and alkali deserts in its vicinity. Travellers arriving in early summer, when the place looks its best, were wont to call it the "Pink City," from the thousands of peach-trees scattered in every direction, whose limbs and branches were covered with the beautiful pink blossoms of that luscious fruit.

Their descent into Zion rather drove away the illusion as to its extraordinary beauty. The streets were over one hundred and thirty feet wide, and seemed wider because many of the dwellings were set far back from the sidewalks. Being unpaved, as they are still, they were seas of mud, or saharas of stifling dust, according as rain or sunshine prevailed. On either side were artificial brook-lets, in which water from the mountain streams sparkled in the sun, and from which the gardens were watered by means of a hose, for rain seldom falls in the sacred city. The houses were mostly low, one or two stories, and each had peach and apple-trees in front, and in the rear, currant and gooseberry-bushes, with some kitchen vegetables. Around them were hideous walls of mud and adobes, and the gates at the entrance were prison-like. Indeed, a great part of the town was surrounded by a wall, never finished, of which little remains save some weed-grown mounds. It has crumbled away, as will, also, the fanaticism it was erected to protect. At one place there were several rows of low huts, connected by boards. A lady asked a boy: "Whose house is that?" pointing to one of them. "My father's," was the reply. "And the next?" "My father's." "And the next?" "My father's." "Why, your father seems to own them all?" "No, only five; my mother

lives in the first, and my four aunts in the others." Plural consorts in Utah were called aunts, and were regarded as intruders by the real wife and her progeny.

The visitors were soon in the heart of the shabby little town. It was a bright day in leafy June, and the cloudless sky, the balmy air, the mountains towering above the city on every side, "seemed to proclaim," wrote one of them, "Great is the Lord, and holy is His name." In Salt Lake City there is a peculiar optical illusion as to distances, owing to the extreme clearness of the air. "How far off do you think that mountain is?" asked a friend of one of the *religieuses*. "I should say, about half a mile," was the reply. It was twenty-five miles distant.

III.

Never was town or city "boomed" or puffed into fictitious renown like the Mormon capital. At this epoch it was really only a mean, straggling little collection of huts, houses, and dugouts, and so it would be still were it not for the incoming of the hated Gentile. Its site, on the "alluvial cone" of City Creek, was in what its projectors styled the Jordan Valley. No lack of ground room here; it was divided into ten-acre squares, each square into eight lots, which were afterwards divided and subdivided. To walk around one of these blocks is to walk half a mile. Except the area, and the heads of some of the saints, almost everything about the concern was small—small houses, small gardens, small schools, if any. Even the migrations and Mormon wars were small affairs. In fact, there were not saints enough in the territory they loved to call "the State of Deseret" to make a decent strike or riot in a third-rate city. Mormonism was then what it is now, a mere local nuisance. As long as it remained pent up among the mountains and hidden from the rest of the world, it might, perhaps, live. But it could never keep its head aloft before the cloud of witnesses which the railroad poured in, or coexist with daily Gentile intercourse, unless reinforced at intervals from foreign shores. Yet the poor creatures, who formed the rank and file, were daily told it was their destiny to bring the nations of the earth under their heel; that they were the chosen people who would rule Babylon from the high places, and that they would long since have taken possession of the earth had not iniquity abounded and the charity of many waxed cold.

Passing a street full of stores, built of sun-dried brick, Temple Block, once the centre of the city, was reached. It is on a square of ten acres, surrounded by a high wall which has several gates. Within the enclosure are the unfinished Temple and the huge, ugly, turtle-shaped Tabernacle. The dreariness of the scene is

enlivened by green growing things on every side, especially young trees planted in straight rows across the big blocks. The pretty houses nestling among orchards and gardens belong chiefly to the Apostles and the lesser lights of Mormonism. The best are owned by the "Prophet, Seer, and Revelator," Brigham. The Lion House, on the northern side, where most of his consorts live, has a large lion sculptured on the portico, "resting, but watchful," a delicate compliment to the owner, who styles himself "the Lion of the Lord." The house is rather picturesque, with pointed gables and narrow dormer windows projecting from the steep roof. It was half embowered in trees and climbing plants, for the Prophet, who had the best of everything, had the finest gardens between the Missouri and his dwelling. A row of offices connects this with his official mansion, the famous Beehive House, a large white building balconied to the roof, with an observatory on the top. Its chief ornament is a huge gilt beehive, the beehive being the symbol of industry in the Home of the Faithful. Near these buildings were the storehouses for the tithing levied on all; to this day one may see people bringing offerings to the tithing-house. Behind his houses were corrals and stables for his flocks and herds. Temple Block and the Prophet's Block were walled in like forts; the sameness of the fortifications was broken by bulging bastions. Before the tithing stores the wall still stands as it did when Brigham Young was king; in other parts it has crumbled away or been replaced by less unsightly fences.

The temple was going up slowly. Before the railroad era, the pale granite used in its construction was brought in as required in bullock teams. It was ominous that Mr. Ward, who designed it, and who sculptured the lions couchant over the Lion House, seceded from the religion of the saints, and became, as Brigham said, a vile apostate. More than a quarter of a century has passed since that untoward event startled the denizens of the holy city, and the massive temple is still unfinished. Defections have always been common among those who could get away. Hence the oft repeated counsel to the saints in other lands "to flee to Zion," and seek rest "in the chambers of the Lord in the mountains," to replace the backsliders.

In the Endowment House, near Temple Block, are administered the secret ordinances of Mormonism. Other official buildings may be seen from the balconies of the Mormon pontiff, but none very imposing. The log-cabins of early days have almost entirely disappeared. Adobe cottages are scattered over the sloping ground, some in picturesque situations on the borders of streams, in the midst of smiling meadows, or crowning grassy knolls. Wings were often added to the original huts, and these dismal *succursales*

were appropriated to "plural" consorts. Specimens of primitive abodes, with roofs slanting inwards and board windows, still remain. The Three-Wife House, a long, low, one-story building, was pointed out as a sample of the best structures of the royal epoch. It is only from an elevation these places could be traced, as they were pent up behind hideous ramparts of mud and cobble-stones. Some dwellings stood back among clumps of trees, giving no sign of the life that was in them, save the inarticulate noises of bawling babies. Much of the squalor, degradation, and misery of this oasis in the desert was gracefully draped by the umbrageous trees and luxuriant climbing plants of the summer season.

IV.

Camp Douglas is said to cover the first spot in Utah claimed in the name of the United States. It was a capital offence to entertain a soldier; "no soldier shall sleep one night in Salt Lake City," the Mormons constantly protested. One evening, so some old residents say, Colonel O'Connor, U. S. A., with two or three comrades, came into the city unarmed. The great Brigham at once heard of the intrusion. "Are they armed?" he asked; being told they were not, he said, magnanimously: "Let them come; their intentions are peaceable, or they would not have come hither without arms." Soon after, the stars and stripes were planted at the camp, to float over a place which heretofore defied every king, emperor and president on earth, and acknowledged only the terrible Brigham. But the saints had no welcome for the star-spangled banner.¹ More than once has it been insulted in Utah; perhaps the only place on earth where it has been trailed in the dust, and set at half-mast on the Fourth of July.

The religeuses were guests of two Irish ladies whom they had known at Omaha. They stayed at the Townsend House, the best hotel in the place. A little before, there were no hotels. Gentiles were not encouraged to come in; the few who came boarded in Mormon families, who regarded them as heathens, and never allowed them to know anything of their domestic concerns. But the railroads brought so many Gentiles that lodging-houses became a necessity. One of the hostesses, Mrs. McClosky, described herself as grand-niece of John Philpot Curran. Her husband kept the largest livery stables in the city. The other, Mrs. Williams, was a convert to the faith. The proprietors of the inns

¹ The Mormons were taught that they owed no allegiance to the government at Washington. Though never as numerous as the population of a tenth-rate city in the United States, they swore to revenge on this nation the blood of Joe Smith, and bring all the countries of the earth into subjection to the saints. They were constantly threatening to unsheath the sword of the Almighty, not only in word but in deed.

were Mormons; the work was done and the guests were waited on by their so-called wives, the only domestic servants among the saints. The worst physical inconveniences of this heavenly Jerusalem were fleas and sand-flies, which all but assassinated new-comers. They are felt even now, despite the wire screens that barricade doors and windows.

In those days, which already seem so distant, it was deemed only right and proper that Gentile visitors should pay their respects at Camp Douglas, as an earnest of their sympathy with the United States, heretofore considered in Utah as a weak, heathenish, foreign power, destined to bite the dust, and one day beg for bread and quarter at the gates of the saints. The President had foolishly tried, with scarcely a shadow of success, to usurp the mitre of the Mormon Mikado. At no time has loyalty to the Washington government been a feature of the patriotism of the Utah hierarchy. The ladies brought their guests in a carriage up the winding road of some five miles. One of the latter wrote to a friend: "I assure you it gave us indescribable pleasure to see the United States flag waving aloft once more. It was like meeting an old friend. We had not seen it since we left Nebraska." When the carriage stopped at the top of the circuitous path that led to the fort, the party was cordially welcomed, and received with great courtesy, by Colonel Murrow, then in command, with whom the religieuses were already acquainted. The extreme beauty of the scene from the pink city in the valley to the vague blue of the distant mountain range was not unappreciated by the group. After some commonplace talk about the capital and its approaches, the colonel spoke of the horrid fanaticism that desecrated a spot to which nature had been so bountiful. He was an Episcopalian, but he "loved the Pope better than any other ecclesiastic, and hoped His Holiness would come to the United States if Victor Emmanuel should presume to treat him badly."

If it was necessary to call at Fort Douglas, it was still more essential that all birds of passage should alight at the Beehive. The colonel offered to escort the religieuses to the official residence of the potentate at whose nod so many thousands trembled. Their hostesses deemed it risky for them to go unattended. But after studying the matter in all its bearings, it seemed that such attendance, on the part of a military man,¹ might not be pleasing to the powerful magnate whom all were eager to propitiate. The most affectionate feelings that ever prevailed between the controlling powers of the Mormon church and the United States officials

¹ The United States officials did all they could to propitiate the Mormons, and overlooked much provocation given them by people who were always wanting to pose as martyrs or victims.

might be described by the words "armed neutrality." "You are perfectly safe," said the colonel, "in going without the escort I should feel honored to give you. You will be graciously received on your own account. But be not surprised if the Prophet¹ does not remove his hat in your presence. Many royal princes, and other high dignitaries from Europe and elsewhere, have called on him, but he has never uncovered his head to any of them." Brigham often declared, with characteristic modesty, that he was second to no man living, and would doff the hat to none.

The party descended from the fort and drove past Temple Block and the thoroughfare now known as Brigham street, thinking of the meeting to take place the following day, from which the religieuses recoiled. The Lion House and the Beehive House were in their route, giving no sign of their seventy or eighty inmates. Half hidden in their pale green shrubbery, they looked calm and lovely sleeping in the noonday sunshine. But their beauty was that of a convict ship on the southern seas, and the gleaming whiteness of their walls was as the whiteness of sepulchres, which hides all manner of corruption.

V.

Next day, at the hour appointed for the audience, the two religieuses presented themselves at the Beehive, the official residence of Governor Young. They were received at the porch by some apostles, and ushered into a spacious reception room, at one end of which was a platform about one foot high and twelve feet deep. On this were thirteen seats, arranged in a semicircle; the centre seat was a sort of throne for Brigham; the six on either side were for his chief bishops. Dozens of cane and walnut chairs were placed in close rows down the sides of the room. The floor was of oak and walnut in alternate strips. The walls were decorated with pictures, very poor specimens of art, of the great personages of a sect in which all proclaim themselves saints. The visitors were escorted to chairs about midway down from the platform, which was occupied by Brigham, and the elders on each side in sixes. When the ladies appeared he and the others arose. To their great astonishment, the Czar of all the Mormons uncovered his head. He then made a deep salaam and moved towards them.

Brigham was then in his seventy-first year, but looked more like a well-preserved man of fifty. He was among the few who improve in appearance as they grow older. As "a sharer in the adversity of his people, their companion and friend," there was

¹ King Brigham was frequently called "The Prophet," though as a rule his forecasting was very unfortunate, and his prophecies never verified.

nothing to distinguish him; he was simple in taste and habits, and dressed in homespun. But later he became fashionable. At all times there was something remarkable in his foot-gear. Sometimes his feet were encased in moccasins, sometimes in embroidered slippers; on this occasion, they were hidden in shining French boots of the latest fashion. He had had a season of dudishness; he could use the curling-tongs, and was even seen with his hair in papers; artificial curls should have killed him as a prophet; but, no. It was said, he was quite vain of his small, well-formed extremities, which attracted more attention than his head, save when his favorite consort curled his hair. The gray frieze and red scarf of former days were discarded; he appeared in a suit of fine broad-cloth of the newest cut, looking like an English yeoman in Sunday clothes. He seemed to have lost the bluster and swagger of other days, and acquired some of the ease and graciousness we associate with a gentleman. With his intimate associates, however, he was as coarse and arrogant as ever. The self-restraint he practised before Gentiles was creditable, and hid his worst points. He looked nearly six feet high, rather stout, and had a kindly though fox-like expression, and a habit of glancing furtively at his guests, which many felt embarrassing.

On seeing him approach, the religieuses stood up to await him. Making another bow, he shook hands with them very warmly, begged them to be seated, and said effusively: "Ladies, you are the first of your high calling that ever came among us. Need I say you are most heartily welcome? I hope you have come to stay and teach our children."

Now, we regret to say that Brigham's thoughts and words did not agree when he spoke thus. Being himself uncultured, he considered education rather in the way for his followers, and preached only the gospel of work. Until forced by the presence of Gentiles, he would scarcely allow schools at all. To desire education was to be "Gentilish." To sew, weave, work in the garden, cook, be smart in the dairy, he considered education enough. Books would puff up, and make the readers despise their fathers and husbands. So far as he could achieve it, education was neglected or despised. To wish for it was to seek the flesh-pots of Egypt, and prove that the leaven of the gospel had not yet fully worked in the heart. It was commonly said of Orson Pratt, the best scholar in the sect, that he would apostatize: "His learning will lift him up till he topples over." It was said that Brigham himself never read a book through; he studied men and things. When the subject of a grammar-school was discussed, in very ungrammatical language the elders agreed that, if grammar is truth, "the sperit will lead

us jest into it a kinder nateral like, and if it aint, I aint a gwine to bother my brains and pay my money about it."

With obsequious politeness, Brigham inquired what mission of mercy had brought them to his city, and expressed a willingness to share in their good works. He graciously asked about the several institutions in which they were interested, their rules and duties, and expatiated on his own benevolent projects. They mentioned a plan on foot for the erection of a Catholic church in his city, at which he professed to be pleased and surprised. He besought them to go among his people, who would receive them well and be proud to aid them. They mentioned that a priest would make a collection in the ensuing week for the new church, and "his people" would then have an opportunity of showing their generosity. A church was greatly needed for Catholic settlers and the many Catholics that sojourned at Salt Lake City, *en route* for the Pacific slope—all of which he knew better than themselves.

There were then about sixty Gentile families in the city, most of whom had come in after the entrance of the soldiers.

Brigham had a pleasing countenance at times, but not a strong one. He assumed great dignity, so much so that "we thought it out of place," wrote the elder religieuse. He had poor conversational powers, lectured rather than conversed, and required his visitors to be good listeners. He did the talking, in the form of harangue, rhapsody, or simple narrative. On this occasion he took his guests quite into his confidence, spoke of his woes, not domestic, but political, of the Mormon problem,—there was no problem in his eyes. Like President Davis in the days of the Confederacy, he wanted only to be let alone. As though he were a sovereign prince in the time when the divine right of kings was admitted, he always spoke of the dwellers in Utah as "my people." He told of their adventures from the time they poured through the Emigration Cañon until the recent attempt of the Washington government to disturb them. He was maligned, persecuted, threatened. It was wicked to report that people could not come and go, without let or hindrance, or that justice would not be done to Gentiles in Utah, where the judges and juries were all saints. He described his grievances in pathetic language, and appeared deeply affected at the picture his fancy had painted of the sorrows that encompassed him.

His health was not as good as he wished his *clientèle* to think. "I suffer much from rheumatism," he said, plaintively; "At times I am obliged to use this cane to support me; but I suppose we must suffer something," sighed this "seer, prophet, and revelator." He was extremely plausible. His easy, gentle manner and low-

toned monologue made the listeners drowsy, but did not put them to sleep. His talk was convincing. "I listen, and my companion listens," wrote Justin McCarthy, describing his interview with the prophet, "and Brigham Young talks on; and I do declare and acknowledge that we are fast drifting into a hazy mental condition, by virtue of which we begin to regard the Mormon president as a victim of cruel persecution, a suffering martyr, and an injured angel!"

But no sensation of this nature came over the religieuses. They were disgusted rather than edified, for they had learned something of the inner lives of the Mormon oligarchy. Many years after, one of them wrote: "Stern duty compelled us to hold intercourse with this man. But we felt ill at ease the whole time we were in his presence. A creeping sensation comes over me whenever I think of our visit to the Beehive House, when Brigham Young was king."

A little before this period, a Mormon, named Godbee, had openly separated from the president, and headed a schism, his followers being known as Godbeites. They were quite numerous, and owned several good stores filled with cotton, linen, woollen stuffs of all colors, and many other useful commodities. They absorbed a good deal of trade, and to attract customers in this eminently religious town, they placed over their shops, in rude fresco, some scenes from the Old Testament, and words from Proverbs. The most striking scene was a representation of Gideon's Fleece. Condign punishment awaited every Mormon that traded in these places, especially after the signs were put up. Circumstances arising from this rebellion formed the chief trouble of the Prophet at this time, as he diffusely explained.

One of the guests said she hoped the Godbeites might find their way to the true religion, and she was happy to learn that a church to the true and living God would soon be erected.

"You take great interest in religion, then?" said he; "From this I conclude you are not an American?"

A singular conclusion for an American bishop of bishops, who protested he had no interest in anything *but* religion.

"Not by birth," was the reply.

"May I ask, madam, your native country?"

"Ireland, Mr. President; I was born in Dublin."

The great man pondered awhile.

"You have read the history of your country, and know what your people suffered for their faith for centuries. I do not find such a spirit of unity, stability and endurance anywhere as I find in the Catholic Church."

The religieuses remarked that they had met many Latter-Day

Saints who said they had been taught to revere the Catholic Church next to their own. The president gave his shoulders a French shrug, and said, smiling: "Yes, yes; we have faith in the Redeemer." Were it not for their intuitions, and a slight knowledge of his previous career, they might have thought that this sanctimonious creature was not far from the kingdom of God. He inquired what they thought of his religion? They replied, they knew little of it, adding: "But we do know, President, that Christ established on earth the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church, to which we belong, and which you admire."

Brigham, who "was a law unto himself," asked if they thought they could do anything without the aid of the Spirit? "Certainly not," was the reply; "Does not the Holy Scripture declare that no man can say the Lord Jesus, but by the Holy Ghost?"

Then he spoke of a pioneer priest of Salt Lake Valley, to whom he seemed greatly attached. Father Kelly would have been removed by a destroying angel, or reported scalped by some belligerent Indian—the missing were often accounted for in that way—but the great ruler knew well that if one priest were slain, half a dozen others would rush in to replace him. "He and I," said he, "had many pleasant chats. I don't know why he discontinued his visits. Had he come often, I cannot say what effect they might have had on me. But I never could induce him to become a Latter-Day Saint." He said much more about this priest, and then went on: "There are many things in the Catholic Church I greatly admire." He paused, and the guests took this as a sign that he wished to close the conference. But, with great dignity and composure, he waved his hand and signaled them to remain. One of them ventured to say:

"Mr. President, have you ever thought that the knowledge of these things is perhaps a grace from God, of which He means you to profit?"

Instead of answering, "Mr. President" detailed the sufferings of his people: "We were in Omaha, twenty-five years ago, starving. I wrote for help to some of my fellow-bishops of your church, thinking they might relieve us."

"Did they send you anything, Mr. President?"

"Yes," he returned, in a hollow whisper; "they sent me twelve dollars and a half."

Then he expatiated on the wonders his people had done in the wilderness; how they brought seeds and agricultural implements over the mountain range,—all other pioneers did the same,—planted trees which grew, promoted agriculture by artificial irrigation. "This place was a wild mountain-slope; my people have made it what it is." The self-complacency and conceit of the Prophet surprised them; for, considering the time and labor expended on

it, they could see nothing remarkable in the progress of the Pink City of Zion.

He returned to the sufferings of the Irish, and said "they were like his own people"; they being the purest race on earth; his people, the most licentious! He had sent apostles¹ to them about the famine time, and after. He regretted they did not join the saints. They were good farmers. He had English, Welsh, Scotch, Americans; they were the only English-speaking people unrepresented among the Mormons. No doubt he knew well that if they wanted to barter their faith for this world's goods, they need not come as far as Utah. They did come, however, but not as disciples to his paradise. They are among the teachers, professors, merchants, miners, smelters, of Utah. And none are more highly respected in the Mormon country to-day than the bishop, clergy, sisters and other useful citizens of the nationality² he professed to admire.

The elders, in semi-circle on the platform, wondering, perhaps, what kept their chief so long, arose one by one, and advanced slowly until they were in close proximity to the party. Heretofore "the seer, prophet and revelator" had spoken in a low, confidential tone and in a subdued manner, but now he lifted up his voice and described his sufferings, "though loth to allude to them." He explained with fanatical energy the evil deeds of the Gentiles, and the simple, holy lives of his followers. Several times he lost the thread of the discourse, and the strangers could make no sense of his words, when to their relief he paused, after prophesying that the time of warfare would soon come. Calling one of his bishops, he dispatched him on an errand. He returned, with a yellow envelope, which he gave to his master, who handed it to the elder religieuse, saying: "Accept this; it may be of service to you, or you can distribute it among the poor at my old hunting-grounds near Omaha. I wish you would establish yourselves here to teach our young people. I want them piously raised."

The beneficiary thanked his excellency, and said: "We hope to hear soon of the erection of a church and of a resident-pastor in

¹ When Moore wrote his fine song, "The Irish Peasant to his Mistress," the "Mistress" being the Catholic Church, he would have been infinitely amused could he have looked into the future and seen a man, of Brigham's character, attempting to convert his country-people. The "Peasant" would scarcely have answered the strange apostle, but would address his "Mistress" in the impassioned words:

"Cold in the earth, at thy feet, I would rather be,
Than wed what I love not, or turn one thought from thee."

² On Sunday, February 9, 1890, one hundred gentlemen, of Irish birth, assembled at the Walker House, Salt Lake City, for the purpose of forming an Irish Legion and inviting their countrymen by birth or extraction throughout Utah to join them. Their president was the veteran, General O'Connor, who has been fighting for liberty in Zion for twenty-seven years. The victory of the liberals, February 10, 1890, was the *Mane, Thekel, Phares*, of the Mormons, who are doomed as a political power.

your city. Then, Mr. President, sisters will gladly come to teach your children." He sermonized on the importance of a good moral training, the bishops¹ listening with rapt attention. Finally, he asked, as a special favor, that the religieuses would step into his private office and sign their names in the Visitors' Book, saying: "I will value your signatures more than all the others on my records." They complied with his graciously-given request, and withdrew more eagerly than they had come, the high priest invoking blessings on them to the last, with great effusion and fervor. He remained under the portico, bowed again and again as they entered the carriage, and stood gazing after them as long as it was in sight. Certainly, nothing could be more reverential or gracious than his reception of them, and they took care to send him a message thanking him for the same. On reaching the hotel, they found that the yellow envelope contained twenty dollars.

Living in the Lion and Beehive houses were some nineteen women, whom the prophet euphoniously called wives. None of these appeared at the above interview. They were busily engaged as cooks, seamstresses, housekeepers, housemaids, and one grim-visaged woman kept school for the "Young" children. With the exception of one German and two English women, all the consorts of the prophet were Americans, several being from New England. Save the reigning favorite² who ruled Brigham for the time, these women worked hard; their wants and those of their children were supplied with a very frugal hand. In early days they were arrayed in cotton gowns and sun-bonnets. These were deemed too stylish, and if there could be anything uglier, in an æsthetic sense, he achieved it in the "dress reform" called the "Deseret Costume," which he planned and inaugurated—a short gown of linsey, a long, shapeless sacque of antelope skin, and a high, untrimmed hat, with a narrow brim. Even *his* despotic authority could not establish this hideous *mode*, and, after a season or two, it was seen no more. He was ferocious in his denunciations of feminine vanity. It was the text of many of his rantings in the tabernacle; but, being grasping and stingy, he preached nothing more frequently than retrenchment and economy.

Every subterfuge was resorted to to keep the Gentiles in ignorance of the doings of his families. It was well known that some of his children were bad, and others exceedingly disorderly,

¹ The hierarchy always spoke with enthusiasm of Brigham, and treated him with reverence, especially in presence of Gentiles.

² The person who ruled the dictator for the longest period, was Amelia Folsom, a native of Massachusetts, whom he "married," according to the Mormon rites, in 1868. He may be said to have discarded all the rest for this lady. He died at the elegant mansion he erected for her, called the Amelia Palace, August, 1877. "Miss Amelia" is living still at Salt Lake City.

haughty and arrogant. However, as has frequently been the case in Mormon families, more than half of his children, who were mostly girls, preceded him to the tomb. Nor were his cold, steely eyes ever seen to moisten when death took away any of the miserable mothers, or robbed the crowded nurseries of their babes.

Gentiles brought in the fashions, and the women of the Beehive discarded the sun-bonnets. Once, Brigham took an extraordinary freak of generosity. He actually went to a milliner, and ordered bonnets for his consorts. They were made and duly delivered, and, having examined them minutely, he expressed himself much pleased. When the milliner, a poor woman, presented her account, \$275, he returned her a receipted bill for the amount, which, he said, she owed the church for tithing! Great was her dismay, but there was no appeal from the dishonesty of the autocrat. He had always a great facility for taking advantage of his opportunities; the creditor cowered beneath his steady, unflinching gaze, and the shrewd, turbulent, illiterate Vermonter gained a victory, of which an honest man would be ashamed.

Among the public buildings was a wretched theatre lit with oil-lamps, on the boards of which the prophet's daughters and others acted. He had some histrionic and musical ability, uncultivated, of course, and was a clever mimic. Some of these qualities passed to his descendants; one gained some celebrity as an actress in San Francisco.

"All the women we saw," wrote one of the visitors, "looked broken-hearted. It seemed as if depression and sorrow stalked abroad everywhere. We were glad when the time came to leave the Pink City. Every day we saw women in the street, perhaps shopping. Each had with her from three to six or seven children; she carried the smallest, the others held on to her or to each other. There was no mistaking them for anything but Mormons. This sort of exhibition took place daily. Soon after, we heard that such displays were forbidden. The children had mostly light hair and fair complexions. Some of the women looked like Swedes and Danes; others were English, Welsh, Scotch, German. All dressed pretty much as emigrants from Northern Europe do when resting at Castle Garden, New York—long skirts, shawls, bibs, handkerchiefs on the heads. We heard there were Mormon schools, but did not see any."

All who have visited Salt Lake City have noticed the extreme plainness of the women. "I protest," wrote one, "that only in some of the *Crétin* villages of the Swiss mountains have I seen creatures in female form so dull, miserable, moping, hopeless, as the vast majority of these Mormon women." To use a harder and

more emphatic term, their ugliness is not merely negative, but positive. The writer has asked many persons what they thought of the Salt Lake women. "Oh, the sallow, wizened creatures! I never saw such women," is about one of the most complimentary answers received. This is the sad consequence of the iniquitous system that bears so heavily on the hapless women of the Beehive, destitute of happiness in the present and hope for the future. The sullenness or apathy seen in the face was very annoying to the saints, who boast of the happiness of the Mormon women, living like turtle doves in their snug nests in Zion. The sad experiences of a hideous life have carved deep lines about the eyes and mouth, made the faces hard and grim, and robbed them of the softness, tenderness, and grace which appertain to women.

Brigham's house—it could not be called home—was the best regulated in Utah, "a pattern to the saints." There were no servants. The women waited on themselves. Their time was spent in washing, cooking, mending, dairy-work. Each consort was supplied, in rotation and by weight, with necessaries. Later it was found more economical to have a general table. He dined with his families daily at the Lion House. Some seventy or eighty sat down to dinner, each mother being surrounded by her own children. Every evening, at 7, they assembled in the drawing-room of the same establishment to receive the benediction of the patriarch. If the women complained of their grievances, Brigham's remedy was "more work." He had often to scold and threaten. He advised them to "round up their shoulders to endure the afflictions of the world," and declared he "would rather go to heaven alone than have scratching or fighting about him." He protested he "would do something to get rid of whining women,"—all this from the platform of the tabernacle, before the assembled thousands, and where he knew they could not retort.

Brigham reproached these wretched creatures¹ for being unhappy, "wading through floods of tears;" the bitter jealousies and constant acrimony displayed in their galling lives annoyed him. Outsiders he received rather kindly at times; those of his own household he politely and affectionately termed "everlasting fools to complain of anything." And if he happened to be "too full of the spirit," the mildest name he had for some who had once been his idols, was "termagants." For their illnesses he had no sympathy. "They get sick to shirk work," he would say.

¹ If it was thus in Brigham's household, what was it in others? It may be asked: Why did not those wretched creatures endeavor to escape? Before the railroads came in, and for long after, it would be impossible to get away. The town was full of the spies of Brigham. Besides, to run away was to abandon their children and deprive themselves of a living, such as it was. And, as a rule, they had no means, and no friends to whom to go, and in any case they dreaded Mormon vengeance.

Fanaticism does not always teach patience. The "peculiar institution" engendered the worst passions in the human heart. Brigham professed to be able "to give the word of the Lord" on every subject, but he could never keep peace in his own mansions. Another luminary, Jedediah Grant, affirmed that, "if they could break asunder the cable of the church, there is scarcely a mother in Israel but would do it this day." But the tyranny of old has passed away for ever. Gentile ascendancy is now an assured fact. And it will be woman's own fault if she should not in future receive the position Christianity accords her, and which is her right.

A friend, resident in Utah, says that the Mormons are not up to the average in intellect; that their importations from non-Catholic countries are of a class whose intellect is little above that of the brute. According to Mormon teachings, they must obey the priesthood in all things. Their thinking is done for them, somewhat after the manner of Russian serfs. Physically, the Mormons are a muscular people; the animal prevails in every way. The proportion of deaf and dumb is greater than in the rest of the United States. And of lunatics, born in the Territory, the proportion was $10\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. in 1886 to $12\frac{1}{2}$ in 1887, in the State lunatic asylum.

There are several superior Catholic educational establishments in Utah. All Hallows College, directed by Marist Fathers; St. Mary's Academy, by the Sisters of the Holy Cross; a fine Academy in Ogden; another in Park City; hospitals in Salt Lake, Ogden, Silver Reef, and several schools, all founded by Bishop Scanlan.

On the Sunday prior to their leaving the holy city, the religieuses heard Mass, which was offered about 7 in the morning by Rev. Father Foley, in a log cabin about 30 by 17. He had to say a later Mass at Ogden. There were fifteen long benches or forms stretching the length of the room. About sixty men, many of them miners, and six women were present, most of them being of Irish birth. Everything about the humble church was as poor as the stable of Bethlehem. But the Adorable Victim was offered up to the Eternal Father, and the purest of Virgins was invoked. And the priest on the altar, and the religieuses who received from his hands the Bread of Life, were they not the "chaste generation" who feed on the "wheat of the elect and the wine that maketh virgins?" After Mass, the priest besought the great God to enlighten and bless the city, and make it, indeed, a holy city, and give to the dwellers therein light to know his will, and grace to do it. And when all knelt to offer the Rosary for this intention, the prayers of great, strong men, like the voice of many waters, were heard ascending to heaven. And who will say that these and many such prayers have not been gloriously answered, when the answer is

more than faith would ask, and can be seen and felt? The beautiful Convent of the Holy Cross, where every accomplishment is taught under the auspices of Mary; the fine College, where the youth of the Territory, when they ask for intellectual bread, will not receive a stone; the spacious, well-appointed hospital, where consecrated virgins assuage the anguish of every sufferer, whether Greek or barbarian, bond or free; the children of two religious congregations teaching the young in Zion itself; the bishop and clergy revered by a people who, in earlier days, would have stoned them, as well as by their own loving flock,—surely a glorious response to prayer. Verily, the finger of God is here. This is the change of the right hand of the Most High.

THE ENCYCLICAL "SAPIENTIÆ CHRISTIANÆ."

THIS latest encyclical of our Holy Father, Leo XIII., aims at bringing human life, in its private and its public relations, into conformity with the precepts of Christian wisdom. To the greater number of well-instructed Catholics it has doubtless seemed a plain, paternal exposition of very familiar truths. Yet few utterances of the great Pope have evoked so much hostile criticism from the Church's adversaries. Strange that there should be such a divergence of view concerning what may be called the common-places of Christian duty. It is an evidence that this lesson on Christian wisdom was not a work of supererogation; that there is sore need of looking to the fundamental principles of human conduct, if human life is to be kept from going astray and human society from drifting to disaster.

The encyclical may be summed up as follows:

The whole of man's life should be influenced by the consideration of his last end, which is God.

This is evidently true of man as an individual; it is, of necessity, equally true of man as a citizen, for between different sets of duties there cannot, logically, be an incompatibility. Civil society is not an end in itself; the interests which it guards and promotes are secondary to man's real destiny and should be directed thereunto.

A good citizen should be ready even to die for his country;

much more so for the Church, his spiritual country, the city of the living God, in which we are "fellow-citizens with the saints."

If temporal rulers assail the Church, they do wrong, and it is wrong to obey or abet them in their evil-doing. "We ought to obey God rather than man."

In our days, men absorbed in material pursuits neglect the spiritual, spurn the supernatural, scorn religion, and assail the Church. In this it would be shameful for Christians to co-operate, or even silently to acquiesce.

In face of these assaults, Christians should, in the first place, study thoroughly the doctrines of religion and their rational foundations, for nothing is so prejudicial to Christian wisdom as ignorance of it. Then, casting aside sloth and human respect, they should assert and defend the truth, by word and by example.

But, in order that individual zeal may not infringe upon the common order and the unity of the faith, all must be careful to speak and act wisely by speaking and acting in harmony with the Church, that is, with their bishops, and, above all, with the Sovereign Pontiff.

The Church, being the divinely appointed teacher of all nations, irrespective of their differences in race, customs and civil institutions, respects and honors all forms of government, asking only that religion and moral discipline be respected.

But no one must attempt to draw the Church into party strife, or to identify her interests with any fleeting form of political administration. When the rights of religion are assailed, Christians, whatever be their political differences, ought to unite for her protection.

The Church must desire that the spirit of the Gospel pervade all legislation as well as all life. Hence, if candidates for legislative or executive offices are known to be inimical thereto, the Church could not consistently countenance them, nor Christians vote for them. When men profess openly, as many now do, their hostility to religion and the Church, Christians would be sluggards or cowards who would not oppose them by every legitimate means.

Sin, error and dissension make a people miserable. Let Christians shun them and strive for virtue, truth and mutual charity and concord. And as the essential foundation of Christian society, let them carefully see to the Christian education of the young in Christian schools and in Christian homes.

Such is, in substance, this encyclical on Christian wisdom. Regarding man as an individual, it asserts spiritual duties and rights against materialism, and Christian truth against infidelity. Regarding man as a citizen, it asserts his right and duty to defend

by legitimate means the Christian religion and the Christian Church against all who unjustly assail them.

To minds destitute of religious belief and blind to spiritual realities, the whole argument of the Pope will, of course, be foolishness, his lessons and warnings an impertinence. With such men we have no controversy; we can only apply to them that word of our Lord: "Let them alone; they are blind." Catholics and all Christians have simply to see to it that the aggressiveness usually characteristic of infidelity be not permitted to trample on the rights of faith and conscience.

Very differently do we estimate the criticisms of Christian believers, whose anti-Catholic training naturally gives them a distorted view of Catholic teaching, and inspires them with mistrust of Catholic purposes and aims. With these we are not only willing, but anxious, for the sake of truth and charity, to compare views in all candor and all friendliness. We have no apology to make, for we know that our cause is that of truth and justice. But we have explanations to give and facts to present, which they need to hear who are not willing to judge unjustly.

These critics blame the Pope for advising Catholics to use their power as citizens for the defence of the Church and the advance of the interests of religion. They say that this aims at theocracy, and threatens the rights of non-Catholics. Let a brief, candid statement of Catholic principles and historical facts be our answer. For the sake of clearness, let us begin at the beginning.

Most of the current misapprehensions of Catholic teaching have for their source incorrect notions of liberty, right and law. We will first glance at these.

Man has the *natural liberty* to think, speak and act as he chooses; in other words, he has *free will*.

But man has not the *moral liberty* to think, speak and act as he chooses. His thoughts, his words, his acts, are subject to the moral law. He has *no right* to direct his intellect except to the true, nor his will except to the good. It would be absurd to suppose a right to what is wrong. Thus the difference between *free will* and *right* is manifest.

Next, as to *legal liberty*, we easily perceive that it cannot be as wide and unlimited as free will, since law and authority aim at hindering free will from encroaching on public order and individual rights. On the other hand, law and authority have their limits, since they can neither command all that is good, nor hinder all that is evil.

The limits of law and civil authority will necessarily be wider or narrower according to the circumstances of the people in question. In some countries, law must be content with protecting or

enforcing certain essential principles; in others it may go farther. In America, for instance, the unity of marriage is efficaciously protected; not so its indissolubility; Sunday-observance, in various degrees, is enacted as to external order, but not as to religious celebration. In general, when, in any country, a certain principle is generally admitted and held as important, this principle will naturally have the sanction of the law. But if the principle comes to be generally rejected or contested, then legal sanction will be inefficacious and inopportune, and will disappear, together with the institutions to which it may have given rise.

Now, in the estimation not only of Catholics, but of all consistent Christians, Faith, being the light which shows man his duty and guides him to his destiny, is a matter of supreme importance and necessity. Hence, he who tries to destroy faith in the soul of his neighbor, is more guilty than he who strives to harm him in person or property. This is a truth which no Christian can doubt. Let us, then, suppose a people generally and profoundly convinced of this truth; they will naturally demand of the public authority that this supreme good should, like inferior goods, be protected by the law. Such was the popular conviction in the Middle Ages. No wonder, therefore, that the laws provided for the protection of religious belief and morals.

To-day, the people of America are profoundly convinced that the unity of marriage is the foundation of society, and it is in conformity with this public conviction that laws have been enacted against the Mormons. Still more profoundly were the nations of Christendom in past ages convinced that the Catholic Faith was the basis of society; is it any wonder that they passed laws to foster it in the minds of the people and to hinder its being undermined or corrupted?

But, let us suppose a people among whom this general conviction of the essential importance of faith does not exist, from among whom it has gradually passed away; then its legal enforcement or protection becomes impossible, and no wise man will demand or expect it. Recourse must then be had to a system of mutual toleration. And this holds true of all matters of public interest. For example, the right of individual property has hitherto been regarded as essential to social order; but let us imagine a people among whom some form of Socialism has come to generally prevail, and, by the very fact, the legislation previously protecting the rights of property passes away, and the tribunals that have enforced it come to be regarded like the tribunals of the Inquisition.

As a system of intolerance is natural to a people strongly united in faith, so a system of mutual toleration and liberty is natural to a people divided in belief. The Church approves both the one

and the other system, according to the circumstances of the people; and not less sincerely does she approve the system of toleration among a divided people than she has approved the system of intolerance among nations quite united in faith. The acts of the sovereign pontiffs, not less than the teaching of the weightiest theologians, show that a system of religious liberty may be approved even among a people whose majority are Catholics; nay, that Catholics are allowed to bind themselves by promise and even by oath to maintain such liberty. It will suffice to cite a few documents of evident clearness.

The French Republic established full liberty of worship, and all succeeding governments in that country have guaranteed the same. This has not hindered the Holy See from permitting the bishops of France to swear fidelity to the government. (See Art. VI. of the Concordat of 1801.)

In Napoleon's oath of coronation were these words: "I swear to respect and to cause to be respected the laws of the Concordat and liberty of worship." Question was raised as to the meaning of this clause; but all difficulty was removed by the declaration that the oath to respect liberty of worship, and to cause it to be respected, was not meant as a judgment on religious truths, but only as a measure of civil toleration and protection.—(Dispatch of Cardinal Consalvi, August 30, 1804. See the diplomatic correspondence exchanged on this occasion, in the *Analecta Juris Pontificii*, April, 1883.)

The charter granted by Louis XVIII. contained the following clause, Art. V.: "All profess their religion with equal liberty and receive for their worship equal protection." The question was raised in France whether Catholics could swear allegiance to a constitution containing this and other similar articles. The Holy See was consulted; the French ambassador declared that the king "had to assure to all his subjects the full exercise of their religion, and had guaranteed it to them by the charter and by his oath to observe the same; but that this oath in no way went contrary to the dogmas or the laws of the Church, he, the ambassador, being authorized to declare that it referred only to what concerned civil order." Upon this declaration Pius VII. authorized the oath of obedience to the constitutional charter and the laws of the kingdom, though embodying, as we have seen, the provision of equal religious liberty and freedom of worship.

At the same epoch was promulgated the fundamental law of the kingdom of the Netherlands, formed of Catholic Belgium and Protestant Holland. This law contained the following articles: "Liberty of religious opinions is guaranteed to all. Equal pro-

tection is granted to all religious communions existing in the kingdom. All the subjects of the king, without distinction of religious belief, enjoy the same civil and political rights, and are eligible to all dignities and employments." Here again difficulties were raised as to the licitness of swearing allegiance to such provisions; but these difficulties were removed when the government declared that, in swearing to protect all religious communions within the kingdom, protection was guaranteed only as to civil order, but with no intention of approving, directly or indirectly, their religious tenets.

The Constitution of Louis Philippe, August, 1830, provided like that of Louis XVIII: "All profess their religion with equal liberty and receive for their worship the same protection." Once more the Bishops of France consulted the Holy See as to the licitness of swearing allegiance to it; and although the Constitution suppressed the State religion and granted equal freedom of worship, yet Pius VIII. permitted the oath of allegiance to it, on the sole condition that it be clearly understood that the clause implied no approbation of doctrines, but referred only to what concerned the civil order.

The kingdom of Belgium was established in 1830. Its Constitution contains the following articles: "Religious liberty, liberty of worship, liberty to manifest one's opinions in any manner whatsoever, is guaranteed. No one can be compelled to take part in any manner in the practices or ceremonies of any form of religion or to observe its days of rest. Education is free; all preventive measures are prohibited. The press is free. All powers emanate from the nation." This Constitution, considered with reason the most liberal in the world, met with no opposition from the Catholics of Belgium; it met none from the Holy See. When, later on, some doubts on the subject arose, Cardinals Sterkx and Deschamps, Archbishops of Malines, demonstrated the licitness of the oath of allegiance. This attitude of the Belgian bishops was approved by the Holy See; and it is a well-known fact that Leo XIII. has most explicitly recommended the Catholics of Belgium to maintain and defend their Constitution. The following passage from the letter of Cardinal Sterkx so clearly answers questions raised and suspicions insinuated in our country to-day, that it is worth while to give it entire. He quotes from the Prince de Méan, Archbishop of Malines, who thus addresses the Belgian Congress in 1830: "The people whom you have been chosen to represent and to make happy are almost entirely Catholics; they have ever shown themselves devoted to the welfare of their country. In laying before you their needs and their rights, I have no thought

of asking for them any privilege; perfect liberty, with all its consequences, is the only object of their desires; this is the advantage which they desire to share with all their fellow-citizens." Then the Cardinal continues: "I make bold to predict, with no fear of being belied by events, that the Catholics will never ask for the suppression of the liberty granted to the dissenters. They could have limited that liberty in 1830; they could even have suppressed it entirely. If the thirteen priests who took part in that congress, with their numerous friends, had chosen to combine, they could easily have passed a system of intolerance. If they did not, it was because justice, charity, love of the public peace, loyalty, made it their duty to maintain the rights which the dissenters had acquired by long and peaceable possession. Now, it is evident that this duty will become daily more imperative, and that it will never permit the Catholics to exclude the dissenters from the enjoyment of the common liberties. Their religious convictions will always make them regard the dissenters as in error; but they must always recognize that the dissenters, as Belgian citizens, possess acquired rights to the enjoyment of their religious liberty. They will the more willingly acknowledge these rights, because the dissenters, though separated from the true Church, are not the less their neighbors and their fellow-citizens. It is therefore a great wrong to insinuate the fear that their liberties will some day be taken from them. Still less reason is there to fear that the Catholics will some day use to the injury of the dissenters the right of repressing abuses committed in the exercise of their liberties; for this repression must always be confined to acts constituting an offence against social order or the rights of others." These words of the noble Cardinal Archbishop of Malines are re-echoed by every Catholic of America to-day, in answer to the gratuitous and false insinuation that, if they became the majority of the American people, they would encroach upon the religious liberties of their Protestant fellow-citizens.

France, fertile in revolutions, published another Constitution in 1848. The preamble declared: "The republic must protect all citizens in their religion," and Article VII. was as follows: "Every one professes his religion freely, and receives from the state equal protection in the exercise of his worship." This Constitution occasioned no difficulty with the Catholics or with the Holy See.

This series of citations could easily be extended, but those here given must abundantly suffice. And to seize their whole import, it is necessary to recall the doctrine of the Catholic Church in regard to oaths. It is not allowable to bind one's self by oath to anything that is not *certainly licit*; a political oath must be given

in the sense of the power demanding it, without equivocation or interior reservation; the oath, once taken, must be religiously observed. Now, we have seen that Catholics can swear allegiance to a constitution which guarantees to all citizens freedom of worship; one thing only being insisted on, namely, that it is not allowed to confound civil toleration with dogmatic toleration or with indifference as to doctrines and approbation of error.

It is, also, to be borne in mind that in the Pontifical Acts above mentioned, it was a question of nations almost entirely Catholic, with but a small minority of dissenters, like Belgium; it was the religious liberty of the dissenters that was guaranteed. Now, what is permitted in the case of countries almost entirely Catholic, is, *a fortiori*, permitted in countries where religious differences are more numerous, and where the dissenters form a larger proportion of the citizens. Hence Cardinal Manning's declaration in his reply to Gladstone: "If Catholics were in power to-morrow in England, not a penal law would be proposed, nor the shadow of constraint be put on the faith of any man. We would that all men fully believed the truth; but a forced faith is a hypocrisy, hateful to God and man. If Catholics were in power to-morrow, not only would there be no penal laws of constraint, but no penal laws of privation."

As a practical conclusion and enforcement of this part of our subject, let it be noted that no instance can be shown, within this century of religious liberty, of a country where the Catholics, having come to power, persecuted the Protestants; whereas, in Protestant Germany the Catholics have been subjected to persecution twice within fifty years. And in our own country, the example of Maryland must not be forgotten. On the 21st of April, 1649, the Council of Catholic Maryland passed the following statute: "And whereas the forcing of the conscience in matters of religion hath frequently fallen out to be of dangerous consequence in the commonwealth where it has been practised, and for the more quiet and peaceable government of the province, and the better to preserve mutual love and amity among the inhabitants, no person within the province, professing to believe in Jesus Christ, shall be anyways troubled, molested or discountenanced for his or her religion, or in the free exercise thereof." Protestants flocked to Maryland and became the majority. They disfranchised the Catholics; they proclaimed "liberty of conscience," but excluded from its advantages "Popery, Prelacy and licentiousness of opinion," and put in force a system of penal laws.

In the face of these undeniable facts, it is neither logical nor honest to assert that the "Four Liberties," as they are termed in

Belgium, stand in any danger from actual or possible Catholic ascendancy, or that any peril of the sort is menaced by the exhortation of Leo XIII. that Catholics, in exercising their rights as citizens, should not forget their duty as Christians.

"But," it is argued, "even granting that the Pope does not counsel encroachment upon the rights of Protestants, and that Catholics do not meditate any such injustice, does he not, however, advise resistance to laws which the Church considers contrary to her interests, and is not this an insubordination which no state can tolerate?" It seems almost incredible that such an argument could be advanced in the nineteenth century, and yet it is the staple of most of the adverse criticism passed on the encyclical. It might reasonably be hoped that, after the victory of conscience over despotism, of religious liberty over state domination, which was the triumph of Christianity over heathenism, no sensible man would be found to advocate state supremacy in religious matters. If anywhere the avowed enemies of religion come into power, and enact laws to enslave religion, violate conscience, and contradict God, can there be among the inheritors of the Christian martyrs any one to counsel blind obedience to their behests? And if, with his heart wrung by just such spectacles, the supreme Pastor of the Christian Church speaks to his children such words of exhortation as the fathers and mothers of the martyrs addressed to their sons in the days of old, is he blamable for so doing? And if, thanks be to God, times are changed, and Christians are able not only to die rather than obey laws against conscience, but to use their legitimate power as citizens to have those laws abrogated or amended, who that believes in liberty will blame them for so doing or censure the representative of religion who bravely encourages them to it? To cry out "*rebellion!*" in such a case, as the Italian radicals and others with them have done, is to side with those who long ago cried out: "To the lions with the rebels who refuse to burn incense to Cæsar and to Jove!"

Germany enacts the Falk Laws, sending to prison or to exile every bishop and every parish priest who will not swear to the religious supremacy of Cæsar, leaving at one sweep a thousand parishes without a pastor, and millions of souls without the ministrations of religion, because neither pastors nor people would fall down and adore the state-god. Can any one, not blinded by prejudice, be found to say that they ought to have obeyed Cæsar rather than God, to have humbly accepted state control over conscience and religion, just because the state demanded it? All honor to the Catholics of Germany for having viewed the matter differently and for having acted according to their reason and their

conscience! All honor to them for having stood up bravely for the rights of religious liberty, shunning both extremes of insurrectionary violence and of tame submission, and asserting their just rights in legal ways till they won the victory for conscience and for freedom! They present a spectacle in which not only the Church, but humanity, may well glory. They are a noble example to Christians elsewhere, who groan under persecution; and the Pope, instead of being blamable, is worthy of all praise for holding up the example to spur out of shameful cowardice or sloth the degenerate Christians who tamely submit to having religion insulted and to being robbed of their Christian inheritance.

In our country we have no fear that the wheels of our civilization will ever be so rolled backward that religious persecution will be attempted. Hence, from the depths of our hearts we proclaim our devotedness to her institutions and our trust in her future. But should it, by any possibility, come to pass that the old colonial penal laws against Catholics and Catholicity should be re-enacted, will any American, worthy of the name, dare to say that it would be the duty of Catholics silently to submit, no longer to practise their religion, no longer to teach it to their children, but submissively to acquiesce in the dictation of the party in power? We venture to consider this incredible; to believe that all true Americans will agree that it would be both our right and our duty to stand firm in conscience, and to use every legitimate means to oust the party of tyranny, to abolish the unjust laws, and to restore the reign of equal liberty. Such assuredly would be our course; and this is precisely what Leo XIII. counsels for countries where the advice is but too sadly needed. But we reiterate our conviction, that in our country, no matter how some fanatics may desire it and agitate for it, the good sense and the justice of the American people will ever render such a state of things impossible. Hence we keep calm while the fanatics rave, and are sorry if any sensible non-Catholics sympathize with them, and waver not in our trust that America will be, till the end, the tomb of oppression, the inviolable home of civil and religious liberty.

This letter of the Holy Father is a cry from a heart wrung with anguish at the contempt for religion, the disregard of conscience, the trampling on vested rights, the tyranny against the Church, which to-day disgraces much of what once was Christendom. This is a reaction from the spirit of faith to the spirit of heathenism. But it cannot last, because it is wrong and based on falsehood. Prejudice and passion cannot always blind men, nor even worldly interest lastingly prevail against the power of truth. The attempt either to coerce conscience or to disregard it, to treat the Christian Church as its Divine Founder was treated, to make the spiritual

order subservient to the material in the government of the world, to depose God from His throne and put the state-god in His place, must fail, must pass away as the last struggling remnant of heathenism and barbarism. It has reached a temporary ascendancy, because too many Christians become unmindful and unworthy of Christianity. But it is a usurpation of untruth and of violence, and it must pass. And they that now uphold it must pass with it into disgrace and oblivion, or return to the Author of our liberties, the immortal Prince of Peace. Of Him and His Church, and all who machinate against them, we can repeat the words of the psalmist: "They shall perish, but thou remainest. And all of them shall grow old like a garment, and as a vesture thou shalt change them and they shall be changed; but thou art always the self-same, and thy years shall not fail."

IS THE DREAM OF A UNIVERSAL REPUBLIC TO BE REALIZED IN OUR DAY?

THE throne of the Brazilian Emperor has been overturned; and the vast and rich country over which he held sway is now under republican rule and governed by republican institutions. No crowned head can now be found in America. The nineteen nations that occupy this continent, from dusky Hayti to our own brilliant galaxy of Anglo-Celtic commonwealths, are all republics. And with the exception of those territories, comparatively small and unimportant, where colonial dependence from Europe is still in existence—and even, in some instances, within the limits of the latter—no spot can be marked upon the map of the whole western hemisphere where popular government is not recognized, and where, at least in principle, if not in practice, the government is not administered in the name of the people, for the people, and by the people.

Mr. Andrew Carnegie may write with dithyrambic inspiration and high patriotic rhythm the well-deserved praises of "Triumphant Democracy," and the echo of his voice can be heard, with sympathetic ears, by all the rulers of this continent. No more masters in America! The people is sovereign, and the chosen individuals upon whom it has been made incumbent to administer the govern-

ment, to preserve peace and public order, to promote the public welfare, are simply delegates, temporarily elected for that purpose, nay, in fact, nothing more than paid servants.

Enthusiastic admirers of republicanism hastened to hail with loud acclaim the changed condition of affairs in Brazil. Resolutions of sympathy were passed, or introduced, in the different deliberative assemblies which happened to be then in session. Rose-colored expectations were cherished and expressed in buoyant language. And, as nothing in this world can be exempted from at least a touch of sadness, gloomy recollections have been awakened in some minds. It has been said that the soil of the New World and its special atmospheres are not congenial to emperors; and the tragedies of Iturbide and Maximilian, and the overthrow of Dom Pedro, despite his liberal ideas and education, and of the profound respect which his own personal character universally won for him in his country and elsewhere, have been cited as evidences of the general proposition. The ambitious Spanish soldier and the misguided and forsaken Austrian prince stained with their blood the ruins of the structure which they had endeavored to erect or to maintain; and the noble, aged gentleman, who, in calling unexpectedly at the humble mansion of a Spanish dramatic writer,¹ begged him not to change in the least his own ways, or the familiar tone which befits a friendly visit, because "the nobility of blood is no higher than the nobility of mind and intellect," wanders now, throneless and homeless, among the nations of Europe, driven away from his country, and prevented from sharing anything in its destinies, as if he would constitute a discordant element for which there is no place.

On this side of the ocean, it is said, the triumph of republican institutions is secured; it will be followed, they add, and shortly indeed, by further and greater triumphs on the soil of Europe.

The purposes of this paper are not, by any means, either to join in this exultation, or pass an adverse opinion upon it. No stronger condemnation can be made of personal governments than the one which Almighty God Himself dictated to His prophet.² Self-government, and liberty, and independence are things too necessary, too beneficial, too natural, too legitimate, to be in need of recommendation or applause, or to admit of unfavorable criticism.

If the Brazilian republic, as well as any other republic, succeeds in preserving internal peace, in improving the condition of the people, in furthering its progress materially as well as intellectually and morally, in preventing liberty from degenerating into tyranny, in securing the ascendancy of law over the dreams of demagogues,

¹ Don Manuel Breton de los Herreros.

² Kings, i., 8.

in treading with firm step upon anarchy and revolutionary methods, in never losing sight of the fact that God is, after all, the sole ruler, and that His kingdom is justice, and that this is the supreme aim and aspiration of the whole human race, *adveniat regnum tuum*, then, and, in that case, let it be welcomed heartily. Its establishment may be regarded to be a step forward, and in the right direction, on the road which all nations have to travel, in pursuance of the decrees of Providence, to accomplish the destinies which they have been called to fulfil.

It might happen, however, that a republic, even without falling into the hands of a dictator, or into those of certain reformers or tyrants who, under the name of presidents, rule with an iron rod, who understand freedom of conscience to permit of persecution of Catholics, of confiscating the Church's property, of suppressing religious orders, of forbidding public manifestations of worship outside the walls of the churches, or who, Nabuchodonozar-like, fill their countries with their own statues, and require absolute and unconditional submission on the part of those whom they improperly call fellow-citizens; then, and in that case, not joy, but grief, must be experienced.

The name of republic would, in this case, be a misnomer; and the people would find themselves in a still worse position than that which was predicted to the children of Israel when they, merely because the other nations were governed by kings, wanted to have one, and asked that he would be given to them. "Hearken to their voice," the Lord said, "and make them a king." "Hearken to their voice, but yet testify to them, and foretell them the right of the king that shall reign over them." . . . "He will take your sons, and put them in his chariots, and will make them his horsemen, and his running footmen to run before his chariots: and he will appoint of them to be his tribunes and centurions, and to plough his fields, and to reap his corn, and to make him arms and chariots, . . . and he will take your fields, and your vineyards, and your best olive yards, and give them to his servants: moreover, he will take the tenth of your corn, and of the revenues of your vineyards, to give to his officers and servants, . . . your flocks also he will tithe, and you shall be his servants."¹

Everybody is aware that in more than one republic the president is master and the people are his slaves. Neither shall we discuss in this paper the question of republicanism in Europe. On this side of the ocean there are natural advantages, dependent principally upon the comparatively recent date of the discovery of our continent, which greatly favor the establishment and growth of a repub-

¹ 1 Kings, chapter viii.

lic. On the other side, on the contrary, there are obstacles, consisting chiefly of habits, of traditions, of social elements, which have become incarnate in the body of the nation, and either choke the seed of republicanism or make its growth imperfect.

They say that England and Spain, for instance, are marching rapidly towards the abolition of monarchy and the substitution for that form of government of republican institutions. But, with all respect for those prophecies, some doubt must be entertained, at least as to their prompt fulfilment.

Spain, it may be safely said, is far from being prepared for democratic rule. The days of 1873 are not far enough away to make us forget that that soil does not offer safe ground for any growth of this kind. Not to speak of the tendencies towards disintegration, socialism, and anarchism, which so prominently manifested themselves at that time, and caused the soldiers of Pavia, when dispersing the Cortes at the point of the bayonet, to be hailed as liberators, the fact remains, well proved, that all things Spanish, good as well as bad, will combine to cause the experiment to fail. Even the mere system of monarchical constitutional representative government has proved to be in Spain almost an impossibility, and, as a distinguished ecclesiastic and scholar (Don Juan Nicasio Gallego) used to say, three or four centuries have yet to pass before Spain can get settled and satisfied under that form of government.

As to Great Britain, it might perhaps be proper to repeat what that great son of the Church, Count de Montalembert, has said. In his opinion, the struggle between aristocracy and democracy, which is supposed to be raging and becoming more and more intensified in that country, is no more than the fancy of superficial observers. "In fact," says that distinguished writer, "the ruling power in England is practically vested in the middle classes, from which for centuries the aristocracy has been recruited, and which permits aristocracy to represent at home and abroad the public authority and the national greatness, as a powerful sovereign, confident of his undisputed majesty and strength, willingly allows his grandees to show off with great pomp in far away embassies, or aspire to the honors of public offices."¹

But, whether near or distant, whether desirable or undesirable, the triumph of democracy suggests to thinking minds an interesting inquiry: How far has it—if so it has at all—deviated from the laws of God? How does the Church of God look at it? How far is it consistent with Christian duty and with the rules of Christianity?

The enemies of the Church have often charged her with being

¹ *Un Débat sur l'Inde au Parlement Anglais*, par le Comte de Montalembert. London, 1888, p. 101.

inimical to liberty. It has been said that she is the right arm of potentates, who call the men "my people," and who think themselves entitled under a right which they, by their own authority, call "divine." Persecution, which has been called "emancipation," has been thereupon started against everything which has the stamp of Catholicity.

And prominent statesmen have been found in South America who, without the slightest hesitation, have proclaimed in loud tones that the cause of all the troubles in those countries is to be found in their religion, and that the day on which they signed the constitutions under which they were launched into independent life and declared the Catholic religion to be their religion, they signed thereby their death-warrant.

In looking at this argument with the proper calm, the doubt comes to the mind whether such strange blundering depends upon real ignorance of history, or natural blindness, or wilful misrepresentation.

Who can ignore the radical influence which the Church exercised, not only in changing the laws of Rome, which were, and are still to a considerable extent, the laws of the world, and rendering them day by day milder and more and more in harmony with all the ideals of charity, fraternity, equality, liberty to which humanity may aspire? Who condemned slavery? Who sowed the seed which, implanted in that most dreadful institution, radically poisoned its blood and its life, and discredited it, and antagonized it, and brought it at last to utter ruin and extinction? Who created that essentially democratic militia, otherwise called religious orders, who sided at all times with the people and protected them against the petty tyranny of the local lords and barons, and even against the bishops who exercised temporal jurisdiction and feudal rights? Who sowed the seed from whence the legislative assemblies, and the whole system of representative governments, afterwards sprang up? Who put an end to serfdom? Who made the workingman not only a man, but a power, and a power before which, indeed, not only the rich capitalist, but kings and emperors, had to bow respectfully? Who created, and organized, and filled with astonishing vitality those admirable trade-guilds of the Middle Ages which remained in existence everywhere in Europe until the days of the French Revolution, when the despotism of liberalism and the demon of centralization abolished them? Who has furnished the standard, the only one true and permanent and universally admitted, by which all institutions, all laws, all political systems, all things whatever, either public or private, in the life both of individuals and of nations, are measured, and pronounced just or un-

just, worthy or unworthy, favorable or unfavorable, conducive or not conducive to the happiness and welfare of mankind?

"Know ye, constant slanderers of the Church of God," said the illustrious Bishop of Orleans, Mgr. Dupanloup, in one of his celebrated pastorals, dated April 2, 1865: "Know ye, and remember well that while the Church reprobates license and wild outbursts of passion and excitement, she dearly loves human liberty; and she does so because, in the designs of God, who did not make man to be an imbecile slave, liberty is the foundation of all virtue, of all moral greatness, of all civilization, of all progress. The Church, which is the true mother of human civilization, and the maker of modern society, deploras and rejects and disapproves all that degrades man and hinders the progress of the human race. Mankind is God's especial care,—and the Church of God has to bless, as she does, whatever tends to redeem her, to lift her up, to place her in a condition as near perfection as possible."

A writer, of an entirely different character, but who, in an apparently superficial style, has said many good things about the United States of America, sets forth that he has often heard that liberty and the Catholic religion could not exist together; but that, in looking around him in these United States, he has found that the statement has no foundation in truth; because nowhere in the world is there more liberty than here, and nowhere, also, has the Catholic religion more vitality and is more flourishing.¹

The sermon which our great American Cardinal, His Eminence the Archbishop of Baltimore, delivered at his church in Rome when he took possession of his high dignity, might be sufficient by itself to establish, beyond a doubt, that the Catholic religion does not need any alliance with kings or emperors.

No word can be found in the "Syllabus of Errors Condemned," whose publication in 1864 so greatly enraged the enemies of the Church, which is antagonistic to human liberty or to democratic institutions. If, in paragraph LXIII, condemnation is made of the doctrine that "it is allowable to refuse obedience to legitimate princes, nay, more, to rise in insurrection against them," and reference is made to the Encyclical, *Qui pluribus*, of November 9, 1846, to the Allocution, *Quisque vestrum*, of October 4, 1847, to the Encyclical, *Noscitis et nobiscum*, of December 8, 1849, and to the Apostolic Letter, *Cum Catholica*, of March 26, 1860, the words "*legitimate princes*" simply mean "legitimate authority," authority legitimately constituted, that authority which, as the Apostle said, comes from God. "Let every soul be subject to higher powers; for there is no power but from God; and those

¹ *Uncle Sam and His Farm*, by Max O'Rell.

that are, are ordained of God. Therefore, he that resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God; and they that resist, purchase to themselves damnation."¹

This brings the question squarely down to what is called "divine right," which writers and statesmen of the Liberal school have so bitterly criticized. But the Apostle's rule does not seem to mean that a power, no matter how illegitimate, no matter how badly established, whether through crime or fraud, is legitimate, and comes from God, because it is a power, and that for this, and for no other reason, it has the right at all times, and under all circumstances, no matter what it does or what it commands, to be obeyed, or at least not to be resisted.

When the constituted authority of the Jewish people, "their rulers, and ancients, and scribes,"² were gathered together in Jerusalem, and caused St. Peter and St. John to be arrested and brought before them, and ordered them "not to speak at all, nor teach in the name of Jesus,"³ St. Peter, filled with the Holy Ghost, said to them: "Ye rulers of the people, and ancients, hear; . . . if it be just in the sight of God to hear you rather than God, judge ye."⁴

Law and authority are one thing, and another thing is the *dictum* or action of a tyrant. Legitimacy and legality are not essentially identical. The standard of justice is not the standard of accomplished facts. And, while law is, and must be, sacred, and its authority is, and must be, divine, usurpation and tyranny cannot have the same attributes.

Of course, in this struggle between the divine authority of justice and law and legitimacy, whether in an empire or a republic; whether in a monarchical or in a democratic society—and the *de facto* power of a violator of justice and divine law, whether he is called an autocrat or a dictator, or is an oppressive minority, or a combination of unjust anti-Christian men, the Church cannot proclaim, nor has she ever proclaimed any other doctrine than that which prudence and wisdom, as well as justice, demand. The Church cannot preach injustice to counteract injustice. She cannot give her sanction to unlawful and unjust combinations to bring order where there is disorder, or to right what is wrong. She has to preach virtue, moderation, charity. She has to preach that prudence, justice, fortitude and temperance have necessarily to prevail and to conquer; and that no man can plunge his fellow-beings into the calamities of war and insurrection, unless it be in obedience to the will of God. Evolution, to use a fashionable word of our days, and not revolution, is the method most in

¹ St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, xiii., 1, 2.

² The Acts, iv., 5.

³ *Ibid.*, iv., 18.

⁴ *Ibid.*, viii., 19.

accordance with Christian principles and law, to redress social wrongs and cure social evils. Cast the seed of the Gospel to the four winds, and it, by its own force, will bring all things to their proper level.

But between this and the sanction of tyranny there is an immense difference. As there is a distinction between things *prohibita quia mala* and *mala quia prohibita*, so there is also a distinction between the authority which comes from God and the authority which comes from man. And it is for this reason that the "Syllabus of Errors Condemned," which we have quoted above, brands also with authoritative rebuke the doctrine that "authority is nothing else but the result of numerical superiority and material force." (§ LX).

A man can rise, and, like Alexander the Great, become, through force of arms, the master of the world. It may be said of him as the Holy Scripture says, with its usual sublime eloquence, when speaking of that conqueror, that the earth became silent before his presence—*et siluit terra in conspectu ejus*.¹ He may be like Antiochus, his successor in Syria and the adjoining regions of Asia, a tyrant of the worst type, an oppressor of the people, a violator of all laws. Could it ever be unlawful, and unjust, and worthy of censure to imitate those heroical Machabees, before whose glory few glories are not eclipsed, and do all things possible, no matter at what cost, to secure the triumph of justice?

Only one consideration might perhaps be in order in a case like that, and it is the one suggested by St. Thomas Aquinas. "The overthrow of tyranny," says he, "has not the character of a sedition, unless it is so untimely attempted as to cause the majority of the people to suffer more by it than by tyranny itself."²

"How was public power organized?" inquires Balmes. "Which were the stages through which it has had to pass? It is not different in this respect from all other great human facts. . . . Look at the formation of the modern states and you will understand that of the states of ancient times. Has Europe constituted itself under only one principle, which served her as a rule? Conquest, marriages, succession, cessions of territory, treaties, intrigues, revolutions, plebiscites, have they not been respectively the origin of public power in modern society? Force mixed up with right has presided over these arrangements. Even in our days are we not seeing constant changes of political forms and of dynasties, and revolutions, restorations, conquests, treaties, and a perpetual transformation of society, either through the influence of diplomacy, the action of an assembly, the force of the bayonet, or popular

¹ I Mach., i., 3.

² *Summa Theologica*. Secunda secundæ. Quest. 42, Art. 2.

outbreaks and commotions? This variety, these vicissitudes, no matter how much to be regretted, are inevitable. They depend upon the unceasing struggle which, by the very nature of things, all ideas, habits, and interests have to go through, and upon the greater or lesser excitement of passion, when mingling in the contention. Even that transformation which nations are constantly undergoing, some forward, some others backward, and all contributing their own share to the fulfilment of the destinies which God has assigned to the human race, while on their mission on earth, is a necessary cause of differences and an insuperable obstacle to be encountered by the foolish pretension that the facts of history, with all their immense variety, diversity, and amplitude, may be so fashioned as to allow themselves to be held within the narrow regularity of philosophical moulds. It is necessary to look at society from a high standpoint, and not to allow poor theories, purporting to explain and to rule the world, mere fables as swollen up by vanity, as deprived of truth, to dazzle our minds. In a word [says this illustrious writer], the object of public power is the satisfaction of a necessity of the human race; its moral worth and authority are founded upon natural law, which authorizes it and commands it to exist; but the mode of its formation depended upon circumstances, and has to be subject to the diversity and instability of human things."¹

"Law," says in another passage the same distinguished writer, "is the rule of reason and justice, an expression of eternal truth, an emanation of the Infinite Holiness and Wisdom. Under this point of view, law is of *divine right*; and those who have antagonized and criticized this epithet, and looked at it as an emblem of servitude, proved to have been exceedingly superficial and short-sighted, because of their failing to discover that on the contrary that divine right of the law is the only guarantee, and the surest of all, if other could be found, for the preservation of liberty."²

This is exactly the doctrine of St. Thomas Aquinas, the Aristotle of the Middle Ages, as Mr. Luz, of Cuba, used to call him, that high intelligence and really encyclopædic mind which honors the Church and the human race. *Omnis potestas a Deo*, it is true; but that does not mean that God has entrusted to a family, whether its name be Bourbon, or Hohenzollern, or Romanoff, the destinies of His people, or that He has prescribed any particular form of government. Reason, social interest, and circumstances of an entirely external character can only be invoked in favor of giving one particular form of government preference to another. Society cannot exist if all the members thereof are not kept together by a

¹ Balmes, *Elemental Philosophy*. Ethics, chap. xviii.

² Balmes, *Ibid.*, chap. xxv., 206.

power superior to each one individually, whose duty it is to preside over the welfare of all. Therefore power is as natural as society, and as society and all that is natural comes from God, power comes from God.

According to St. Thomas, there are four kinds of law, or to put it perhaps more clearly, the law can be manifested under four different aspects. These are the eternal law, the natural law, the human law, the revealed law. Eternal law is the expression of divine or eternal reason, is the rule with which the divine wisdom governs the universe. St. Augustine had defined it *summa ratio cui semper obtemperandum est*: the supreme reason, or rule, which always all things have necessarily to obey. This supreme universal code enacted by the Almighty, by which He exercises His providence, is perfect and unchangeable like its author. Nothing escapes its action, whether in the life of individuals or in the life of nations. According to it empires rise and fall, families go on or become extinct, individual men are raised to honor or plunged into dishonor. No rebellion is possible against its *dicta*; what is provided by that law is as imperative and as much to be enforced instantly as is the sound of that voice which exclaimed: "Let there be light," and light was made.

Human intelligence cannot read all that is written in that law. Most of it is a mystery to man. Philosophers, both ancient and modern, have come in succession, one after another, and attempted inquiries into the economy of the world, whether in its physical or in its moral aspect. Physics and metaphysics, or things material and not material, have been freely discussed. And while from the most ancient days there have been men who advocated, perhaps much better than those of our days, the doctrines of evolution, and others which seem to be now the only standard by which the learning of a man is to be measured; others, from Plato to Montesquieu and Vico and Count de Maistre and all other investigators in what is called the philosophy of history, have endeavored to find out the secret of the life of society, the laws which it obeys in its multitudinous manifestations, and the cause of its rise and its decline. While some pretend to have found that there is a kind of fatality, this word being taken as synonymous with things inevitable, under which all nations have to go through certain stages, and pass, as man does, from childhood to manhood, and then to old age, and then to death; and others think that human society, no matter how constituted, has to move in a circle and come back at a certain day to the same point from which it had started; and others, that there is a line of indefinite progress which mankind has to follow, whether willing or unwilling, making always man's aim

"That each to-morrow
Finds us further than to-day;"

there is always the universal belief, irresistible, entertained even if denied (because, as Count de Maistre says with great reason, "the pride of man makes him believe that he does not believe") that there is a law, supreme, unerring, sovereign, above all, which all things obey, which is diaphanous as light to its Author, but of which human beings can catch but an imperfect glimpse.

The ancient Egyptians had erected a temple to a divinity which they called Neith, and represented the principle of life of the cosmos and of man. Her statue bore this inscription: "I am all in all, the Past, the Present and the Future, and my veil hath no man ever raised." So it is with the eternal law. No man has ever lifted the veil which covers it. He can only see the marvellous harmony which it causes to prevail. But when he attempts to explain it, if he is not blinded by pride, and calls himself a positivist, and refuses to see what is forcing itself through his eyes, no other way shall be left open to him than to do as Moses did when he saw the glory of God, to fall upon his knees, *curvatus pronus in terram*, and proclaim in humble reverence the supreme power of the Creator.

Whatever man can find written on his own conscience, and as constituting a natural element of his own existence respecting that law, is what St. Thomas calls natural law: *participatio legis æternæ in rationali creatura*. This law being, as it is, in conformity with the dictates of reason, and reason being one and the same for all men, there is no more than one law, as there is no more than one reason. Natural law is universal and unchangeable. Both attributes belong to it on account of its identity with the eternal law. It cannot be obliterated or erased from the human soul.¹ St. Augustine, in his "Confessions," had said, speaking of this law: "Thy law, O Lord! is written on the hearts of men, and iniquity has no power to blot it out."²

Both laws provide for the establishment, preservation and progress of human society. In the admirable pastorals which our Holy Father Pope Leo XIII., when Cardinal Pecci, wrote for the Lenten season of 1877-1878, and which have been published under the title, "The Church and Civilization," it is explicitly stated that "it is evident, and the least reflection will suffice to convince any one of the fact, that man was created by God for society, and so constituted that without society he could not possibly exist. . . . Society, then, being composed of men essentially capable of im-

¹ *Summa Theologica. Prima secundæ, quest. 94, art. 5.*

² *Confessions, i., chap. vi.*

provement, cannot stand still ; it advances and perfects itself. One age inherits the inventions, discoveries and improvements achieved by the preceding one, and thus the sum of physical, moral and political blessings can increase most marvellously. . . . Are not reciprocal relations (between men) vastly improved ? Has not the political system, in certain respects, improved under the influence of time and experience ? . . . It is, indeed, a fact that man in society goes on improving to the three-fold degree of physical well-being, moral relations with his fellows, and political condition. And the different degrees of the successive development to which men united together in society attain, is called civilization."¹

The consequence to be drawn from these principles is not beyond the reach of any human intellect. There may be, as there are, among the nations of the world, a great many differences in the forms of government. There may be a personal ruler here, and a senate or an assembly there ; there may be a man or a woman sitting upon a throne, and called Majesty by the people ; or a fellow-citizen, our equal, and in many respects our servant, entrusted, both of them, with attending to the duties belonging to all executive powers, namely, to see that the laws are complied with, and through their enforcement that the life of society is preserved and its progress accomplished and fostered. All forms of government may be, therefore, good, and, under the circumstances, the most proper and desirable ; because politics is not a science of absolute principles, as said by Macaulay, but a science of compromises, and to a certain extent it might be said, with Pope :

" For forms of government the fools contest,
The best administered is the best."

But if the government, whatever it is, tramples down any principle whatsoever of the eternal or the natural law, that government is not right, is fully and absolutely wrong, and is doomed to destruction.

Positive law, as defined by St. Thomas Aquinas, is the law which each society has formed for itself by drawing consequences from the principles of natural law, and making application thereof to the requirements of life. This law is also a necessity of our nature and a condition of existence for the social order. Whether written or unwritten, whether codified or expressed by general consent and the decisions of the courts of justice, that law is entitled to the utmost respect, and no man must dare to change it, unless upon mature reflection and after long and calm deliberation. The object of law is to insure justice, and cause equity and the com-

¹ Cardinal Pecci, *The Church and Civilization*, 1st Pastoral, iv.

mon good to prevail ; and conservatism, in the true acceptance of the word, seems to be the best method even to undo the wrongs which the law may happen to do.

Revealed law, which applies to eternity, and is intended to secure the salvation of man, is, according to St. Thomas Aquinas, a law directly emanating from God, which goes as far beyond the nature of our faculties as eternity does—beyond the nature of our present existence, and is free from all errors, all fluctuations, all changes inherent in man. This law is necessary to complete the natural and positive law, because these two laws concern themselves with the things which belong to the natural and the social order ; that is to say, with things which fall under our natural faculties and regulate our relations with our fellow-beings, while the revealed law provides for other necessities and other destinies far above those relations.

Under the ideas which have been respectfully set forth, subject, however, to be withdrawn if authoritatively they are pronounced incorrect, it is easy to see the true meaning and character of divine right. There are powers and powers, some of them entitled to praise, some others whose existence is to be deplored. The standard for measuring them and drawing the line between the one and the other class is the law of God, the eternal and the natural law. "If now we bitterly deplore," said Cardinal Pecci, now Leo XIII., "the apostasy of governments representing social power, we cannot, however, ignore the fact that, besides the depraved official world that is without God, there is another real world in which there are many beneficent hearts, firm characters, and pure and lofty souls."

And to make it still plainer, the same great authority has uttered some phrases which now must be quoted, as a befitting complement of this part of the paper. "*Power*," the Church says, "*is from God.*" But if power is from God, it should reflect the divine majesty to command respect, and the goodness of God to become sweet and acceptable to all subject to it. Whoever, then, holds the reins of power, whether it be an individual or a community ; whether the functions be held by election or by birth ; in a democratic country, or in a monarchy, must not look to power for the gratification of ambition nor the vain pride of being above everybody ; but on the contrary he must seek the means of serving his brethren, even as the Son of God, who came not to be ministered unto, but to minister unto others. . . . The kings of nations have strangely abused authority ; their covetousness was unbounded, and they satisfied it by devouring the substance of the people and the fruits of their labor ; their will was law, and woe to him who dreamed of escaping it. Not satisfied with this, they assumed high-sounding titles, which were nothing but cruel and solemn irony, when compared

with the reality. . . . The Church is represented as the foe to the liberties of man, and the most humble servant of every power on earth. You can now estimate the justice of these charges. The Church most assuredly has no approval to bestow on abettors of disorders, nor on systematic enemies of authority; but the obedience she inculcates finds a powerful recompense in the transformation of power which, having become Christian, . . . finds *its limits in the justice of its commands*. If these limits are overstepped by invading the domain of conscience, a voice is heard exclaiming with the Apostles: *God must be obeyed before all*. . . . Liberty is a flower that springs up spontaneously in a sphere of society that is guided by the spirit of the Catholic Church."¹

Under the circumstances above stated it may be perhaps easy to answer the question which suggested this paper. The dream of a universal republic has not much chance to be realized in our day, nor perhaps for a long time to come. Many a republic which is now in existence has either to undergo that Christian transformation which the eternal law provides, or to fall to pieces. Liberty cannot spring up within its limits and in its atmosphere; and liberty is the foundation of all morality and happiness. And while the transformation of society, and its becoming every day more and more Christian, and more and more in harmony with the teachings of the Church of God, shall end in securing the triumph of liberty and of popular forms of government, it will take no little time to be accomplished. As in the movement of a pendulum, the equilibrium will not be attained until after a series of actions and reactions, in exact proportion with each other, whether in intensity, duration, or any other character whatsoever.

The great aim of society is to secure that transformation, to become Christian, to attain as near perfection as possible, according to the standards of Christian law. The philosophers of the stoical school used to proclaim this principle: *Liberi estis, liberi semper estote ad servandum bonum, custodiamque ordinis*. Christian doctrine by the mouth of one of its greatest expounders, the immortal author of the "Following of Christ," put it still more forcibly: *Negotium nostrum . . . quotidie seipso fortiores fieri*. To become stronger and stronger every day is our business, our aim. Stronger to struggle against the evil, whether within ourselves, or in the external world; stronger to aid in the triumph of justice; stronger to secure emancipation from everything which degrades, or abridges, or oppresses, or prevents from being shown in all its brilliancy, the dignity of a creature which was made in the beginning to the image and likeness of God, and which even in its fallen condition is "little less than an angel."

¹ Cardinal Pecci, *The Church and Civilization*. Second Pastoral, chap. vii.

AUSONIO FRANCHI—THE GREAT ITALIAN
PHILOSOPHER'S NOBLE REPARATION.

Ultima Critica di Ausonio Franchi. Milano, Palma. 1889. Pp. 680.

“**K**NOW thyself!” is an apothegm no less wise than pithy. Know other men! if a less pithy saying, is not less wise. Probably there is not one man of all that live or have lived from whom we may not learn. Two, at least, there are, widely separated by time, experience and temperament, from whom those who would know others and themselves will ever seek instruction, courage, spirituality, and through whom many shall receive the priceless gifts of faith, hope and charity. Augustine and Newman, in the “Confessions” and the “Apologia,” have left us two mirrors wherein we may see the reflection not of two souls only, but also of our own soul and of other souls unnumbered. To the sensitive man, who has estimated the comparative measure of his ideals, a confession to the crowd, not of crimes, but even of the interior struggles of the soul, is much more painful than bodily punishment. Who goes farther, for the sake of conscience, from a sense of obligation to his fellows and to God, and humbly, regretfully acknowledges past evil-doing—how great his trial and his merit! The Augustines have been few in number, nor dare we lift up even penitents above the ordinary to his high level. And yet we may claim that believers and unbelievers will find in the “Confession” and in the reparation of Ausonio Franchi a lesson whose value is not to be impaired by a comparison that would establish the inferiority of his talents, of his aspirations, or of his influence, to the talents, the aspirations, the influence of the great bishop of Hippo or of the great English cardinal.

Life is a trial, longer or shorter, of some men's bodies, and of other men's intellects. Who shall say that he is strong above his fellows? The man who is not inordinately greedy, or who is just ordinarily sensual, and whose faith has never been disturbed? As though pride did not lie close-coiled under zeal, under piety, under knowledge; and as though pride's painless fangs did not secretly poison hearts that would be honest, minds that would be right, tongues that long to teach the truth. Certainly when Cristoforo Bonavino entered the seminary, determined to give his life and talents to the service of God and men, in the sacred calling of the priesthood, he lacked neither zeal nor piety. When, years after, he laid his hand upon the Gospels, on the morning of his

ordination, his zeal had not diminished, though knowledge had been added unto zeal. And yet, a consecrated priest, freely bound, fairly tried, past early youth, he did lose faith, revolt against divine authority, forswear himself, and turn his hand against the spiritual mother that gave him his true life. With his cassock, Cristoforo Bonavino laid aside his family and baptismal name, and the world of letters, the world of sophistry, the politicasters of the revolution, welcomed the new Ausonio Franchi, who was henceforward to lend his talents and his learning to the cause of rationalism and revolution.

To say that it is never too late to repent is to repeat a saying that would be trite were it not Christ's saying. Forty years and more have passed since Ausonio first betrayed Cristoforo. At length Ausonio has repented; better still, he has made a reparation,—a noble reparation,—whose effect, however silent, will be immediate, far-reaching, permanent. He has indicted himself at the bar of conscience, of philosophy, of science, of history, of experience; convicted himself publicly before all men, and confessed his faults heartily, humbly, with compunction. A man can do no more. Without God's help no man can do that much. The sacrifice is one not granted to meaner souls.

We can know something of a man from his style, and so natural is Ausonio's that a page of his book discloses the mind and the heart of the writer. Not only does he open his soul to us, giving us thereby an insight into many a passionate heart and erring mind, but he also teaches writers, who would do good, a lesson in the value of a finished style. Ausonio's style is masterly, and we know how he made it so. There is only one way. "With age," he says, "I have become more and more severe with myself. I mistrust myself more and more. I dispute with myself about each phrase and each word, and if in youth sometimes a whole day's study hardly sufficed me to compose a single page, in these later years very often I find that at the end of a day I have not finished, and, perhaps, not even begun a single sentence."¹ If Ausonio's habit of writing were generally adopted there would, of course, be a panic in the book-printing business, but what good books we should have in our conveniently small libraries!

By nature and training an artist, Ausonio is at the same time a practical as well as a theoretic philosopher and a man of his day. A thinker, a student, he is gifted with a sensitive nature, open to the most delicate and the most powerful emotions. Keen of vision, bold, high-spirited, he is at the same time patient, warm-hearted, merciful, reasonable and a reasoner. He is a philosopher

¹ *Ultima Critica*, pp. 10-11.

who remembers that men have hearts. When you have laid down his book you feel that he has enlivened, strengthened, elevated your heart. Temperate himself, he has tempered your rising anger; just himself, he has awakened your righteous indignation; high-minded himself, he has enlarged your aspirations; experienced in men and affairs, learned in the history of human thought, he has informed your mind with knowledge, eminently practical and timely. But he is here to be judged, let him speak for himself.

With an enthusiasm not uncommon, and with a want of judgment only too common, Cristoforo Bonavino, in youth, devoted more time to the reading of German "criticism" and French "positivism" than to the serious study of Christian philosophy. His education, his entrance into public life were influenced by the remarkable political movements of 1848. Gioberti had crazed well-meaning Italians, comforted the souls of rationalists and radicals, and given a sort of cowardly courage to shop-keeping "liberals." The watchword of the day was that Italy must be re-made, the tyrants thrown down. She, whose "primacy" was so easily established by the aid of fine phrases, must be free. Who were the tyrants? The Church and the State—not Piedmont, of course. Piedmont was appointed to save Italy. Down with theological dogmatism and political despotism! "Then," writes Ausonio Franchi, "lifting up once again the cry of the eighteenth century, and the banner of its fighting philosophy, we declared war on the two authorities that, according to us, had conspired to hold us in spiritual and temporal slavery; a war, all the more fierce and implacable, because of our high estimation of the benefits we were deprived of, and of the magnitude of the evils we suffered, through these two powers that prevented Italy from becoming a nation, and Italians from having a country. I was one of those who could use no other arm than the pen, and with this arm I, too, made war against the 'dogmatic' authority of the Church and the 'despotic' authority of the State. My campaigns were my books; but books thus made are necessarily works of negation and destruction, whose scope and office it is to show that certain doctrines are false, and certain institutions iniquitous; and to persuade, invite, excite readers to repudiate the one and to abolish the other."¹ How to replace the good things that passion repudiates and abolishes, passion will consider—when passion is in chains.

Ausonio was surprised, though it was not surprising, that he gained applause from many, and from unexpected, quarters, "Skeptics and atheists, empirics and eclectics, materialists and spiritualists, theists and pantheists, constitutionalists and radicals,

¹ *Ultima Critica*, p. 41.

saluted the author as a fellow-worker in the good cause."¹ All the enemies of "dogmatism and despotism," however divided as to the end or the means, were united in the lodge of "reason and liberty." More advanced than Gioberti, Ausonio adopted the revolutionary ideas of Mazzini, and, having satisfied himself of the unreasonableness of Christian "dogmatism," he sought a solid basis for human reason in the *Critique* of Kant. To the influence of the sophistical German the world owes Franchi's more important works, *La Teorica del Giudizio*, *La Filosofia delle Scuole Italiane* and *La Ragione*. More logical than Kant, he criticised away the very idea of God and was perfectly satisfied with himself. He had solved his own problem with so great ease.

To God Padre Bonavino owed two splendid gifts, two rare gifts. He was born with the mind and the heart of a teacher; and a teacher the new-made Ausonio was, as well as a polemist, from 1852 up to 1860. In the latter year Terenzio Mamiani, who had philosophized himself into the position of Minister of Public Instruction, appointed Franchi to the chair of the History of Philosophy in the University. Mamiani was a moderate, Ausonio a comparative irreconcilable. Perhaps the minister's motive was not at all political. The appointment may have been due wholly to Mamiani's respect for the ability of the ex-priest. Neither the new professor nor the friendly politician could, however, have foreseen the consequences of the appointment.

All men teach, though few, relatively, know that they would be justified in prefixing the sounding title of Professor to their conventional name. And yet, few men, and, perhaps, fewer professors, deserve the office to which nature has indiscriminately appointed the sons of men, or the title which so many ambitious, greedy, conscienceless, and so many most worthy, men assume, or gain, or earn. Ausonio Franchi has recorded his experiences of the modern Italian school-teacher and professor, and of that new science of pedagogy, to which so many bearded and beardless innovators are only too ready to sacrifice their self-esteemed talents in the interest of place and of pocket. Programmes, text-books, methods of teaching, scientifically-shaped chairs and, above all, the increase of magisterial salaries,—these questions, Ausonio testifies, are always in the "order of the day;" but, beside these you will find not one of the themes that really have to do with the essence, the life, the soul of pedagogy. Who troubles himself about the acquirements proper to a teacher? About the special duties incumbent on him? About the virtues of which he should be the true model in the school, in the family and before the public?

¹ *Ultima Critica*, pp. 41-42.

About the vices and defects that he particularly should avoid? About the best system of rewards for good teachers, and of punishments for bad teachers? ¹ When these subjects, that lie at the root of all true education, are wholly neglected, shall we be surprised when we see men build up a pedagogic science of quackery, whose basis is a vain and sterile formalism; a false, mechanical, wholly external apparatus—vain, sterile, false—“because it is not informed by a moral and religious faith in the arduous, noble and sacred apostleship of education; because it is not vivified by a fervent zeal, tireless in exercising and perfecting that apostleship, as the one aim and the supreme duty of life?” ² Formalism! Mechanical apparatus! A moral and religious faith! A sacred apostleship! Is this a covert attack on our splendid modern system of go-as-you-please, state-certificate, education? Or, can we pardon a man of seventy for having learned something of contemporaneous methods, even if he has had no experience other than that of a professor of philosophy? Let us hear Ausonio, as he develops his thoughtful experience: “In pedagogy, science and art play the smaller part; the great, the greatest factors are morality and religion. The best master is not he who is richer in talent and learning, but he, above all, who, with a training that fits him for his grade, has a love, a passion for teaching—the man who lives only for his scholars, and whose thoughts and affections centre in the success of one and the progress of another—this the object of his desires and his hopes, the peace of his conscience, the happiness of his life. *There* is the science of sciences and the art of arts; there, the whole secret of pedagogy! Filled with such a love, with such a passion, the teacher will ever find in his fatherly heart, in his religious spirit, a sagacious, active guide, that will safely direct his course and supply the deficiencies of the programmes, text-books or methods, forced upon him by incompetency, or selected by his own mistaken judgment. Without such a love, there is no method, no text-book, no programme—there is no art, no science—that can ever make a good teacher or a good school.” ³ When a man feels himself stifled in the corrupted atmosphere of quackery and formalism, with what a nervous sense of joy he welcomes a breath of pure air! Would that the words we have so poorly translated could be read by every man and woman in the land!

There are “vocations.” A thoughtless or a deliberate abuse of a calling cannot be used as an argument against Providence. Of Padre Bonavino's qualifications for the calling of a teacher there can be no doubt. “Teaching was always his passion, his delight.

¹ *Ultima Critica*, p. 15.

² *Ibid.*, p. 16, note.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 16, note.

In no state or profession could he have enjoyed the contentment, the happiness he experienced in living solely for the children of a primary school, or for the youth of an academy or of a university."¹ We can readily imagine Ausonio Franchi's pleasure when he was chosen to instruct the students who frequented the venerable halls of Pavia. His pupils are still affectionately, gratefully mindful of him, and Padre Bonavino loves them with the love not alone of a professor of philosophy, but also with that deeper love of a priest who is once more a true shepherd. "Most heartily do I here avow," he writes, "that my indebtedness to them is much greater than their indebtedness to me. To them I owe, if not the first, certainly the strongest impulse, the most helpful direction, on the road that led me back to safety."² For years he had been a writer of that kind of philosophy which is called "popular," because it is flung at the public. Padre Bonavino has the measure of such a writer, who "addresses the public just as if he were speaking to himself, giving free rein to the audacity of his thought and to the fury of his passion." It was after this manner that Ausonio Franchi philosophized, up to the year 1859. "But, when he had to speak from the professor's chair, he felt himself bound, not by the laws of the State, or by the regulations of the ministry, but by a sense of conscience, to practise liberty of speech with an especial caution. For the relations between pupil and teacher are almost those of father and son. As the pupil is obligated to learn what the professor teaches, so the professor is bound to teach not his own opinions, but the things that science has generally recognized as true and certain. And, as to opinions more or less probable, but which are still disputed, or disputable, while the teacher should expose these, historically and critically, he should beware of giving forth, as the conclusions of science, the hypotheses, conjectures, novelties, the charlatanism of this or that school; above all, he should rigorously avoid the use of a single word that might pervert or offend the moral conscience. The teacher assumes the place of the father, and has, like him, *a care of souls*. He should deal with his pupils as if they were his own children, and have at heart their virtue as well as their knowledge. Never should he say anything that the pupils should not believe; never should he do any act that they should not imitate."³ Many chairs of so-called science would be speedily vacated, if the consciences of all so-called teachers were guided by the just principles laid down for himself by Ausonio Franchi.

Though persuaded of the truth of rationalism, Ausonio did not feel that he could teach its doctrines to his pupils. He was learned

¹ *Ultima Critica*, p. 8.

² *Ibid.*, p. 264.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 265.

enough to know, and honest enough to recognize, that these doctrines were not so universally accepted as to deserve a place in the "common patrimony of science." Evidently, they were not certain. Were they so founded in rectitude as to be safe guides of moral conduct? Of this he had no security. Should he, then, run the risk of scandalizing his pupils? The answer was a prudent, honest No. Thenceforth, he determined that he would avoid all religious criticism, and scrupulously respect the creed of Christianity. "One motive, more than any other, fixed me in this determination," he says, with a charming simplicity, "the countenances of those dear youths who hung upon my lips, who trusted my words, who laid open their minds before me, in order that I might illuminate them with my thoughts, and their hearts in order that I might warm them with my affections. To sow or cultivate in their souls a doubt of the principles of theism, or of Christian spiritualism, and consequently of the principles of moral and social order, would have seemed to me as repugnant, as horrible as the idea of a conspiracy or of treachery." Hesitation compelled reflection. Conscience appealed to the reason. Could a system that was practically illicit be theoretically true? To answer this question was to force rationalism to demonstrate its reasonableness. "And as the question was naturally connected with the history of philosophy, it became thenceforth the centre of all my studies and abilities, the one anxious, trying care of my life. Year after year I was diligent in collecting, debating, valuing, weighing old and new reasonings for and against. Day by day the opposition gained, the defence lost, in weight, until at length there was nothing on one side, and everything on the other. For me, the question was answered, and to the consequent question there came no other answer than a short and sharp No."¹

"And this NO, which repudiates rationalism, seems to me much more valid and legitimate than the YES with which I espoused her. For, that YES was the ending of a contest that lasted five or six years (1846-51), in the hot days of youth, during the tempest of revolution, which had disturbed, convulsed, minds and consciences even more than cities and States, while this NO is the conclusion of an examination continued for more than twenty years (1866-87), in mature age, with a calm mind, amid the quiet of the study and the school. And since the occasion which, above all, determined me to repeat, to carry on and to complete this examination, was love of my pupils, I can now justly affirm that they did me more good than I can have done to them, and the depth of my gratitude is such that it cannot be expressed in words. It is

¹ *Ultima Critica*, pp. 265-6.

a feeling which may be summed up in the habitual, loving wish of the father's heart : God bless them ! " ¹

We shall be pardoned this long quotation, on account of its beauty, its sincerity, its tenderness and, still more, on account of the valuable lesson it conveys—a lesson in the science of other men's souls. Among the wonderful mysteries that crowd upon us, not the least insoluble is the mystery of the hidden agencies that move the mind toward truth, or away from her. How many live and die the victims of passionate unreason, satisfied that they alone are calmly reasonable ! How few hot heads, or cold hearts, ever measure the scientific, or the moral, value of the opinions whose consequence they know to be the destruction of the patrimony of science, of the principles of Christian spiritualism, and practically, therefore, of moral and social order ! How many teachers love themselves, and do not love their pupils ! How few take even five years, at any period of life, to test their own or other men's arguments : to debate, value, weigh the doctrines that may be false, ruinous, and that, being so, are as horrible as the work of damned traitors ! It is well to remember that a rationalist may compel from the unwilling lips of a pupil, who has at length reasoned himself out of a lifetime of falsehood, words much less filial than the moving " God bless him ! "

The quotation has not only given us in few words a summary of a long chapter in the life of Ausonio Franchi ; it has, in addition, permitted us to estimate the value of his present work. A rationalist whose honesty is unimpeachable, and who can point to a record of thirty-six years of unbelief, and to twenty-one years of studious, learned, critical inquiry—not the inquiry of the hired platform mountebank, or of the magazine philosopher who is filled with the learning of the cyclopædia and of the popular scientific manual, but the inquiry of the trained logician, of the scholar, read in all the schools of all times, and whose talents and acquirements are such as to command the respect of the most learned—such a rationalist is not to be dismissed by his former co-workers with a sneer. His testimony against himself is worthy of more than passing attention. Men who value truth for truth's sake will not be satisfied until they have reasoned with him. The value of his book will not end with this century. He has written a chapter in the history of philosophy—a chapter that will compel the attention of believers and unbelievers.

Ausonio Franchi donned the weak armor of the rationalist, and entered the philosophical lists, in 1852. His title and claims were inscribed in *La Filosofia delle Scuole Italiane*, a book so well es-

¹ *Ultima Critica*, pp. 268-9.

teemed in its day that Italian rationalists, in search of a name for a "philosophical" magazine, could find none more fitting than that chosen by the ardent ex-priest, who, with a light heart and head, started out to teach wisdom to wiser men. There have been gifted souls who, after a long life of study and experience, imagined they were beginning to know themselves, on the very day before impetuous death rushed in. Ausonio is one of the thousand of million examples of the man who supposed he understood himself and the world, when he had attained the ripe greenness of thirty and odd years. Bertini had gathered together, in his *Idea di una Filosofia della vita*, "the capital doctrines of metaphysics, commonly taught in the Italian schools up to the middle of this century." Ausonio proposed to apply the criticism of Kant to these same doctrines. He did not intend to deny these doctrines on the ground that they were false, but solely on the ground that they were not "philosophical"¹—an old distinction, whose history Ausonio has since traced, and found, as inquiring rationalists—if such there be—may readily find, that it is much more difficult to be erroneously original than it is to be philosophically right. Kant appealed to confused minds, with an irrational distinction between those doctrines which, according to him, were not demonstrable by reason, and which, therefore, should be eliminated from the sphere of *pure reason*, and those same rationally undemonstrable doctrines which, being psychologically and morally rooted in the very life of the human intellect and heart, were to be maintained in the name of *practical reason*. Ausonio was prepared, so he imagined, to riddle the ordinary proofs of the absolute reality of God, of the contingent reality of the world, of the spiritual reality of the soul, and quite as well prepared, on the other hand, to establish, on the most substantial foundation, the natural verity of the self-same theses. To-day he confesses his failure, absolute failure. After thirty-seven years of incessant study, after thirty-seven years of experience in private and public life—an experience which permitted him to observe closely the mental, moral, political and civil effects of many theories that have since passed from the smoky realm of abstraction into the clearer realm of fact, he sadly exclaims: "How grievously did I deceive myself! False hopes! False previsions! In the words of the wise man: 'We wandered from the way of truth.' Instead of eliminating science and thereby exalting faith, I succeeded in abolishing the one and the other. Unbelievers I could make, but not one believer."²

Emmanuel Kant was sixty-four years of age when he published the second edition of his "Critique of Pure Reason." In the

¹ *Ultima Critica*, p. 54.

² *Ibid.*, p. 65.

preface he announced his age, certainly with no intention of weakening his magisterial authority. His method, he declared, was the only one fitted to completely eradicate materialism, fatalism, atheism, incredulity, idealism and skepticism. The Italian pupil who, not half his age, pinned his faith to the famous German's "mature" system, has measured its effects, and the pupil's judgment—now more matured than was the master's—is that not only did Kant's "Critique" fail to excite a belief in God and in the freedom and immortality of the human soul, but that it generated a mighty crowd of atheists and materialists, infidels and skeptics, not only among the learned, but among the young men and the young women of all the classical, technical, normal and professional schools.¹ "Only the malignant dare deny Kant's honesty of purpose," says Ausonio. And yet what a terrible lesson this practical criticism by an experienced pupil conveys! Evidently a man may be honest and blind; and honest blindness may mislead the souls and corrupt the hearts of men innumerable.

The harm that Ausonio Franchi did he has labored to undo most thoroughly. Taking in hand the *Filosofia delle Scuole Italiane*, he reviews it, sentence by sentence, phrase by phrase, word by word; criticizing his former positions with consummate dialectical skill; exposing the minutest error expressed in his early rationalistic sophisms; refuting his own objections; disproving his own premises; invalidating his own conclusions. Nor does he stop there. Having convicted himself and rationalism, critically, he proceeds to demonstrate the truth of the theses whose validity he at one time contested so unphilosophically. This self-refutation has a double value. It is an answer not merely to the argumentation that he directed against Bertini; it is, at the same time, a refutation of Kantism. The "Critique" that Ausonio tried and found wanting, he has more especially criticized in the two chapters devoted to the question of "the existence of an absolute Being," and of "the notion of an absolute Being."²

We have not had to wait until 1889 for a refutation of Kantism. Five centuries before the clever German, and a great many other less clever men, had assumed that his intellect was more than angelic, St. Thomas, summing up the science of reason and faith, had disproved the imaginative ratiocination by which Kant was misled, and by which he misled so many others. A "progressive" mind, that is not more than five centuries behind the rear-guard of truth, deserves a forward place in the van of conventional "modern philosophy." Ausonio Franchi learned this fact as he progressed, rationally, from unbelief to faith. To bring men back

¹ *Ultima Critica*, p. 65.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 381-473.

by the road he came, he adopts, however, not the method of St. Thomas, but a method which many with him will deem better suited to the last decade of the nineteenth century. Truth does not change her person. On this account, perhaps, there is a tendency, among ascetic minds, to argue that she should never be dressed according to the fashion of the day—as though pleasing apparel could make her less acceptable to men of taste who are not necessarily devoid of reasoning faculties. When she is presented to students of philosophy, Ausonio is of the opinion that the "critical" garb sets her off more becomingly than the old-fashioned "theoretic" costume. The latter may be the more correct, but in these matters the audience and the lecturer deserve consideration. In the time-honored, unornamented clothes of demonstration, the goddess has a repellant air of dogmatism, while in the newer, fresher, gayer robe of criticism she seems to be more pleasing, more gracious, simpler, less severe, more human, and, above all, more original. "A theoretical treatise about any question of philosophy," says Ausonio, "(except in those very rare cases where the author has a healthy genius of invention or innovation), is, at most, a compilation in which things said by other men, and often by masters, are repeated again and again. I shall not deny that works of this class may be highly meritorious on account of the new knowledge they contain, or on account of the clearness, order, precision, correctness with which they re-state other men's work. Still they are always, substantially, second-hand books, serving those who use them much more than they gratified those who fatigued themselves writing them. In the controversial ('critical') method, on the other hand, the author is as personal as if he were engaged in a conversation with his opponents, and, whether he bear himself well or ill, he is responsible. In the apprehension, discussion, acceptance or rejection of the arguments of others, he puts his own talents, his own knowledge, to the proof; a proof all the more serious and hazardous because he speaks to men whose eyes and ears are wide open, intent on catching him at fault, and ready to attack him with sound reason; and, on the other hand, a proof more conformable to the disposition of the writer who would rather be conquered in the philosophical arena, through the weakness of his own powers, than be a victor through the aid of others."¹ Now that a few bold Catholics have risked the treatment of philosophical questions in the most living language of the day, the smaller number who have dared to deal with these important subjects in a critical, controversial, conversational manner, may be encouraged by the testimony of a writer who addresses various

¹ *Ultima Critica*, pp. 45-47.

classes of readers. There are students who imagine that they are fully alive only when they have read the books of dead men. And yet the sons of dead men occasionally are compelled to live after their fathers have been buried.

A quotation in which he sums up his earlier rationalistic argumentation and Kant's, will give a notion of Ausonio's method, and a valuable criticism of Kantism by an adept. The "Critique" of Kant, "instead of being a system which, more than any other, can satisfy *pure reason* and *practical reason*, is a mixture of sensism and idealism that, in the end, avails to deny the cognition of every reality and the reality of every cognition. In other words, it resolves itself into a subjectivism that is worse than any skepticism, inasmuch as it condemns the human reason to be naturally incapable of knowing the truth about anything, because naturally disposed to accept the illusions of the imagination as real things—that is to say, it declares the human reason to be naturally, perpetually, incurably in a state of hallucination."¹ Such a system is not only illogical; it is also immoral. It implies the negation of Christian theism. "Now, this theism being denied, the only one which is conformable to, or which is not contrary to, the natural and essential principles of the human reason, there remain only pantheism or materialism, whose necessary, inexorable conclusion, immediate or mediate, is the negation of God, atheism. And atheism, by abolishing the absolute principle of the whole natural order, abolishes at the same time, rigorously, the absolute principle of the whole moral order; destroys the very foundation of all morality by denying a supreme legislator, and, with him, all laws obligatory on the conscience, and thus condemns mankind to *immoralism*. On the one hand, through the theoretic reason, there is no certitude of truth; on the other hand, through the practical reason, no rule of good; and hence, the direction of human life is abandoned to egotism—the individual life to the useful and the pleasing, and the social life to caprice and force. And then Mr. Mallock's question comes up spontaneously, inevitably: Is life worth living?"²

These words come with telling force from one who has felt his soul tremble on the edge of the precipice. To be a murderer, a robber, a debauchee, is to be comparatively decent alongside of the professor of a philosophy of *immoralism*. Many of those who deny Christian theism do not foresee the consequences of their negation, says Ausonio. "What matters it? The consequences of a negation, or of an affirmation, do not depend on the prevision, or on the want of prevision, of the one who utters the nega-

¹ *Ultima Critica*, p. 410.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 410-411.

tion or affirmation ; but they depend on the intrinsic connection that, according to the nature of things and ideas, chains an antecedent to its consequences." And, in this case, the consequences will not tarry. " They have been publicly preached and propagated far and wide under the lying name of progress, or of reform of our institutions, domestic, scholastic, civil, political, social ; reform and progress that, with divers ways and divers arts, have always the one effect, to eradicate from among the people not only every rootlet of Catholic and Christian faith, but also every religious thought and sentiment, and hence every principle of moral life and of social order. Let us repeat once more : Without a law that obligates the conscience absolutely, there can be neither duty nor right ; and there can be no obligatory law without a prime and supreme divine, religious authority, that is to say, without God. Whoever then abhors these *inhuman* corollaries of the philosophy of negation, inhuman because they are destructive of that which constitutes the specific essence and the personal dignity of man, ought to feel himself led, yes forced, to doubt the truth and goodness of the theories that have generated them. As false and criminal consequences can be logically derived only from false and criminal principles, he should not hesitate to turn backward, to retrace the way of his speculations, to examine them again more accurately, more severely than ever, to give himself no rest until he has discovered why and where his speculations were false, and until he has so corrected his speculations that they shall have no affinity with these fatal corollaries."¹ The argument is direct, and one that appeals to all humane men. Why, in the name of science, commit yourself to the doctrine of *immoralism*, a plague spurned, shunned by all manly men as long as mankind has written its record on clay or metal, stone, parchment or rags? With the voice of experience Ausonio, again and again, qualifies un-Christian philosophy as "immoralism." To repeat his warnings, to repeat his regrets, to repeat his humble acknowledgement of past unwisdom, of past foolishness, of past unreason, would be to rewrite his book. It deserves to be rewritten—in English ; but we may be certain it will not be translated. Such is not the fate of deserving books written in French, German or Italian. Is it true that even Catholics will not read serious works that appeal more to the intellect than to the senses?

While retracing his own steps and exposing the errors of Kant, Ausonio does not neglect the more modern schools of sophistry, for which the talented German thinker prepared the way. Ausonio laments the neglect of philosophy in Italy. The hotheads whom

¹ *Ultima Critica*, p 412.

he led or followed in youth dreamed of a philosophical revival as a consequence of political revolution. To-day, he says, we Italians have as much freedom of speech and of thought as some other people enjoy. And yet the only change in the philosophical position is a change of masters. Before 1848 Italian thought was the slave of France. Since 1859 it has been the slave of Germany and England. To-day the new "freemen" enjoy a mental servitude, speaking a foreign tongue and thinking with other men's heads.¹

And yet, neither Germany nor England has any reason to boast of its originality. French "positivism" has long controlled their fashionable schools of "philosophy," and controls them still under the no less artful name of "evolutionism," a name devised to hide from the uncritical the base materialism that it covers. Positivism is materialism, and nothing more. It teaches that "matter is the only reality; that the only forces and the only laws are those of matter; that all the phenomena of the inorganic and organic world, of animal and vegetable life, of the intellective and volitive conscience, are modes or states, actions or passions, effects or results, evolutions or transformations of matter."² The adepts of this school speak of the soul, of spirit, conscience, thought, intellect, will, but they mean by these words either cerebral lobes, *medulla oblongata*, grand "sympathicus" or ganglionic plexus. "A system which thus reduces the whole essence of man to that of the brute, and the whole essence of the brute to that of the plant, and the whole essence of the plant to a kind of mechanism of matter, may well murmur or protest, but it is, theoretically, pure and unadulterated materialism. And what will it be practically? Once more the answer is: *immoralism*."³ Because the absolute negation of a spiritual order means, inevitably, the absolute negation of a moral order. A morality that consists wholly in the vibrations of certain nerves, or in the contraction of certain muscles, may suit the taste and satisfy the minds of "positive" scientists, but mankind will let them take their own risk if they are pleased to practise it, and to enjoy the happiness of making beasts of their positive selves.

"I am not scientific, you say"! exclaims Ausonio. It is the duty of science to seek the truth, and, having found the truth, to teach it, affirm it, regardless of the consequences, whether they be good or ill? And is it no longer allowed one to value a principle by its consequences? Then all logicians from Aristotle down have been at fault. It is a fundamental law that falsehood cannot be legitimately deduced from truth; and therefore it is certain and evident

¹ *Ultima Critica*, p. 85.

² *Ibid.*, p. 24.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 24-26.

that a principle cannot be true from which false conclusions are necessarily derived. You insist on applying logic to geometry and to physics. And will you deny it to philosophy? You will—because you must. And why so? Because you know that with an analysis, with an application, of your principles such a deluge of enormities will rush out on the world that all but those who have hopelessly lost their way, or who have rejected common sense and the moral sense, will quake with horror. The so-called theories now in vogue of a universal mechanical monism to which, by means of evolution, selection, association, heredity, all forces, laws, acts and facts are reduced—not of the vegetable and animal organism only, but also of human life and consciousness—end unquestionably in consequences that destroy, annihilate, humanity itself.¹ “The man who will first dare to apply your theoretical doctrines to his own life ought to be shut up in a madhouse; and a jail is the only fit place for him who will apply the tenets of your practical doctrine to another human being.” Reading Ausonio’s words, one feels that he is both a philosopher and a man. It is a mistake to assume that all philosophers of the male sex can make the same high claim.

The philosophy of the immoral has been presented to the world under various guises. The very latest goes by the name of Darwinism. The name is new, Ausonio says, but the thing itself is as old as the hills. As the centuries trooped one after another, those famous laws of “the struggle for existence,” and of “natural selection,” used to be called, in the old-fashioned schools, by the simpler names of “the instinct of conservation” and of “perfection.” In other words, every living thing, and especially man, whether we consider the individual or the species, has a natural tendency to conserve its own life and to ameliorate its own condition as much as possible. But evolutionism has changed the application of the ancient formulas. According to the new theory, life in general, including human life, is a war in which the strong, the elect of nature, are selected to exterminate the weak. The natural state of humanity, the legitimate end of all its progress, the ideal of its perfection, would then be the savage state of Hobbes: *Bellum omnium in omnes*. Let us be logical! Ausonio suggests. “It is clear that after a first selection, by which the weaker should be exterminated, the stronger must needs begin and complete a second extermination of the less strong. After the second comes the third, and so on, until the human race has been exterminated, barring one, for a while. You call your application of this system to the individual and social life of man by a new, hybrid, name—

¹ *Ultima Critica*, pp. 485-487.

² *Ibid.*, p. 487.

sociology, Messrs. Evolutionists? Take up an old dictionary and we shall quickly correct you. Anthropophagy—there you have it!¹ Ausonio has certainly not grown less critical, less logical, less philosophical, or less practical, with years. There are many men who have not lost their faith, but who, nevertheless, have talked, of late, altogether too much unpractical philosophy. And the end is not yet!

We might, without waste of time, listen to Ausonio Franchi, as he analyses Spencerism, phenomenism—all the later so-called scientific schools. His training, his natural habit of mind, have made his book a history of the philosophy of the nineteenth century; not a dry record of facts and opinions, but a fresh, lively criticism of principles and of their logical outcome.

Before dismissing the purely philosophical questions which Ausonio so ably discusses, we feel bound to present a practical argument which is no less worthy of consideration because it is just now unfashionable among professing Christians as well as among professing rationalists. The "science" of anthropophagy is everywhere inculcated in journals and books, written for the cultured, the less cultured, the ignorant; as well as in schools, colleges and universities. It is the science of bestiality and barbarism. Now, if he who teaches others to do evil is morally more culpable than he who does the evil, then it is not the actual beasts and barbarians that are the more guilty, but the journalists, the writers, the "scientists"—the platform orators—who are the pedagogues of crime. And the more guilty of all are the governments, legislators, ministers, that, instead of seeking to eradicate evil by means of a good education, try, legally or illegally, through violent or astute methods, through hypocritical or tyrannical methods, to destroy the Christian school, and to replace it from infancy upward by an "unsectarian" education—an education without God and without religion—in other words, an education without morality. "Sow materialism and atheism in the minds and hearts of the children," says Ausonio, after nigh forty years of experience as a teacher, "and you will bring forth a generation bound by no other law than 'the struggle for existence,' a generation of brutal instincts and appetites, whose successors will be savages. My words are not vain," adds Ausonio. "The danger is so imminent, so grave, that the men of good faith among the supporters of the recent policy are beginning to protest in fear, nay in terror. Anxiously they demand a remedy that will save society from ruin. The recipes are plentiful, but not one of them is worth the paper upon which it is written."²

¹ *Ultima Critica*, pp. 505-506.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 510-511.

Ausonio has not only had the experience of a rationalist, but also the added experience of a radical, for certainly a follower of Mazzini could, if he wished, claim to be in the fore-front of radicalism in the early fifties. Ausonio assisted at the birth of New Italy. He has watched the young kingdom as it made its hasty growth. He knows the dreams of the past and the present realities. His testimony about past methods, about losses and gains, about the practical value of the changes in the political condition of Italy, and about the actual religious and social condition, is worthy the notice of historians, politicians, writers of all schools and in all countries.

The greater evils that afflicted us in the days that have gone, he writes, were the domination of the foreigner, political division, and what we called mental and moral servitude. Independence, liberty, unity—this was the formula by which we expressed our idea of national right. We organized revolutions, we made war; we were beaten, and we were victors. In a few years we effected what other nations have failed to effect after centuries of trial and suffering. Does this word "we" mean the Italian people? No. Excepting the Lombardo-Venetian rising against Austria, which was really a popular or national movement, in all the other acts and facts of the Italian revolution the people and the nation were merely the instruments or the victims of the *bourgeoisie*, a class that does not constitute the one-hundredth part of the population. The ambition of this class is to rule and to enjoy. It triumphed in the end. What are our gains? The despotic authority of the state was overturned. Instead we have so-called political and civil "liberalism," based on the radical ideas of the French revolution. The dogmatic authority of the Church was overturned; as a consequence we have, in the intellectual and moral order, *naturalism*. Materially, there has been great progress; spiritually, a great loss. It would not be difficult to show that the gain in independence, in unity and liberty, has been more apparent than real. By force Italy acquired material unity, but what is won by force must be maintained by force. And more noteworthy still, under an outward appearance of unity there is perhaps less of moral union than there was under the old territorial divisions. There is full and entire liberty, but it profits and benefits only the few who represent *legal* Italy. As for *real* Italy, that is to say, the greater part of the Italian people, they feel that they are very much less free, less their own masters, under the present liberty than under the past servitude.¹ This testimony, though it merely corroborates the experience of those who have lived in Italy, and of those who

¹ *Ultima Critica*, pp. 47-49.

have carefully gone over the written record of events, has, however, an especial weight, coming, as it does, from a man who worked ardently in the cause of "independence, unity and liberty."

From every side we hear lamentations, Ausonio adds, about the *want of character* in the Italy of to-day; about the *diminution of the moral sense*; about the frightful increase of suicides and of crimes, of barracks and prisons, of brothels and mad-houses. Now all men who have eyes with which to see, and ears wherewith to hear, know well that these public lamentations do not exaggerate, if indeed they adequately state, the reality.¹ We can sympathize with Ausonio when he feelingly protests that it was not of a like social condition that he and his friends dreamed in '48, as we can fully appreciate the sad heart with which he penned the following sad words: "There is not one of those whom I knew (I am speaking of men who labored and suffered to serve their country, and not to make use of it) whose later years of life have not been cruelly embittered by the memory of deluded hopes. How many have I heard exclaim, half angrily, half plaintively: Who would ever have said, who could have imagined, that the acquirement of independence, of unity, of liberty, which we promised would bring all blessings on our beloved country, should, instead, have precipitated her into the abyss of all evil? converting liberty of thought into depravity of mind and heart; liberty of conscience into a satanic hatred of God; liberty of worship into a frenzied hatred of Catholicity, of Christianity, of all religious principle and sentiment; liberty of the press into a pestilential infection of the moral sense and of common sense; liberty of teaching into a complete license for every patented master or doctor to poison the minds of youth, of children, of the very babes, so that the school has become a herding place for the flock of Epicurus. Who could have imagined that political and civil liberty would be perverted into a conspiracy to desecrate birth and death, to profane matrimony, to divide the family, to debase justice, corrupt our customs, make a god out of the state, and a brute out of man? To-day, much more than in Dante's time, it may be said of Italy:

*"Non donna di provincie, uno bordello."*²

A current of electricity courses through the pen of this man of seventy. Do you not feel the glow, and see the sparks? The words burn, and they burn deep. Can we wonder, if, after his painful, shocking experience, Ausonio thought it well to "examine his con-

¹ *Ultima Critica*, p. 50.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 50-51.

science"? Happy, indeed, are they, he exclaims, who have no fears for the part they played in this disastrous revolution! The redemption of Italy, for this he labored; the *corruption* of Italy, this it was that followed.¹ The yoke of a State science, and of a State religion, he wished to throw off; it was thrown off, smashed into little bits, and youth was free to initiate itself in the madness of materialism, the bestiality of atheism, the infamies of a literature of prostitutes. Instead of the happiness we promised others and ourselves, the people, the real people, suffer under such a load of evils, of woes, of miseries, of spiritual and temporal calamities, that a new proverb has come into vogue: "How much better off we were when things were worse than they are!"² We have some American clerics and laymen who are delighted with the present condition of Italy, and who would, if they could, keep things as "good" as they are. What a pity these simple men had not trained with Mazzini, in '48! However, when all the wrongheaded Americans turn the corner of the seventies, they may, after a careful re-examination of their wits, learn more of modern politics and modern philosophy.

Every page, indeed almost every sentence, of Ausonio's book is, we repeat, a reparation for false teaching and ill-doing. Another instance of his former aberration and of his present apology, and our readers will more fully appreciate the madness of his rationalism and the logic of his later practical reasoning. He maintained, in '52, that Catholicity in Italy was dead, or at least moribund, and that the Italian people were only Catholic in name. As a proof of the former fact, he cited the clergy as witnesses. They were everywhere pointing a trembling finger at the "wounds" of the Church. As a proof of the latter fact, he claimed that the war made on the Church in every part of Italy was a free expression of the national mind and conscience. As particular facts, he cited the Roman celebration, when the Papal government was overthrown, and the Piedmontese celebration, when the ecclesiastical courts were abolished. He prophesied that, at the first breath of a new revolution the Church in Italy would be reduced to the condition of a private society and of an obscure sect. He looked upon the Church and the Papacy, not as merely dead, but as putrefying. He denounced Catholicity as tyranny, and Catholics as slaves. He denounced the Church as a coward, fearing criticism and disdaining reason. He charged her with being powerless to carry out her mission unless by means of prisons and chains, tortures and the pyre.³

¹ *Ultima Critica*, p. 252.

² *Ibid.*, p. 241 *Come si stava meglio quando si stava peggio!*

³ *Ultima Critica*, pp. 191-267.

Ausonio was young, just turned thirty. He imagined he was saying new things. He had not read the "reformatory" literature of the past. His "*Voltaire*" was so fresh in his memory that, when he quoted the hackneyed stuff of the eighteenth century, he imagined he was speaking his own mind. In his book you may read all he said. But, if you prefer, you may turn to an American or an English magazine of to-day, or to a debate in the Belgian parliament, or to a French or German "scientific" pamphlet, or to the ingenuous article of some paid Italian agent in a New York journal, or to the vacant-minded, audacious humbug of the lecture hall.

"It was political passion, mixed with what I may call a philosophical passion, that led me to deny a past of which history attests the reality, and to prognosticate a future that history was so soon to prove to be the vainest of dreams, the most fabulous of Utopias." Thus speaks Ausonio to-day. He has learned the value of history as a guide among the mazes of sophistry—a guide too little valued by men long out of the thirties. Judging the facts of history, Ausonio gives some details that all men may lay to heart.

First, of the clergy and their complainings he remarks—and his remark is well worth attention—that the natural tone of the clergy may be said to be "elegiac." At the end of the last century, if we were to trust to their lamentations, Catholicity was extinguished, not only in France, but in Europe. Their sermons are not pitched in the same key though, because the gospel fills them with the idea of the progress and the triumph of the Cross. The priests are not contradictory. The Church, being a congregation of men, is made up of the good and the bad. There is, there always will be, reason for complaining; but this cannot prove that the Church is dead or dying. And how could the attack made on her by Italians prove her dead or dying? The war against her was not general, as the men of '48 claimed. It was confined to a small class, the political orators and writers.¹ As we very well know, these important men easily assume that they are the nation. Perhaps, if the unfashionable "I" could be rehabilitated, the world would have a better measure of the egotists who hide their assumption under the cover of the imposing "we."

Evidently the men of '48 were wrong in their prophecies. Had they been right there would not have been to-day a shadow, a memory, of the Church. But there she stands, dominant, more dominant than ever, in Europe and America. The popular celebrations at Rome and in Piedmont were not universal, as Ausonio made out; and there were few of those who took part in them

¹ *Ultima Critica*, p. 193.

who meant to abjure Catholicity. Some men thought that they could fairly make a distinction between spiritual and temporal, between dogma and discipline. Among Catholics there were divisions, due to the acceptance of false principles,—for there is no distinction possible that can free men from the duty of obedience to the Church,—but these divisions proved no more than that they existed.¹

To-day the Church is not free; on the contrary, she is subject to the State. The Church is no longer the dispenser of honors, favors, dignities, riches. The State has changed places with the Church. The revolution has been victorious, and yet the Church in Italy is not an obscure sect. Catholicity is to-day the religion of the Italian people, and the greatest moral power in the universe. *Mentita est iniquitas sibi!*²

The Catholic is, evidently, not a slave; he is, indeed, the only freeman—unless prostitution be freedom and chastity be slavery. The apostolate of the Church has never been one of force. "I spoke falsely," says Ausonio. "History and experience have taught me that the only apostolate of force is the apostolate of 'reforming' rationalism, whose results are a puerile credulity, an acceptance of quackery, a hatred of all religion, a mental, spiritual and social anarchy."³

"To understand many of my words and acts in 1850," Ausonio adds, "you must recall the circumstances. Then Italy was flooded with scandalous attacks on the Popes, on cardinals, bishops, priests and friars. The most infamous stories were told, with the minutest detail of time, place, circumstance, person. Sworn testimony of eye-witnesses, or of ear-witnesses, was plentiful. I believed these things. They suited my passion of the hour. Of such stuff are men made. These stories were perjured lies, atrocious calumnies, invented carefully by the hatred of the sects."⁴

But the Church has stood it all. She is neither cowardly nor is she powerless. The Pope in the Vatican, the robbed and scattered monks, the priests pursued by special laws, are more powerful than they were before the revolution that was to eliminate the Church from modern society. She is the sole power that the revolution, with all its fury, fears—not disdains. She is the sole power that resists the revolution with a firmness so unshaken and a constancy so indomitable, that her apparent discomfitures ever end in victory. From the Church every material support has been withdrawn,—police, magistrates, the army; the Pope has been despoiled of his States, and has been

¹ *Ultima Critica*, p. 194.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 213–216.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 197–199.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 245.

compelled to shut himself up, a prisoner, within the Vatican. And yet the life of the Church in Italy is not ephemeral or illusory. All the force, all the violence, of the new kingdom is not equal to the task of repressing her, or of weakening her; and, outside of Italy her life is so robust, so vigorous, that the most powerful State of our day, after years of a bitter warfare, and of a fierce persecution waged under the lying standard of civilization, has had to confess her superiority, to confess itself vanquished, and has been obliged to treat with the Papacy.¹

"I have in the past uttered some false prophecies," Ausonio truly exclaims. "I shall now make a true one. As no man has seen the Church reduced to the condition of a private society, or of an obscure sect, in the past, so no man will see it in the future." This prophecy is a simple historical induction, confirmed, and confirmed forever, by the gospel promise: *Portæ inferi non prævalebunt adversus eam.*

The present office holders under the *legal* Italian government, the hired editors of the Crispi ministry, the "naturalists," who have selected the devil as their representative,—these men are not pleased with Ausonio. They have been profoundly impressed by his reparation. His courage is undeniable, they say. The cool, experienced arguments of the man who was long ago pronounced "the greatest critic of our times" are more powerful in 1890 than were the passionate unreason of Gioberti or the vain assumptions of Rosmini in the forties, more powerful than the trickery of Cavour or the crazy audacity of Garibaldi in the fifties. Padre Bonavino was not the only priest that lost his head in '48. Vannucci, Ardigò, Frezza, Fiorentino, to name only a few, sacrificed Christ on the altar of the Revolution. The day of reckoning has come. The gods of the past have to answer for their proven criminality to living men. Ausonio's book is only a sign of the times. His experience has been a painful one. How it must have wrung his heart! Twenty-one years ago he knew how Italy had been cheated, politically, and, editing the letters of his friend Giuseppe La Farina, he spoke words that did not spare the present ruler of Italy, Crispi. La Farina, who, barely twenty-two, took part in the insurrection at Messina in 1837, gave his life to literature and to the cause of "Independence, Liberty, Unity." A friend and fellow-worker of Daniele Manin, founder of the *Società Nazionale*, intimate and confident of Cavour, to whom he introduced Garibaldi, La Farina was in the end driven out of Palermo by the Crispi party, because of his monarchical and annexationist views. Broken in heart, he died suddenly in 1863. And here is Crispi,

¹ *Ultima Critica*, p. 244.

the rabid minister of an "annexational" monarchy! What a day that will be when the dead rise unto judgment!

"Immoralism" can never establish itself in this world. The historical induction from Sodom and Gomorrah is striking enough to arrest an inductive mind as it calls up the story of the past, and especially of this nineteenth century. In Italy the men who honestly, if madly, fought for the destruction of "dogmatism and despotism" are recanting by the score—Mazzinians, Garibaldians. You may read of death-bed confessions, of religious funerals with the Masons left out, in journal after journal. The counter-revolution has come. Watch it, ye men who do not know the history of the "Reformation" or of the "Encyclopædists"!

Still, the soldiers who come back on bent knees to the truth of Catholicity are not feared or valued. They were only the tools of the tools of tools. Every one knows it now. But the recantation of "the greatest critic of our times" is to be feared. It reaches higher; it means much more. It means not merely that the Revolution has been tried and found wanting; it means further that godlessness has been tried and found wanting; that the high and the low have grasped the purpose of the men who cried out, Freedom! only that they might enslave thought, destroy the Christian Church, rob the poor and the self-sacrificing, and degrade men, in order still more completely and more easily to chain them to the wheels of despotic authority, crushing civil and religious society.

Of the courage of Ausonio Franchi little will be said by contemporary rationalists. One of them, Vittorio Bersezio, frankly commends it. But he adds, with the simplicity of the serpent: "he would have done better to nurse his remorse secretly." You lovers of liberty, light, sweetness and truth! What fine confessors you would make! A courageous man is a power—and Ausonio has now a courage of which you know nothing—the courage of faith. This is a force whose power is not to be measured by the intensest audacity of "immoralism."

To attack God and His Church is to commit a terrible crime against society. To repair the wrong, in as much as possible, is a dutiful and most meritorious act; an act that appeals to the deepest, kindest, tenderest sympathies of the Christian. Let us not patronize, however. Great Paul it was, Apostle and Philosopher, that spoke the words, not always remembered: "Let him that standeth beware lest he fall!"¹

¹ With more than ordinary pleasure we note that the publishers of Franchi's great work have announced a second and revised edition, at the popular price of 5 lire.

THE PROPOSED REVISION OF THE WESTMINSTER
CONFESSION.

THE question whether the Westminster Confession should be revised has become a burning question to all Presbyterians; and the heated debates about it have attracted widespread attention among all professed believers in the Christian religion. It has been proposed to the several presbyteries which compose the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church (North) of the United States in a way that demands a positive and definite answer.

The intense feeling and excitement which the questions propounded by the General Assembly have occasioned, if not caused, seem at first sight entirely inconsistent with what the Confession itself by necessary implication declares it is, or rather, is not; and inconsistent also with the origin of the Confession, the circumstances under which and the manner in which it was formed.

According to its own statements it is not an authoritative rule of faith or belief, for in a number of places it expressly declares that the Sacred Scriptures are the only rule of faith and life, worship and obedience.

In view of this it seems strange that such extreme importance should be attached to the question of revising or modifying it. For if it be true, as Presbyterians professedly believe, that the Sacred Scriptures are the "only rule of faith and practice," the "only rule to direct us how we may glorify God and enjoy Him forever," and if "the infallible rule of interpretation of Scripture is the Scripture itself," the simplest and seemingly the only proper course for Presbyterians to adopt, would be to take the Bible as their guide and not concern themselves about what the Westminster Confession or any other confession declares or does not declare. Nay, more, every statement of doctrine or of the meaning of the Scriptures on any subject whatever would, in this case, be insufferable arrogance, and ought to be resisted as an attempt to substitute fallible human opinions for the Scriptures themselves.

In view also of the origin of the Westminster Confession and the manner in which it came to take the form and character its framers gave it, it seems very strange that it should be regarded as a document of such supreme importance. The historical facts connected with its formulation are entirely opposed to its being looked upon as a religious "symbol," or as anything else than a book gotten up by bitter partisans engaged in a desperate struggle

against king Charles I., intent on acquiring political supremacy and imposing their opinions, both religious and political, upon the peoples of England, Scotland and Ireland.

It would be a wearisome task to undertake to unravel the tangled web of shifting events which led up to the formulating of this so-called Confession and state them in detail, or to trace the crooked path travelled by the persons now styled "the Westminster Divines," who were appointed by the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled to do the work which that parliament (now known as the "Long Parliament") ordered them to do.

These persons were named in the Act of Parliament dated June 12, 1643. In the same Act they were "required and enjoined, upon summons signed by the clerks of both houses of Parliament, and left at their respective dwellings, to meet and assemble at Westminster, in the chapel called King Henry the Seventh's Chapel, on the 1st of July, 1643, and after the first meeting, being at least of the number of forty, shall from time to time sit and be removed from place to place; and also that the said assembly be dissolved in such manner as by both houses of parliament shall be directed."

In the same Act it is prescribed that "The said assembly shall have power and authority, and are hereby enjoined, from time to time, during this present Parliament, or till further order be taken by both the said houses, to confer and treat among themselves of such matters and things concerning the liturgy, discipline and government of the Church of England, or the vindicating and clearing of the doctrine of the same from all false aspersions and misconstructions, as *shall be proposed* by either or both Houses of Parliament, and to deliver their advices or opinions touching the matters aforesaid, . . . to both or either Houses from time to time, in such manner as shall be required, and not to divulge the same by writing, printing or otherwise, without consent of Parliament."

They were each paid four shillings for every day's attendance. The Act of Assembly concludes with the following proviso :

" Provided, always, that this ordinance shall not give them, nor shall they in this Assembly assume or exercise any jurisdiction, power or authority, whatever, or any other power than is herein particularly expressed."

If any difference of opinion arose among the members of the assembly, they were to refer it to Parliament, with their reasons, that the two Houses might give further directions.

The persons named in the Act of Parliament were ten Lords, twenty Commoners, and one hundred and twenty "divines." Owing to the non-attendance, or rather refusal to attend, of a number of

the "divines" who were summoned, parliament summoned about twenty-one more "divines," so that in all there were, according to Hetherington,¹ in his history of the Westminster Assembly, "thirty-two lay assessors and one hundred and forty divines," including the Scotch Commissioners, **six in number**, two being laymen, four **ministers**. The Scotch commissioners represented the Parliament and Church of Scotland. These Scotch commissioners were appointed by the "Estates and General Assembly" of Scotland only after importunate, repeated entreaties of the "Long Parliament" soliciting aid and assistance in their doubtful and then seemingly desperate rebellion against King Charles I. of England, and their entreaties were only acceded to after the arrival in Scotland of a commission consisting of two Lords ("one of whom declined the journey"), four Commoners and two from the Westminster "Assembly of Divines." The Commissioners of the "Long Parliament" arrived on August 7th, and were received by a deputation of the Scotch General Assembly on the following day." They presented their commission giving them "ample powers to treat with the Scottish Convention and Assembly, a declaration of both houses, and a letter from the Westminster Assembly supplicating aid in their desperate condition,"² which letter was "so lamentable that it drew tears from many."

The Scotch "Convention and Assembly" quickly agreed that it was necessary to assist the English "Parliamentarians," but still there was "one difficult point" of difference between the Scotch and the English Parliamentarians which had first to be adjusted. The English Commissioners wished to enter into a political and military alliance with the Scotch, in order to bring Charles I. to terms, or to dethrone him. But the Scotch Convention and Assembly demanded a treaty which would bring the English Parliamentarians into conformity with the Scotch, as regards both religion and politics.

Accordingly, they insisted on a "League and Covenant for the

¹ Rev. W. M. Hetherington, author of the *History of the Church of Scotland and History of the Westminster Assembly of Divines*, is a classic authority with Presbyterians. In his preface to the last-mentioned work he says: "In common with all true Presbyterians, I have often regretted the want of a history of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, by whose labors were produced the Confession of Faith, the Directory of Public Worship, the Form of Church Government, and the Catechisms which have so long been held as the standards of the Presbyterian Church throughout the world. Especially in such a time as the present, when Presbyterian principles are not only called in question, but also misrepresented and condemned, such a want has become absolutely unendurable, unless Presbyterians are willing to permit their Church to perish under a load of unanswered, yet easily refuted, calumny."

² The "desperate condition" was the fact that at that time the Parliamentary party in England despaired of maintaining its stand against Charles I. without the assistance of the Scotch.

reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland, in doctrine, worship, discipline and government, according to the Word of God, and the example of the best Reformed churches,"¹ and "to bring the churches of God in the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity of worship in religion, Confession of Faith, Form of Church Government, Directory for Worship and Catechising. . . . In like manner without respect of persons, to endeavor the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy (that is, Church Government by archbishops, bishops, their chancellors and commissaries, deans and chapters, archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy), superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness and whatever shall be found contrary to sound doctrine and the power of Godliness, and to endeavor the discovery of all such as have been or shall be incendiaries, malignants, or evil instruments, by hindering the reformation of religion, dividing the king from his people, or one of the kingdoms from each other, or making any faction or parties among the people contrary to this League and Covenant, that they may be brought to public trial and receive condign punishment as the degree of their offences shall require and deserve, or the supreme judicatories of both kingdoms respectively, or others having power from them for that effect, shall judge convenient."

Another section of the "League and Covenant," bound its subscribers as follows: "We shall, also, according to our places and callings, in this common cause of religion, liberty and peace of the kingdoms, assist and defend all those that enter into this League and Covenant in the maintaining and pursuing thereof, and shall not suffer ourselves, directly or indirectly, by whatsoever combination, persuasion or terror, to be divided and withdrawn from this blessed union and conjunction, whether to make defection to the contrary part, or to give ourselves to a detestable indifferency or neutrality in this cause, which so much concerneth the glory of God, the good of the kingdom and the honor of the king; but shall, all the days of our lives, zealously and constantly continue therein against all opposition and promote the same, according to our power, against all letts and impediments whatsoever; and what we are not able ourselves to suppress or overcome, we shall reveal and make known, that it may be timely prevented and removed; all which we shall do as in the sight of God."

¹ The term "best Reformed churches" referred especially to the Calvinistic "churches" of Geneva and Holland. The word "Reformed" is here used and will continue to be used throughout this paper (in accordance with the meaning commonly attached to it by Calvinistic Protestants) in contra-distinction to Lutheran. The "Reformed," or, as they were first styled, the "Sacramentarians," refused to accept the Lutheran doctrine of "*Consubstantiation*."

Another section declares: "We shall, with the same sincerity, reality and constancy, in our several vocations, endeavor . . . to preserve and defend the king's majesty, person and authority . . . that the world may bear witness with our consciences of our loyalty, and that we have no thoughts or intentions to diminish his majesty's just power and greatness."

The concluding section is as follows: "And this covenant we make in the name of Almighty God, the searcher of all hearts, with a true intention to perform the same, as we shall answer at that great day when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed," etc.

We have quoted enough of this League and Covenant to give a fair idea of its purport and intention. King Charles I. issued a proclamation against it (as he had previously done against the Westminster Assembly), denouncing it as "in truth nothing else but a traitorous and seditious combination against us and the established religion of this country," and charging his loving subjects that they "presume not to take the said seditious covenant." It was subscribed to by the House of Commons of the Long Parliament and by members of the Westminster Assembly on September 25, 1643, and on the following 25th of October by the House of Lords. As soon as information of this was received in Scotland, the parliament of that kingdom ordered the Covenant to be "subscribed by all ranks and conditions of people," under penalty of confiscation of their estates, and such other punishment as the Parliament might resolve to inflict. In February of the following year, 1644, it was again ordered by the Long Parliament that the Covenant be taken throughout the kingdom of England by all persons over eighteen years of age, under grievous penalties for refusal. Even Englishmen in foreign countries were not exempted. Orders were sent to the Parliament's agent at The Hague to "tender it to the English in those countries, and to certify the names of such as refused."¹

We have dwelt at such length upon the League and Covenant because it was the forming of this compact or conspiracy, as readers may respectively term it,² that gave an entirely different direction

¹ See vol. i., p. 468 of the *History of the Puritans or Protestant Non-Conformists*. By Daniel Neal, M.A. Harper & Brothers: New York. 1844.

Rev. Daniel Neal was a Calvinist, a Dissenter or Independent, but well disposed towards the Presbyterians. He was the author of many treatises published in London during the first half of the 18th century, which were in high esteem among Protestants, and his *History of the Puritans* is regarded as a standard authority.

² We do not know how Presbyterians now regard the document. They very seldom refer to it. Some of them, doubtless, look upon it as simply detestable. Others, when confronted with it, would probably frame excuses or apologies for it on various grounds. Still others, though the fewest of all, would bravely defend it.

Neal, in his *History of the Puritans* makes no comments of his own upon it,

to the action of the Westminster Assembly and caused the Westminster Confession of Faith, Catechisms, Directory for Public Worship, etc. (for they are all parts of a compact whole), to take the character and form that they received.

On the agreement of the English Commissioners in Scotland to the League and Covenant the Scotch Commissioners went to London, and thenceforth (owing to their representing the Scotch Assembly and Parliament) became an influential factor, if not the ruling power, in the Westminster Assembly.

We now return to that Assembly. Contrary to our first intention, we find we must say a few words more about it and its proceedings, for the discussion of the question of revision is plainly widening into a question whether the whole Westminster Confession shall not be disowned and abrogated.¹

As we have already said, the whole number of persons (lay, assessors and divines) summoned by the Long Parliament to meet at Westminster on July 1, 1643, was one hundred and seventy-two. Of this number only sixty-nine were present on the appointed day, and, generally, the attendance ranged from sixty to eighty. Not more than from a dozen to a score spoke frequently, the remainder being content to "listen and vote."² About twenty-five

but gives it in full, and also gives at length the objections of those who refused to sign it, and at equal length the answers to those objections by those who insisted on their signing it. Hetherington admires it and lauds it. He says: "It is difficult to conceive how any calm, unprejudiced, thoughtful and religious man can peruse the preceding very solemn document, without feeling upon his mind an overawing sense of its sublimity and sacredness."

Yet, looked at "calmly" and "thoughtfully," and without prejudice, how can any religious man regard it other than one of the most detestable documents that human craft, inspired by fanatical hate, has ever framed. It was an oathbound conspiracy against both the religious and the civil rights and liberties of every man in England, Ireland and Scotland, who differed in opinion or belief from the signers of the "League." In the name of liberty, it aimed to take away every vestige of liberty; in the names of religion and conscience, to destroy all freedom of conscience and to render impossible freedom of religious belief and practice. Professing loyalty to King Charles I., it aimed at depriving him of all power and authority, and making him a subservient slave, to do the bidding of the conspirators. The tyranny which Charles and his counsellors strove to maintain, was bad enough, but the tyranny which the framers of this "Covenant" sought to rivet alike upon the people of England, Scotland and Ireland, was tenfold worse. It was only partly enforced, never fully enforced, for the simple reason that it was too outrageous to permit of its being enforced. But, to the extent to which it was enforced, it was productive of immeasurable suffering and misery.

¹ One presbytery is reported to have already demanded the formation of a new and different Confession of Faith.

² Hetherington, page 93. The statements of Neal and other Protestant historians accord, on this point, with Hetherington's.

It must have been a wearisome task to sit and "listen." Bailie, of Glasgow, one of the Scotch commissioners, writes admiringly: "The like of that Assembly I never did see, and, as we hear say, the like was never in England, nor anywhere is like to be."

of the persons summoned were "moderate" Episcopalians, but the greater number of these refused to attend.¹ The few who did attend for a short time soon withdrew in disgust or because of King Charles's proclamation, condemning the Solemn League and Covenant. Dr. Featly alone continued to attend; but he, having been detected writing letters to Archbishop Ussher about the proceedings of the Assembly, was expelled and imprisoned.² The principal parties (members of which disagreed among themselves) in the Assembly (excluding the Episcopalians) were the Presbyterians, the Independents, or Congregationalists, and the Erastians. These latter held to a theory which made the Church the mere creature of the State, and claimed that the punishment of all offences, whether civil or ecclesiastical, belonged exclusively to the civil magistrate. How these parties alternately combined and wrangled and contended, a few extracts from Neal and Hetherington in the subjoined note will tell.³

Still, there were some things he did not exactly like. "The Prolocutor," he says, "is very learned in the questions he has studied, but merely bookish . . . so after the prayer he sits mute. It was the canny conveyance (cunning contrivance) of those who guide most matters for their own interest to plant such a man of purpose in the chair. . . . Their longsomeness is woful at this time, when their Church and kingdom lie under a most lamentable anarchy and confusion. They see the hurt of their length, but it cannot be helped," etc.

¹ Their objections (we condense from Neal) were that "the Assembly was prohibited by royal proclamation"; that the members were not elected by the clergy, and, therefore, could not represent them; that they "disliked the company and the business they were to transact"; "there was a mixture of laity with the clergy"; "the divines were, for the most part, of a Puritanical stamp, and enemies to the hierarchy; and their business was to pull down that which they (the Episcopalians) would uphold."

² These Episcopalians had been summoned for the purpose of endeavoring to conciliate, if possible, the "moderate" Episcopalians, and of withdrawing their support from Charles I.; the declared purpose of the Long Parliament at first being to amend the XXXIX. Articles of the "Church of England."

³ Neal says (vol. i., 489-91): "All who remained (after the Episcopalians left) were for taking down the main pillars of the hierarchy, before they had agreed what sort of a building to erect in its room. The majority at first intended only the reducing the episcopacy to the standard of the first or second age (of the Church), but for the sake of the Scots' alliance, they were prevailed to lay aside the name and function of bishops (subsequently the name was conjoined with that of "pastor"), and attempt the establishing of a Presbyterian form, which at length they advanced into *jus divinum*, or a divine institution derived expressly from Christ and His Apostles. This engaged them in so many controversies as prevented their laying the top stone of the building, so that it fell to pieces before it was perfected." Neal adds (page 494): "It was undoubtedly a capital mistake of Parliament to destroy one building before they agreed upon another. The order of worship and discipline of the Church of England was set aside twelve months before any other form was appointed."

Hetherington (page 116) says: "It may be expedient to give a view of the parties, by the condition of which it (the Assembly) was from the first composed, by whose jarring contentions its progress was retarded, and by whose divisions and mutual hostilities its labors were at length frustrated and prevented from obtaining their due result."

(These are the declarations, not of censorious critics, but of earnest defenders of the Westminster Assembly.)

We have written in vain if we have not made it clear (from evidence derived exclusively from defenders of the Westminster Assembly) that it was not a representative body in any sense. It had not even the shadow of pretended authority which an election by members of a sect, or of any number of sects, could give it. It was the mere creature of a parliament of factionists (at a time when there was another parliament in England—that of Oxford—supporting Charles) who had no bond of union among themselves except that of opposition to King Charles.¹

The sincerity, piety and learning of the members of the Westminster Assembly are now commonly extolled to the skies by Presbyterians and Protestants generally. They are frequently characterized as "saintly, venerable divines." We shall pass no judgment upon them, but the statements of their own apologists and staunch defenders seem to imply that, to say the least, there is room to doubt their claims to such eulogiums. Certainly, they were differently regarded by not a few other Protestants of their own times, and especially by Episcopalians. We give a few of these adverse statements in the subjoined foot-note.²

¹ Hetherington admits this and tries to apologize for it: He points out (page 100) "one peculiarity in the Westminster Assembly. It was neither a convocation nor a Presbyterian synod, or General Assembly. . . . There was a Christian church, but unorganized. . . . Such an Assembly could only have been called by a Christian civil magistrate, and only in a transition state of the Church, when disorganized."

² Neal (vol. i., p. 460), introducing a defence of the Westminster "divines," says: "I believe no set of clergy, since the beginning of Christianity, have suffered so much as these." In reply to this, Dr. Grey curtly says: "And no set of clergy ever deserved it more." In support of his statement, he quotes Bishop Williams, of Ossory, as declaring: "You may judge of them by their compeers, Goodwin, Burroughs, Arrowsmith and the rest of their ignorant factions and schismatical ministers that, together with those intruding mechanics (who, without any calling from God or man, do step from their butcher's board, or horse's stable, into the preacher's pulpit) are the fellows who blow up this fire that threatens the destruction of our land."

Lord Clarendon says: "About twenty of them were reverend and worthy persons, but, as to the remainder, they were but pretenders to divinity; some were infamous in their lives and conversations, and most of them of very mean parts and learning, if not of scandalous ignorance, and of no other reputation than that of malice to the Church of England."

These statements are made by opponents of the Assembly and, of course, must be received with allowance. But there are some facts which appear to strongly corroborate them.

Hetherington, whom we have already quoted as to this very point, admits that there "were only a dozen or a score who frequently spoke," and that the rest "only listened and voted." This statement is all the more significant, because diffidence and reticence were not distinguishing characteristics of the nonconformists of those times, to whatever sect or faction of a sect they adhered. Moreover, all historians, writing about the then existing condition of England, concur in declaring that men of most infamous characters and of not even the slightest pretensions to education, claimed to be called of God to preach the gospel, and assumed to be divines.

The elaborateness and fulness of statement¹ of the different documents put forth by the Westminster divines, as a declaration of belief, directory for public worship, plan of government, etc., are frequently brought forward as proofs of their learning and eminent ability. These certainly are elaborate and lengthy. But they had to be elaborate, owing to the numerous qualifications and disclaimers of consequences which they dared not acknowledge, but which, in some cases, were logically implied in their statements, and in other cases, if not implied, their opponents had accused them of. Moreover, the Westminster "divines" had abundant materials already elaborated to enable them, with little trouble, except that of selection, to extend their statements to any length.¹ They had at hand almost countless "confessions, consensus, apologies and catechisms" of the "best Reformed" or "Calvinistic" churches,² on the European continent, with which "churches" they were in constant correspondence, and particularly with those of Holland and Geneva. They also had the elaborate writings of Calvin and other Calvinistic "divines."

The Westminster "divines" met for the first time, as we have already said, according to the injunction of the Long Parliament, on Saturday, July 1, 1643. Having received "no specific instructions" from the parliament, as to the order of procedure, and having "no subject prepared for their immediate discussion, they adjourned till the following Thursday." When they met together on the Thursday mentioned, "instructions were laid before them, as general regulations, by the lords and commons in parliament assembled," on eight different points. "Having made these preliminary arrangements, the parliament sent to the Assembly an order to revise the Thirty-nine Articles for the purpose of simplifying, clearing and vindicating the doctrines therein contained."³

Accordingly, they went to work on the Thirty-nine Articles. But in the latter part of September, the Scotch Commissioners, as we have already narrated, appeared in the Westminster Assembly with the "Solemn League and Covenant," which the Assembly, submissive to parliament, accepted. This League and Covenant at once blocked the way to any further consideration of the Thirty-nine Articles. Thus, after spending several months over altering

¹ The *Westminster Confession* is certainly very lengthy. Including all its parts, it comprises in the copy before us, published in Philadelphia by the Presbyterian Board of Publication, 528 pages.

² We have, before us, as we write, an 8vo. volume of nearly one thousand pages (presented to us many years ago, and published in Leipsic in 1840), a collection of the *principal* "Published Confessions of the Reformed Churches." With the exception of four or five, or perhaps five or six, they are practically now unknown and forgotten. But, at the time of the Westminster Assembly, they were well known.

³ Hetherington's *History of the Westminster Assembly*, pp. 103 and 104.

the first sixteen of those articles, their further consideration was forever dismissed. On October 12th the parliament required the Assembly "to take in hand the discipline and liturgy of the Church," that is, "the Directory for the Worship of God, and the Plan of Government and Discipline."¹

In obedience to the directions given them, the Westminster "divines" went to work on October 17, 1643, at their newly appointed task, continued to wrangle over it and debate until July 4, 1645, when they submitted their report on Church Government and Discipline to parliament. They commenced work on the Liturgy or Directory for Public Worship on May 24, 1644, and finished and submitted it to parliament on December 27th of the same year.

How entirely and exclusively the Presbyterian Directory for Public Worship and the Form of Church Government and Discipline had their origin in and derived their authority from Ordinances of the Long Parliament is well shown in a book² which by rare good fortune we discovered among the forgotten treasures of the Philadelphia Library.

The title of the first document in this book is: "A Directory for the Publique Worship of God Throughout the Three Kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland, Together with an Ordinance of Parliament for the taking away of the Book of Common Prayer, and for the Establishing and Observing of this present Directory."³

¹ Dr. Briggs (and Hetherington and Neal and all historians agree with him): "It is clear that the Westminster Assembly (and the Long Parliament, whose obedient servant the Westminster Assembly was) was more concerned with the practical matters of church government and worship than with matters of doctrine."

Translated into plain English, this means that the Long Parliament and the Westminster "divines" were more concerned to construct the upper stories of their house than to lay a substantial foundation for it.

² It was printed in London, by order of the parliament, in the year 1646, and was "bequeathed in the year 1803 by the Rev. Samuel Preston (Rector of Chevening, in Kent, Great Britain) to the Library Company of Philadelphia."

³ The preface of the *Directory* is curious reading; it says: "In the beginning of the Blessed Reformation our pious ancestors took care to set forth an Order for the redress of many things which they then discovered to be Vain, Superstitious and Idolatrous in the Publique Worship of God. This occasioned many Good and Learned men to rejoice much in the *Book of Common Prayer* then set forth. . . . Honest, long and sad experience hath made it manifest that the *Leiturgie* (the *Book of Common Prayer*) used in the Church of England (notwithstanding all the pains and religious intentions of the compilers of it) hath proved an offence not only to many of the godly at home, but also to the Reformed Churches abroad." Then follow sundry reasons: "Disquieting the consciences of many godly ministers and people" who "could not yield to the many unprofitable and burdensome ceremonies," nor to "the reading of Common Prayer, which was made no better than an Idol by many ignorant and superstitious people." Then, too, "Papists boasted that the Book was a compliance with them in a great part of their service, and so were not a little con-

After the Ordinance of Parliament enjoining the use of the Directory, minute directions are laid down for every act of public worship. In its appendix there is a declaration that "Festival days, vulgarly called holy days, having no warrant in the Word of God, are not to be continued." Also a declaration that "No place is capable of any holiness under pretence of whatsoever Dedication or Consecration, neither is subject to such pollution by superstition, formerly used and now laid aside, as may render it unlawful or inconvenient for Christians to meet together therein for the publique worship of God."

Following the "Directory," the book before us gives still another Ordinance of the Lords and Commons (enacted August 23, 1645) "For the more *effectual putting in execution* of the Directory for Publique Worship in Parish Churches and Chapels," etc.

To avoid further tedious recital of this notable book, we give the titles of its other contents in the subjoined foot note.¹

firmed in their Superstition and Idolatry"; that reading of forms and prayer tended to make the ministers lazy and ignorant, and that the *Book of Common Prayer* hath been (and ever would be if continued) a matter of endless strife and contention in the Church and a snare to many godly and faithful ministers."

"Upon these and many like weighty considerations, not from any love to Novelty or intention to disparage our first Reformers, but that we may at this time answer the gracious Providence of God, and may satisfy our own Consciences and answer the expectation of other Reformed Churches (on the Continent), and, withal, give some publique testimony of our endeavors for Uniformity in Divine Worship, which we have promised in our *Solemn League and Covenant*, we have agreed upon this following *Directory* for all the parts of Publique Worship at Ordinary and Extraordinary times."

¹ The first of these consists of Directions of the Lords and Commons, August 19, 1645, for the electing and choosing of Ruling Elders in all the Congregations and in the Classical Assemblies for the speedy settling of the Presbyteriall Government. Next comes an Ordinance of the Lords and Commons (October 20, 1645) Together with Rules and Directions concerning Suspension from the Lord's Supper in Cases of Ignorance and Scandall. Also the names of such ministers and others that are appointed Triers and Judges of the ability of the Elders, etc. Next comes (next in order of the book, but not of time, March 14, 1645) "an Ordinance of the Lords and Commons for keeping of Scandalous persons from the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the Enabling of Congregations for the choyce of Elders, and Supplying of Defects in former Ordinances and Directions of Parliament concerning Church Government."

The Preamble to this Ordinance, among other things, recites that the Parliament, "by the merciful assistance of God, having removed the *Book of Common Prayer* and established the *Directory* in the room thereof, and having abolished the Prelatical Hierarchy by Archbishops and Bishops and their Dependants, and instead thereof laid the foundation of a Presbyteriall Government in every Congregation, with Subordination to Classicall, Provincial and National Assemblies," etc., therefore "Be it ordained," etc.

Next follows another "Ordinance of the Lords and Commons (June 5, 1646) for the present settling, without further delay, of the Presbyteriall Government." Next follows an "Ordinance of the Lords and Commons (August 28, 1646) for the Ordination of Ministers by the Classical Presbyters (Presbyteries) within their

This recital of unquestionable historical facts, we are fully aware, must be intolerably dry and tedious reading. Our apology for it is that the facts themselves in their order and relative significance are well nigh forgotten. They are only incidentally alluded to by the greater number of English historians, and when alluded to they are so overshadowed by narratives of military movements, diplomatic disputes and other matters of a purely secular character that they fail to attract attention. Our object was to relieve the history of the origin and of the work of the Westminster Assembly from this mass of irrelevant material and show its real relation to the Long Parliament, and the despotic authority which that parliament, in conjunction with that of Scotland, assumed to have and exercise over the consciences and religious belief and practice of the peoples of England, Scotland and Ireland. This, we think, is all the more important owing to the fact that the present contention of the Presbyterians among themselves is yet only commenced. It is certain to grow in intensity and in the number of subjects it embraces (involving soon the whole Westminster Confession); and certain also to extend to other Protestant sects. In another paragraph we dismiss this branch of our subject.

Obedient to the orders of parliament, the Westminster Assembly next took up the work of framing a declaration of doctrinal belief or confession of faith to be imposed on the peoples of the three kingdoms. After preliminary work in special committees the Westminster "divines" debated about it from July 7, 1645, until December 4th, when they sent their draft to parliament for approval. Meanwhile, in accordance with directions of parliament, they had also been at work on a catechism. The debate about this commenced on September 14, 1646, and continued on until January 4, 1647. Differences of opinion then led the Westminster "divines" to resolve to prepare two catechisms—a larger and a smaller. The debate on the larger catechism began April 15th and continued until October 15, 1647, when it was sent up to Parliament. The Scotch commissioners who had taken part in the framing of all these documents then left the Westminster Assembly. The debate on the shorter catechism began, in the Assembly, on October 21st, and continued until November 25, 1647, when that catechism was also sent to parliament for approval. Parliament then ordered the Assembly to prepare Scripture proof-texts for both catechisms, which work they commenced on November 30, 1647, and finished on April 12, 1648.¹

respective Bounds for the several Congregations," etc. Following this (and the last document in the book) are "Remedies for removing some Obstructions in Church Government" (April 22, 1647).

¹ Neal (vol. ii., p. 13) says: "The Parliament apprehended they had now estab-

Without any preliminary remarks, we now take up the chief points of the present form of the contention about the question of revising the Westminster Confession. They are of vital importance, forming, as many of the disputants themselves declare, the heart and soul of the confession. As succinctly stated by a prominent Presbyterian "divine," they are as follows:

"1. The decree of reprobation or 'foreordination of some men and angels to everlasting death.'—Westminster Confession, Chap. III., 3."

"2. Preterition or 'the passing by of the rest of mankind' by the saving grace of God.—Chap. III., 7."

"3. Damnation of the whole non-Christian world, including non-elect infants.—Chap. X., 3 and 4."

"4. The Pope of Rome is the Antichrist and the man of sin prophesied by Paul.—Chap. XXV., 3."

"5. The Papists are idolaters.—Chap. XXIV., 3."

We first take up the last two above-mentioned points, and in reverse order, because they have been least discussed, and the revisionists seem to believe that they can be most easily disposed of.¹ The revisionists propose to strike out the word "*other*" from section three, Chapter XXIV. This section, which is on "Marriage and Divorce," would then declare that "such as profess the true reformed religion should not marry with infidels, Papists or idolaters, or such as are notoriously wicked in their lives, or maintain damnable heresies."

This alteration would free the Confession from expressly classifying Catholics with "*other* idolaters." But the offensive accusation would still remain in what is plainly implied in other parts of the Confession.

Without referring to other instances, we specify sections two, four, six and seven of Chapter XXIX., on "The Lord's Supper," in which it is declared that "Christ is not offered up to His Father, nor any real sacrifice made at all, . . . so that the Papist sacrifice of the Mass, as they call it, is most abominably injurious to Christ's one and only sacrifice." "The worshiping the elements, the lifting them up or carrying them about for adoration, and the reserving

lished the plan of the Presbyterian discipline, though it proved not to the satisfaction of any one party of Christians; so hard is it to make a good settlement when men dig up all at once the old foundations." He also quotes Bishop Kennet as "observing": "That the settling Presbytery was supported by the fear and love of the Scots' army, and that when they were gone home it was better managed by the English army, who were for Independence and a principle of toleration; but as things stood nobody was pleased."

¹ One of the most prominent of the revisionists, in a published letter giving an account of the debate in the Presbytery of New York, says: "The anti-Popery clauses were not really discussed and were hastily disposed of."

them for any pretended religious use, are all contrary to the nature of this sacrament, and to the institution of Christ." . . . "That doctrine which maintains a change of the substance of bread and wine into the substance of Christ's body and blood (commonly called transubstantiation) by consecration of a priest, or by any other way, is repugnant not to Scripture alone, but even to common sense and reason; overthroweth the nature of the sacrament, and hath been and *is* the cause of manifold superstitions, yea, of gross idolatries." "Worthy receivers, outwardly partaking of the visible elements in this sacrament, do not carnally and corporally receive Christ crucified, the body and blood of Christ being then not corporally or carnally in, with or under the bread and wine."

If what is declared and implied in these quotations from the Westminster Confession were true, then, veritably, Catholics would be idolaters. Presbyterians, therefore, to be consistent, must either entirely change their declaration of belief respecting the Holy Eucharist, or else, contrary to the dictates of their common sense, and the firm convictions of most of them, must regard Catholics as idolaters. There is no escape from this alternative.

The next point (point 4, as enumerated above) of contention is the declaration, in the sixth section of Chapter XXV., that "The Pope of Rome . . . is that Antichrist, that man of sin, and son of perdition, that exalteth himself in the Church against Christ, and all that is called God."

The revisionists only ask that this horrible declaration be stricken out. But here, again, insurmountable obstacles oppose them, unless the Westminster Confession be totally changed as to what it says about the Church and Church Government. With evident reference to the Catholic Church, it speaks of churches having become "but synagogues of Satan," and then in the next section it declares: "There is no other head of the Church but the Lord Jesus Christ, nor can the Pope of Rome, in any sense, be head thereof."

Section first, of Chapter XXX., declares: "The Lord Jesus Christ, as head and king of His Church, hath therein appointed a government in the hand of Church-officers." In the next section of this chapter it is declared: "To these officers the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven are committed, by virtue whereof they have power respectively to retain and remit sins, to shut that kingdom against the impenitent and to open it unto the penitent." . . .

When these sections and chapters of the Westminster Confession of Faith come to be carefully and seriously considered by Presbyterians, the question will squarely confront them: If the Lord Jesus Christ . . . hath appointed a government in His Church,

in the hand of Church-officers (visible officers, human officers), and has armed them with such vast authority and power, how can it be "repugnant not to Scripture alone, but to common sense and reason," to believe that our Lord Jesus Christ has also appointed a visible head of His Church over all these officers, to be a visible centre of unity and authority? How can *this* be "repugnant to common sense and reason?" Or, where can any Scripture be cited that is "repugnant" to it? This question will peremptorily demand an answer, does demand it, from our Presbyterian friends, and they cannot escape from it.

Some of them, evidently, perceive this, though not in its full force and extent. It is really pitiable to see how they vainly strive to find an answer to it that will not compel them, for the sake of truth and consistency, to abandon not only Presbyterianism, but Protestantism, and become "Papists!"

Rev. Dr. Briggs, Professor of Hebrew and the Cognate Languages in the Union (Presbyterian) Theological Seminary, of New York (and he well might be Professor of Presbyterian Church History, for he has most diligently searched its original sources both in Great Britain and on the European Continent), in his very remarkable book, published last year and entitled "Whither? A Theological Question for the Times," wrestles with the difficulty. He says: "The papacy, as a hierarchial despotism claiming infallibility and usurping the throne of Jesus Christ, is the Antichrist of the Reformers. Whether it be the Antichrist of the Scriptures or not, it is the closest historical approximation to the Antichrist of prophecy that has yet appeared in the world. The papacy is anti-Christian, the great curse of the Christian Church."

In another paragraph, he declares: "Richard Baxter (of the times of the Westminster Assembly, whom Presbyterians and Puritans almost worship) well says: 'This cheating noise and name of *unity* hath been the great divider of the Christian world, and under pretence of suppressing heresy and schism, and bringing a blessed peace and harmony among Christians, the churches have been set all together by the ears, . . . and millions have been murdered, . . . and *hatred* and *confusion* is become the mark and temperament of those who have most loudly cried *Unity* and *Concord*, *Order* and *Peace*'" (the italics are Dr. Briggs's).

Yet, Dr. Briggs's book is intended to be a plea for *Christian union* on a basis so comprehensive as to include the Catholic Church, of which the Papacy is the recognized, essential, necessary, obeyed, revered, venerated centre, life and soul! And Dr. Briggs is an acknowledged representative of a numerous body of Presbyterian "divines" of the more "advanced liberal" school.

Then, too, in a paragraph immediately preceding our quotations

from his book, he says: "Protestant divines have always recognized that the Church of Rome was a true Church" (a true Church in which Antichrist reigned!). . . . "They unite with her in veneration of the noble army of martyrs—pious monks, bishops, archbishops and *popes* (the italics are ours)—who have adorned the history of the Western Church. These are our heritage as well as theirs."

Pious Popes! Christian Popes! who occupied the office of Antichrist, and "exalted" themselves "in the Church against Christ and all that is called God," yet "venerated" by Presbyterians, professed adherents of the Westminster Confession of Faith!

We now take up in their proper order the remaining three points of contention, as contained in the Westminster Confession:

1. The decree of reprobation or "fore-ordination of some men and angels to everlasting death."
2. Preterition, or "the passing-by of the rest of mankind," and "the fore-ordaining them to dishonor and wrath."
3. "Damnation of the whole non-Christian world, including non-elect infants."

Immediately in conjunction with these points, we place¹ the

¹ We do this, because the express purpose of the Westminster Assembly and of the ordinances both of the English and the Scotch Parliaments was to bring the "Churches" of those kingdoms into closest conformity to the "best Reformed Churches." In what high esteem this Synod of Dort was held by both Presbyterians and Independents (the forefathers of the Congregationalists) may be learned from a statement of Richard Baxter, who closely watched the proceedings of the Westminster Assembly and hugely admired its "divines," though, on some points, he differed. He says: "As far as I am able to judge, by the information of all history of that kind, and by any other evidences left us, the Christian world, since the days of the apostles, had never a synod of more excellent divines (taking one thing with another) than this synod and the Synod of Dort were."

Dr. Schaff, a prominent revisionist, of the Union Theological Seminary of New York, seems to be of this same opinion. In a letter to the *Independent* of February 27, 1890, giving an account of the discussion in the Presbytery of New York, he says: "No such important and lengthy debate has taken place on theological topics since the Synod of Dort and the Westminster Assembly, except in the Vatican Council."

He adds, for what purpose we know not, unless as proof of his impartiality as a historian: "At Dort the three Arminian delegates who were sent by the Provincial Synod of Utrecht, had to yield their seats to the orthodox members who had been elected by a minority. The president of the synod, John Bogerman, translated Beza's tract on the civil punishment of heretics into Dutch, and approved the principle of persecution, even the burning of Servetus. The victory of Calvinism was obscured by the deposition and exile of about two hundred Arminian clergymen, the imprisonment of Hugo Grotius and the execution of Van Olden Barneveld."

He also says: "The Westminster Assembly and Long Parliament were no more tolerant toward the Episcopalians, and deprived at least two thousand of them of their benefices."

How thoroughly the Synod of Dort represented "the best Reformed churches" may be inferred from the fact that Niemeyer says that "very many eminent theologians of the Reformed churches of Great Britain, Germany and France assisted" at

famous "five points" of the Synod of Dort (of highest renown among all the "Reformed churches") on the same subjects, as correctly summarized by Dr. Philip Schaff, of the Presbyterian Union Theological Seminary of New York. They are :

- " 1. Unconditional Predestination."
- " 2. Limited Atonement."
- " 3 and 4. Total Depravity, and Irresistible Grace."
- " 5. Perseverance of the Saints."

The explicit mention of the objectionable doctrines could be avoided by excising a few sentences or parts of sentences from the Confession. The elimination of only one line in section 3, chapter III., would remove all mention of the doctrine of the "foreordination of some men and angels to everlasting death." To escape from any explicit statement of the doctrine of "preterition" would require that section 3 (in the same chapter), consisting of seven lines, be stricken out. To get rid of all mention of the doctrine of the "damnation" of "non-elect infants" and of the whole non-Christian world would require that three and a half lines of section 3, Chapter X, and the last seven lines of section 4, of the same chapter, be expunged.

But to free the Confession of what the objectionable doctrines presuppose, or what grows out of them by necessary consequence, would require a reconstruction of many other parts of the Confession; indeed, a reconstruction of the whole Confession. Else, it would be as veritable a specimen of theological "crazy-quilt" patch-work as could possibly be put together.

The doctrines objected to by the revisionists are the central ideas of the whole book, including not only the formal statement of doctrine, but also the catechisms, "Plan of Government" and Directory for Public Worship. Excise from the Confession the objectionable doctrines, and you "cut out its very heart."¹

As an example, the statements implying the damnation of non-elect infants and of the whole non-Christian world are constituent parts of Chapter X. on "Effectual Calling," and this doctrine of "Effectual Calling" is inseparably connected with the two doctrines above stated, and with that of "preterition" or "reprobation."

What the term "effectual calling" means, can be inferred from

the deliberations. Neal, in his *History of the Puritans*, vol. i., p. 264, says : "That the Synod of Dort consisted of thirty-eight Dutch and Walloon divines, five professors of universities and twenty-one lay elders. . . . Besides these, there were twenty-eight foreign divines from Great Britain, the Palatinate, Hesse, Switzerland, Geneva, Bremen, Emde, Nassau and Wetteravia."

Only twenty-four years intervened between the close of the Synod of Dort and the first meeting of the Westminster Assembly.

¹ Many of the anti-revisionists perceive this and base their arguments upon it, without attempting to defend the doctrines objected to by the revisionists.

a few quotations. In Chapter III., section 6, on "God's Eternal Decree," it is declared that "they who are elected . . . are effectually called." . . . Neither are any others "redeemed by Christ," etc., "or effectually called," . . . "but the elect only." In Chapter X., which we have already cited, section 1 declares: "All those whom God hath predestinated unto life, and those only, He is pleased in His appointed and accepted time, effectually to call . . . by His almighty power determining them to that which is good and *effectually* drawing them to Jesus Christ." . . . In section 2 it is declared: "This effectual call is of God's free and special grace alone, not from anything at all foreseen in man, who is *altogether passive therein*."¹

The word "effectual" might possibly be explained were not the context entirely opposed to such an explanation, as meaning that the call becomes effectual through the obedience, by the help of divine grace, of the individual subject of the "call." But, as used in the Westminster Confession, the word effectual has reference solely to the immutable purpose of God, to "call effectually" and redeem in Christ the "elect" and the elect only; and they "by God's *almighty power* are *determined* to that which is good." As for the non-elect, they are not "effectually called," but only outwardly called, and are "*altogether passive*" thereto. "For them," says the Westminster Confession (Chapter III., section 7), "God was pleased, according to the unsearchable counsel of His own will . . . to pass by, and ordain them to dishonor and wrath." Plainly, therefore, the words "effectually called," as used in the Westminster Confession, mean *irresistibly* called. The "elect" *must* obey the call, and cannot do otherwise, for by God's "*almighty power* they are *determined* to that which is good."

What we have just stated is further proved by the idea of a limited atonement which runs through the whole Confession. According to it (not expressly stated but plainly insinuated), Christ did not come to save mankind, but the elect alone; did not atone for the sins of the world, but for those only of the elect. Not to mention other places where this is inculcated by implication, section 8 of Chapter VIII. speaks of "those for whom Christ hath purchased redemption. The answer to question 59 of the "Larger

¹ Lest, even in the slightest degree, we seem to be unfair in our quotations, we here give the clauses we omitted above: "Who (man) is *altogether passive* therein, until, being quickened and renewed by the Holy Spirit, he is thereby enabled to answer this call." We do not think the following words, "until being renewed," etc., improve, in even the slightest degree, the statement. Man, "until he is renewed, is entirely *passive*"; and it is God's "almighty power" solely that "determines him." Here, it seems to us, "preterition" or "reprobation" of the "non-elect," in its most horrible form, is inculcated, not expressly, but by necessary implication.

Catechism " declares : " Redemption is certainly applied . . . to all those for whom Christ hath purchased it." ¹

We have abstained from all attempts at theological discussion of the doctrinal points in dispute between the revisionists and the anti-revisionists. We make no pretensions to being a theologian. Moreover, our purpose simply is to turn attention to the origin and history of the Westminster Confession, show what it is, how it acquired the form and character it has, and then to point out how far-reaching are the real issues which are involved in the controversy. The disputed subjects include some of the most difficult questions human reason can grapple with, and some of the most profound mysteries that faith can apprehend.

The contention is now merely at its preliminary stage ; simple in one form, complex in another ; simple as to whether or not the Westminster Confession should be revised ; complex as regards the subjects that should be included in the proposed revision. It is now certain that revision will be demanded by a very great majority of the Presbyteries of which the General Assembly is composed. The contention will, therefore, be transferred to that "Assembly," and will there have to be fought out on sharply defined issues. If attempted to be buried in committee or otherwise evaded or indefinitely postponed, the inevitable result will be, must be, interminable dissension, confusion and antagonism of irreconcilable beliefs, if not the creation of two new Presbyterian sects. No sentimental pleading about "respect for the bones of their forefathers" or "leaving the old flag untouched" will be listened to.²

How will our Presbyterian friends, as Presbyterians or as Protestants, meet and solve the momentous and inexpressibly solemn questions that confront them ? For the revisionists to permit nothing to be done, or that only which would amount to nothing but evasion, would be to belie their own convictions. It is proposed by some, both of the revisionists and the anti-revisionists, to allow the Confession to remain unchanged, and to supplement it with a "short and simple creed," declaring "the love of God in Christ for all mankind." But then Presbyterians would have two opposing creeds, directly contradicting each other.

¹ See also ch. xvii., on "The Perseverance of the Saints" (the Elect). We cannot quote, owing to restricted space.

² Dr. Parkhurst (and unquestionably he expressed the feelings of many other Presbyterian ministers) is reported to have declared : "If I take a thorough view of the doctrines (of the *Westminster Confession*) I must say to my congregation, 'some of you are going to be damned, are damned, have been damned from the time you were born, were hated by God from the time of your conception.' Sooner than teach that I would tear my Geneva gown into shreds and the Bible into rags before another Sabbath, and my Elders and almost my whole congregation would sustain me."

The simplest solution, and the one consistent with express declarations of the Westminster Confession of Faith, would be to expunge every article and chapter except the first chapter; that on "The Holy Scripture," which declares that the Bible is the only "rule of faith and life," and that "the infallible rule of interpretation of Scripture is the Scripture itself." But, evidently, the Westminster "divines" did not believe this, or else, under directions of the Long Parliament, they belied their own convictions. For, if they did believe it, why did they frame so lengthy and elaborate a "Confession" of "the system of doctrine taught in the Holy Scriptures," and require from all their ministers and church officers an explicit declaration that they "sincerely received and adopted the Confession," etc.? And not only this, but strove to impose this lengthy and most elaborate Confession of Faith upon all the people of England, Scotland and Ireland.

Nor do either the revisionists or the anti-revisionists believe the declarations of the Westminster Confession which we have just quoted. Else why would the latter be contending that the "Confession" must not be altered, and the former that it must be? Both parties know full well that the moment the Sacred Scriptures are referred to, questions at once arise: "What do those sacred Scriptures teach and mean? What about God, about Christ, about the Holy Ghost, the effects of the fall of Adam and Eve, divine grace, the atonement of Christ, His Church, the Holy Sacraments, and other subjects we need not specify? And every authoritative answer to these questions forms part of a creed or "rule of faith."

Scripture! Both the opposing parties know perfectly well that the Westminster "divines" attempted to support every clause and sentence of their "Confession" with countless "proof-texts" from their Bible. Yet now the revisionists pay not the slightest attention to these "proof-texts," contending that they are not pertinent, or are misinterpreted; and as for the anti-revisionists, few of them attempt squarely to answer their opponents on this point.

In the Presbytery of New York (much the largest and by far the most influential of the Presbyteries that constitute the General assembly), the opposing parties, during twelve days of earnest, hot debate, bombarded each other with Scripture texts. And what did it amount to? Literally nothing. All the Scripture quoted by either party failed to have any effect upon the other.

The discussions of the contending parties are plainly tending, in the case of both, to a *reductio ad absurdum* of their position, and the more those discussions are prolonged, and the more earnest they become, the more plainly will this be shown.

There is but one way by which our Presbyterian friends can escape from their difficulties and find a solid, an immovable founda-

tion for faith; a foundation that cannot be shaken or moved; a foundation which is laid upon the unchangeable truth of God, who "neither can deceive nor be deceived." Would to God that they would open their eyes and choose that way. It is that of obedience to the infallible teaching of the ever-living One Holy Catholic Church; infallible not in virtue of human learning or wisdom, but by and owing to the ever-continuing "*divine assistance*" given to it in fulfilment of the promise of Christ, our Divine Lord and Blessed Redeemer, to be with it "*all days, even to the consummation of the world.*"

Scientific Chronicle.

SAFETY IN ELECTRIC LIGHTING.

THE enormous expansion, within the last few years, of the electric industry has multiplied the dangers to life and property arising from the reckless handling or careless distribution of powerful electric currents. Some would have us believe that there is no danger to be apprehended from the electric current. Such a position is untenable, in the face of facts. The chief clerk in the coroner's office, New York, can furnish a list of deaths by electricity, sufficient to convince any one that the current, as used in our cities, is constantly menacing the lives of our citizens. Others assume the rôle of injured innocents, and cry out there are more people killed by boiler explosions than by the electric current, and still you do not object to the use of steam. No, we do not object to the use of steam, but we do object to its misuse. Hence we have laws, according to which the boilers must be regularly tested, and by which the steam-pressure is limited. We do not object to electricity, but we object to the careless distribution of dangerous currents. Most of the sad accidents in New York can be traced to faulty construction, and hence to a cause which is removable. Moreover, it is certain that by the adoption of proper and known methods, all danger can be reduced to a minimum. Therefore, the public has a right to insist that the necessary conditions of safety be secured.

The electric currents, as used, are generated by dynamos. In these machines the current is produced according to the principles of magneto-electricity discovered by Faraday. Coils of wire are rotated between the poles of powerful electro-magnets, and momentary currents in alternate directions are induced in these coils as they approach

and recede from the poles of the magnets. In some machines these induced currents are immediately carried off to do the required work. These are called alternating-current machines. In others the alternating current is, by an ingenious device, twisted round upon itself in the machine, so that when the separate impulses leave the dynamo, they are all in the same direction. These are known as direct-current dynamos.

Both the direct and alternating currents may be either high or low-pressure currents. A low-pressure direct current is one not exceeding 200 volts, while the high-tension direct has a pressure of 2000 volts. The alternating current travels along the distributing mains at a pressure of from 1000 to 3000 volts and over. Of course, it does not enter buildings under this pressure, and here we have another difference between the two methods. In the direct-current system, the current generated at the central station passes through the lamps worked from that station, but in the alternating system the current from the central station does not enter private houses, or need not pass through the lamps worked by it. The fact that this high-pressure current can be employed without bringing it into the house depends on the use of transformers in which the high-pressure currents induce low-pressure currents, which are employed to do the house-lighting.

Almost all are familiar with an induction-coil, which consists of two distinct coils of wire, wound around a core of soft iron. 'One coil is of coarse, the other of fine wire. They are entirely separated from each other by insulating material. When a current of one or two volts' pressure, passing through the thicker wire forming the inner or primary coil, is automatically interrupted, a momentary current of 15 or 20 volts' pressure is easily induced in the outer or secondary coil at each make and break in the primary circuit. If the interruptions in the primary are very frequent, the induced currents follow each other with great rapidity, and seem continuous.

The transformer employed in the system of electric lighting by alternating currents is a similar instrument, but the current from the dynamo passes through the secondary or coil of fine wire, and induces currents in the primary or thick wire. The alternations in the current correspond to the interruptions in the preceding case, and the induced currents are of much lower pressure. These induced low-pressure currents from a coil entirely separated and well-insulated from the main current are used to run the lamps in buildings.

Are both the direct and alternating currents equally dangerous? This is a question frequently asked, and which cannot be answered without a distinction. If both are at a pressure not exceeding 100 volts, they cannot be regarded as dangerous to life, but at this pressure the danger of fire is considered greater with the direct than with the alternating current. Both currents at high pressure are dangerous to life, the alternating being more so than the direct.

Why, then, are high-pressure currents used? Would not low-pressure do as well? By using high pressure the energy can be transmitted to a greater distance. If water-power is to be utilized, it will be by employ-

ing great electrical pressures, so that the energy may be conveyed to distant points. By using high pressure fewer central stations are required, and by working a single large plant there is a saving in fuel, in copper for the conductors, and in other details connected with the running of several small plants instead of one large one.

If, then, from an economical point of view high-tension currents must be used, how are they to be carried? Can they, with safety to the public, be carried by overhead wires? With proper construction, safe distribution is not impossible. But in large cities, like New York, it is very improbable that the construction will ever be what safety demands. There are too many wires: there are telegraph, telephone, messenger-service, fire-alarm, electric-light, and others. These are owned by different companies, each one looking after its own wires, and caring little how they may interfere with neighboring wires. Then there are hundreds of useless wires, with no one to look after them. All these are bound to interfere with each other, and repeat the chapter of accidents already familiar. Of course, in open country, or in places not thickly populated, if overhead wires are properly erected, this danger does not exist. But, to insist on low-pressure currents is to increase the price of the electric light. It is certain, however, that overhead wires, carrying high-pressure currents, are dangerous.

The only remedy, then, is to place the wires in underground conduits. But here again there is another danger in the form of explosions, similar to those that occurred in New York. Gas leaks into the conduits and manholes, forms an explosive mixture with the air, the insulation is broken, an electric arc is formed and the explosive mixture is lighted, the pavement is torn up and stones and iron scattered in all directions, threatening the lives of those who happen to be passing by. Fortunately, no lives have been lost by these explosions, but there is a danger here that can be remedied by proper ventilation. In connection with this point, it is believed that these explosions would occur without a leak from the gas-mains. For the heating of an electric wire would bring about destructive distillation of the asphaltum or other substance used for insulation, and form an explosive mixture which would be ignited by an arc forming in the conduit. The remedy, however, is to be found in proper ventilation.

There has been much disputing with regard to the efficiency and durability of underground conductors. At the Electric Light Convention, held in Chicago a year ago, there was a very lively discussion on this point, the electric light companies claiming that no known insulation was sufficient in underground conduits; of course, it was expensive to them to put their wires underground. On the other hand, those interested in underground conduits and insulation claimed they were perfect; of course, they wanted to sell their wares. The discussion brought out a statement with regard to underground conductors which is of interest. Mr. Sunny, of Chicago, stated that an underground cable in use there had been giving satisfaction for a year, during which time it carried a current of from 2000 to 3000 volts. Their objection to it

was, that it cost one cent per lamp per hour more to run the lights than it would if aerial conductors were employed.

In Paris and Berlin all the wires are underground. In Milan there are underground cables giving satisfaction. In places, Mr. Werner Siemens's system of insulated conductors protected by lead cover, asphaltum and sheet-iron, has been in use, partly for high-pressure currents, for six years, and they are apparently good for years to come. When underground cables failed in the past and necessitated expense, it was due to want of knowledge or carelessness in construction.

No trouble has been experienced in Germany, from the fact that electric lighting is done by the direct low-pressure current of about 100 volts. In Belgium, although the wires are overhead, there is no danger, as they are low-pressure currents, and there is a careful code of laws regulating the construction of lines. From Paris we receive no shocking details of deaths from contact with the electric wires, for they are all carefully insulated and placed in the excellent sewer system of Paris.

From all this we gather that, by the use of well-constructed underground conduits, the danger of electric light wires can be entirely removed if low-pressure currents are used, and the dangers resulting from high pressure can be reduced to a minimum. We would not entirely rule out high-pressure currents, for they can be controlled, and there are circumstances in which economy demands their use. For example, to obtain cheap coal supply, a position on a water-front, or such as to utilize railroad facilities, must be selected, and the current conveyed by high pressure to distant points. Running expenses are reduced by massing machinery in one station; there is great saving in the conducting wires, and electricity is furnished to the consumer at a lower price.

These high-tension currents should never be run overhead in cities, and when carried into houses the tension should be low. This would necessitate the running of lower-tension currents by the direct system, and in the alternating system the transformers should be so placed that the main current will not enter the house, and they should be of such make and so well insulated that there would be no liability of a break and the main current jumping into the local circuit.

In addition to this, the law should see that all buildings where the current is used are provided with suitable safety-devices to automatically break the circuit should a current of too great pressure accidentally flow into the circuit. Telephone, telegraph and other circuits should be provided in a similar manner, to protect from any charge they might receive from the electric wires in the conduits. No danger whatever is to be apprehended from gas or water-pipes acting as conductors of dangerous currents from the underground wires into dwelling-houses. They will simply serve to divert at once such a current to the ground.

By proper legislation the wires can be put underground, the pressure regulated, and suitable safety-devices made compulsory, so that accidents will be unheard of, even with high-tension currents.

NICARAGUA CANAL.

It seems as if the fourth centenary of the discovery of America would see either the realization of the great discoverer's wish, a convenient route from Europe to the East Indies, or at least see work well advanced in that direction at Nicaragua, the most suitable spot for the inter-oceanic ship canal.

South of Mexico a great causeway, 1200 miles in length and varying in width from 300 to 28 miles, joins North and South America, and separates the Atlantic from the Pacific Ocean. The energy displayed to open up water-ways across this strip of land justifies Columbus in sailing westward in search of a convenient route to the far East.

Men long cherished the idea that nature had made the route, but finding that such was not the case, they set to work to devise one. Many plans have been made and many routes examined, but of all the schemes proposed but three attract any attention at the present time. They are the Panama and Nicaragua Canals and the Tehuantepec Ship-Railway.

Near the southern extremity of Central America, in the centre of Panama, the Chagres empties into the Caribbean Sea, and has its source well over to the Pacific near the city of Panama. In 1849 the Panama railroad, from Aspinwall to Panama, called attention to this spot as a suitable place for the inter-oceanic canal.

A canal at sea-level was by some of the best engineers deemed impracticable on account of the freshets in Chagres, but De Lesseps succeeded in raising \$420,000,000, which, together with interest and fixed charges amounting to millions of dollars, the Panama Canal Company now owes. Only about one-tenth of the actual work required to complete the sea-level canal has been accomplished. Seeing the enormous amount of work remaining to carry out the original idea, the plan was lately changed to a provisional lock canal. With this change in the programme, about 30 per cent. of the excavation necessary for a lock canal is finished. With the present embarrassed financial condition of the company, it is doubtful whether the work will ever be completed. At present there is a committee investigating the condition of affairs at Panama, with a view to deciding whether the work shall continue or not.

Tehuantepec, at the southern extremity of Mexico, was selected as a site for a canal. This would connect the Gulf of Mexico with the Pacific, and reduce the journey around Cape Horn by 9800 miles. A vessel sailing from San Francisco to the Gulf of Mexico around Cape Horn has to travel 16,112 miles. By crossing at Panama it would sail 5418 miles, while a canal at Tehuantepec would reduce the journey to 3561 miles.

After expensive surveys, it was found that a canal at Tehuantepec would have to be constructed over an elevation of between 700 and 800 feet above the sea, and would have to have near 200 locks; in other words, its construction was impracticable. At this point James B. Eads

proposed his ship-railroad across Tehuantepec. At the termini vessels are to be conducted into an especially prepared basin. This basin will open into a dry-dock, in the bottom of which there is a great car. As the vessel is raised out of the water it finds itself on this great car with many wheels, which is to carry it across the isthmus. By ingeniously-contrived mechanical appliances the vessel will be evenly supported and the load equally distributed over the whole car, so that the loaded vessel will not suffer any strain. The mass of engineering opinion regards the construction of a suitable road at this locality next to impossible, and the mass of nautical opinion regards the raising of ships out of the water and transporting them loaded overland to be detrimental in the highest degree to the vessels.

Engineers naturally turn their attention to Nicaragua. The route surveyed for this canal extends through the free state of Nicaragua from Greytown, on the Atlantic side, to Brito, on the Pacific. The distance is 169.67 miles. The location is admirably suited by nature for the opening of such a canal. Here the isthmus sinks to its lowest point; Lake Nicaragua, although but fifteen miles from the beach of the Pacific, still drains, by means of the San Juan river, into the Caribbean sea. The lake is deep and unobstructed, and the river, throughout most of its length, is navigable for light-draught steamers. So a water-way is already opened for most of the distance between Greytown and Brito. The amount of excavating to be done at Nicaragua is very small in comparison with what remains to be done at Panama, while but little labor is required to deepen the San Juan.

The class of work to be done, in order to complete the canal, may be gathered from some of the chief engineering features of the scheme. First of all, two harbors must be made, one at each terminus. At present vessels above six feet draught cannot enter the harbor of Greytown, but it is estimated that in three months, by dredging and protecting the channel thus made by a jetty of brush and pile, a temporary opening for vessels of fifteen feet draught could be made. Then, extending and strengthening the jetty by stone, and continuing the dredging, would make a permanent harbor of Greytown. At Brito the harbor would have to be protected by two breakwaters from the long swells of the Pacific. These two breakwaters, together with the excavation of the lowlands forming the banks at the mouth of the Rio Grande, would make the harbor.

The next feature would be the damming of the San Juan river, in order to raise and maintain the level of both the river and Lake Nicaragua at 110 feet above mean tide. Then, artificial basins would be made at different levels by means of dams and embankments and locks constructed to pass from one level to another.

At Panama there is the danger of a dry summit-level, which is in no way to be apprehended at Nicaragua, for here the water-supply comes from the lake, which is at the summit. For, say, thirty-two double locks about 130,000,000 cubic feet of water will be required; this is only about one-eighth of the supply of the lake.

A good idea of the nature of the work may be obtained by following the course of the canal, according to the latest surveys :

	Free Navigation.	Canal Excavation.
Greytown to Deseado Basin,		12.37
Deseado Basin,	4	
From Deseado Basin to San Francisco Basin,		3.07
San Francisco and Machado Basins,	11	1.73
San Juan River,	64	
Lake Nicaragua,	56.5	
Lake Nicaragua to Tola Basin,		8.22
Tola Basin,	5.28	
From Tola Basin to Brito,		3.5

Making, in all, 140.78 miles of free navigation, and 28.89 miles of canal excavation. This location, so admirably suited by nature for an inter-oceanic canal, is situated in an agreeable and healthy climate. It is, no doubt, to the interest of the United States to push forward the work at this favorable locality.

THE USE OF OIL IN STORMS.

IN a preceding number of the *CHRONICLE* we spoke of the work done by the Hydrographic Office of Philadelphia in collecting data respecting the use of oil, in experimenting and in spreading information among the masters of vessels, with regard to the use of this simple safeguard in time of storm.

As new facts are daily confirming the information we have, a word of explanation, with regard to the action of oil, will supplement what we gave on a previous occasion.

Many seem to think that, if you use oil, the waves cease. This is not the case. The larger waves are not quieted by the oil. The only way to destroy these is by a contrary wind. They may die out by fluid friction, and are often reduced by a heavy rain.

The oil actually prevents what is known as combing, also the formation of small waves and the growth of the crests of the large waves by the action of the wind.

Taking Franklin's as a partial explanation, and adding the explanation afforded by modern science, we have a very satisfactory solution for the action of oil.

On account of the large swells or waves started by variations in barometric pressure, the sea presents an uneven surface, which the wind breaks up into ripples. These ripples, by the continued action of the wind, become higher, broader and longer. But if, according to Frank-

lin, the water were covered with oil, the adhesion between the water and the oil is so very slight that the wind would move or slide the film of oil along without disturbing the surface of the water. Thus, in one way is the energy which would be applied to increasing the wave turned to account in pushing the oil over the surface of the water.

But properties of fluids, studied of late, reveal other causes at work to give oil its great efficacy in storms. The superficial film of liquids has a property called superficial viscosity. On account of this property, it is harder to break through the superficial film than through any other portion of the liquid. This outer skin of liquids also possesses surface-tension, in virtue of which the contained liquid is reduced to that form which gives the greatest cubical content the least superficial area. In virtue of the former property, the film will hold together; in virtue of the latter, it will easily break.

Now, pure water has great surface-tension, which is able to overcome its viscosity, and hence it is easily broken up into surf. But, if we cover the water with oil, the new surface has great viscosity or tenacity, but small tension, and hence is not easily broken up.

The wind strikes the sea in gusts; thus there is an unevenness of pressure on the surface which starts ripples that the wind lashes higher and higher. Now, if the surface were very viscous, the almost instantaneous force, due to a difference of pressure coming from a gust of wind, would have ceased to act before any perceptible movement could have taken place. This is precisely what the oil does; it resists by its viscosity any movement due to difference of pressure. Thus, the crests of the waves are not continually raised and sharpened until they are ready to break.

The vessel moves on, but the oil will not be carried on by the waves, as wave-motion is a transference of energy and not of matter. So, there will be a large oil-covered surface, through which the long, rolling waves, which the vessel can ride, will pass, but which, for the reasons given above, the wind cannot bring to the condition of a chopped sea. Moreover, the broken waves from around, entering this space and trying to raise it to the same state of excitement, will be spent by fluid friction.

A small quantity of oil is sufficient, for, in accordance with the laws of surface-tension, a drop of oil is rapidly drawn out over a large surface, and as the properties spoken of reside in the surface-film, this film acts as though the vessel were riding in a sea of oil. Animal and vegetable oils are preferable because more viscous. They do not, however, spread out so rapidly over the water.

Book Notices.

ST. CHRYSOSTOM: Homilies on the Gospel of St. John and the Epistle to the Hebrews. New York: The Christian Literature Company. 1890.

This volume, as we learn from the preface, closes the selections from the works of St. Chrysostom, and is the fourteenth and last of the "First Series of a Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church," edited by Rev. Philip Schaff, D.D., LL.D., "in connection with a number of Patristic Scholars of Europe and America."

We are sincerely glad that, of late years, the attention of Protestant scholars has turned to a study of the writings of the Fathers of the Church in the earlier ages of its history, and that they are publishing English translations of some of the writings of those Fathers. It is true that these translations are often misleading, and on very important points, not so much by unfaithful rendering of the text the translators adopt, as by their "revisions" of the accepted text, and by their glosses and notes, explaining away the real meaning of the Fathers. Yet, notwithstanding this, the expositions by the Fathers of the doctrines of the Church in their day are so lucid that persons who study them in these translations cannot fail to see that those doctrines are the same which the Church now teaches, and which, in great part, Protestantism denies.

The first series of this American edition of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers contains translations of the principal works of St. Augustine and St. Chrysostom. It is greatly to be regretted that the series was not sufficiently extended to embrace at least some of the most important writings of St. Irenæus and St. Cyprian. It is true that, strictly speaking, they antedated the Nicene age; yet still, their relation to the Nicene age is so close and intimate, and their writings are of such classical authority, and shed so much light upon Christian doctrine and practice immediately before the time of the Nicene Fathers, that it seems strange that translations of their most important works should not have been included in the series. Reasons for the omission would easily suggest themselves were we to harbor the idea that the editor-in-chief and his assistant editors have been influenced by narrow sectarian motives, but the professed purpose of their labors and their high reputation forbid such an unworthy suspicion. It is to be hoped that, in volumes supplementary to this first series, they will remedy this serious deficiency by publishing translations of the most important treatises of the great Saints and Fathers whom we have mentioned.

The second series (the first volume of which will soon be published) of this "American Edition of the Christian Fathers," it is promised, will contain the most important works of the Latin and Greek Fathers from A.D. 325 to A.D. 800, in thirteen royal octavo volumes, of about 600 pages.

In the volume before us, the Homilies of St. Chrysostom on the Gospel according to St. John appear as in the Oxford "Library of the Fathers" (edited by the late Dr. Pusey), with a few additional notes by Dr. Schaff. The translation is from the Greek text "revised" (?) by Dr. Field. The Oxford translation of the Homilies on the Epistle to the Hebrews has been "thoroughly revised by the American Editor." An Introduction has been added on the authorship of the Epistle, "about which (the preface curtly says) Chrysostom was mistaken."

This introduction is a remarkable specimen of modern critical investigation. It is learned; it mentions various suppositions by ancient writers as to the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. It then, entirely ignoring the accepted testimony of tradition, judiciously decides that St. Paul could not have written the Epistle to the Hebrews, because its style and line of argument are different from those of the other Epistles which St. Paul undeniably wrote. This categorical decision it tries to support by a laborious exhibit of the number of peculiar words employed by different Christian writers in the Apostolic age, and a careful computation of the ratio of the number of times these peculiar words occur, to a certain number of lines in the productions of these different writers. From this and other like laborious minute critical investigation, the conclusion is arrived at that the Epistle to the Hebrews was written by St. Barnabas.

The critical writer forgets (what entirely destroys the value of his argument) that of all the New Testament writers St. Paul was possessed of the greatest versatility, tact, and power of adapting his language and style and method of arguing to the time and circumstances and character of the persons whom he addressed. Emphatically he could be, and was, to the Jews, a Jew; to the Greeks, a Greek; to the Romans, a Roman—all things to all men, that he might win them to Christ.

But notwithstanding this, and attempted emendations of the text which, in many instances, are the reverse of emendations, and glosses and notes which explain away to some extent, the real meaning of the writers comprised in this "American Edition of Christian Fathers," we rejoice that the publishing of them in an English version has been commenced and hope that it will be continued. For though the defects we have alluded to detract from, they do not destroy, its value, and careful, earnest, single-minded readers will not fail to see and feel that the spiritual atmosphere in which those Fathers lived and moved, and their doctrinal status, were essentially the same as that of the Catholic Church of to-day.

ISABELLA OF CASTILE, 1492-1892. By *Eliza Allen Starr*. Chicago: C. V. Waite & Co. 1889.

History made easy, in the shape of "Outlines," "Sketches," "Lives" and "Selections," all popular at this period, is not always either reliable or pleasing. We are too ready to have our thinking, like the family washing, "done out of the house," and brought home to us in neat parcels. We too often accept the false conclusions of a narrow and inferior mind for the faithful rendering of the scholar's life-work. It is a good thing, therefore, when an elegant and conscientious worker undertakes to put the labors of honored authority into a form more inviting to the every-day reader. In other words, when Miss Starr sets Isabella of Castile vividly and beautifully before us as she has done in these pages, she makes no attempt to reproduce the history of Spain at that period; she simply gives us a picture of Isabella in words, and so easily and gracefully that it is not difficult to keep in mind her whole course from the cradle to the grave through a succession of marked events. Beginning with her birth among those Castilian mountains in that land of which she was as surely born "as of John the Second, its king, and Isabella of Portugal, its queen," she passes before us through her quiet childhood with her widowed mother at Arvela, through her blooming girlhood at the court of her brother Henry, the King, through her wise and magnanimous meeting and adjustment of the crisis which so nearly made her Queen during his life, through her romantic marriage, her succession to the throne, her steady and fearless rule, her generous, noble, womanly

life of fifty-four years, and her Christian death. A beautiful woman, a wise woman, a loving woman, and "every inch a queen." It is no small satisfaction to the women of America that of such a royal hand they received their birthright. "Uncrowned queens" as they have been called, there rests upon every brow the halo of Isabella's jewels, cast into the scale of the money-lender against that mythical sea pearl Columbus was yet to bring her from the far West, that fair new world of which she was the co-discoverer with him.

Bring prominently from the gathering mists of forgetfulness any hero or heroine of the past, either in fact or fiction, and there are always found those who are ready to couch lance in rest and ride, gallantly if fool-hardily, a tilt against them. Some cavilling and questioning has of course arisen as to the true Isabella. But Prescott long ago did her justice, and Miss Starr has caught the spirit of his splendid history with the simple and unadorned facts, for which he has proofs. Nor are Prescott and Miss Starr alone in their view of Isabella. Others of more or less note, of more than one race and more than one tongue, tell as fair a story, picture her as lovely, "point the moral and adorn the tale" of that same discovery. Within the limits of this notice more cannot be said, but it is to be hoped Miss Starr's admirable work may kindle the desire to know more of those days so weighted with interest for Americans. There are two years yet before we keep—in whatever style we may, the feast of our country's birth. Not a woman in the length and breadth of the land who has cause to bless its sunshine should be found unread in the history of her royal ancestress. From the greatest to the least, let her gather what she may of all stories, sift for herself, judge for herself. She will be well satisfied that Miss Starr's account is based upon wide foundations, builded of many hands, and she will be able to carry with her to the gathering of the Queen Isabella Association, into the presence of the Association's statute and the shelter of the Association's pavilion, many a fact, many a beautiful thought, many a noble aspiration, which will forever cluster around the memory of Isabella of Castile.

Miss Starr has clothed her thoughts as they deserve. The work is beautiful, and elegant paper, type and finish exquisite, especially the edition bound in white. There is a portrait of Isabella which looks like *a portrait*, not a fancy sketch. It is a very innocent and noble face that welcomes us in the frontispiece, with a dignity, simplicity and sweet gravity that becomes a Queen.

PALESTINE. By *Major C. R. Conder, D.C.L., R.E.*, Leader of the Palestine Exploring Expedition. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.

From the preface we learn that this book is one of a series of volumes, published under the general title of "Great Explorers." The purpose of the book is "to recite the story of Palestine Exploration," and especially "of the expeditions which Major Conder commanded"; to give "an account of the more important results of that work, and something also of the personal adventures of those employed."

These statements of the preface describe with sufficient clearness the plan and scope of the work. An introductory chapter gives an interesting account of the literature of Palestine exploration, going back to the time of Constantine. This chapter is enriched with an outline map of Palestine and part of Syria, according to Ptolemy; a section of Peutinger's table, representing a Roman map of Palestine about 393 A.D.; a map of Marino Sanuto, 1321; and a map of the Holy Land from the Atlas of Ortelius, 1591.

The body of the work contains, in successive chapters, accounts of surveys and explorations in Judea, "Researches" in Samaria, Galilee, Moab, Gilead, and Northern Syria. Following these are a chapter on the results of the exploration, several appendices, a list of "Old Testament sites" that were identified, "a physical map of Palestine," showing the elevations of the land and the depths of the adjacent sea, a geological map, and maps respectively showing Palestine "as divided among the Twelve Tribes," Palestine as it was "in the beginning of the Christian era," "the kingdom of Jerusalem, showing the fiefs about 1187 A.D., and "modern Palestine, showing the Turkish Provinces."

The chapters giving accounts of the explorations of the Surveying Expedition appear to us to be chiefly, if not only, interesting in their narratives of personal adventures, or their topographical and geographical statements and references; and these latter seem to us to be wanting in some instances in definiteness. The chapter on "The Results of Exploration" is interesting as showing the relation of the geology and physical geography of Palestine to its ancient fertility, and the evidence they furnish that the wells and cisterns, the snow of Hermon, the barrenness of the desert, the Bitter Sea, the sheep and goats, and foxes and coneys; the corn and wine and oil of the Holy Land were just what they are described to have been when the Old Testament books were written. The Rose of Sharon has not withered, nor the royal purple faded in which the Iris clothes itself. All the imagery of the Canticle of Canticles is still to be found in Palestine, and also countless verifications of the accuracy and pertinency of the allusions in the New Testament writings to Palestine at that time.

The work is interesting on these accounts, but what seriously detracts from its value is that the author attaches very little, indeed, as it seems to us, no value to ancient tradition. A line of levels; a table of physical elevations and depressions; the distances down to the bed-rock underlying Jerusalem, or some other such topographical data seem to be sufficient reason for attaching no importance to Christian or Jewish or Syriac tradition. Because sundry shafts sunk and tunnels driven furnish data, as the explorers believe, as to the direction, etc., of the walls of Jerusalem, they have summarily decided from these data that the places venerated by Christians are *within* the ancient walls, and, therefore, are not the places where our Divine Lord was crucified, where He was buried and rose from his rock-sealed tomb. Lieutenant Conder is of the same opinion. This disposition, covert rather than open, to undervalue Christian tradition mars the whole volume.

LIFE OF DOM BOSCO, FOUNDER OF THE SALESIAN SOCIETY. Translated from the French of *J. M. Villefranche*. By *Lady Martin*. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co. London: Burns & Oates.

This is a charming work; difficult to lay down when once taken up, until it is read through to the end. But this is not its greatest element of value. It is a book which we wish were in the hands of every layman and priest and bishop of the Church. The practical lessons it contains are invaluable. We do not here refer to the general lessons of confidence in God, and that He will open the way and provide means for sustaining every good and charitable work, commenced in right spirit and with good motives and continued in the same spirit and with the same motives; though these lessons are time and again forcibly suggested in the book. What we have in mind is the practical lessons, as regards manner and methods and spirit—particularly the spirit—in which charitable works should be conducted.

We refer thus particularly to the *spirit* in which charitable works should be carried on because we have long thought and have become more and more confirmed in the belief that there is too much of routine and "red-tape," too much of cold, rigid, unvarying adhesion to rule in the spirit and manner in which many most highly commendable charitable movements are carried on. This, we think, seriously mars and cripples the efficiency of these movements, and very often contradicts, if it does not defeat, the intention of the originators or founders of special charitable institutions or societies.

We are well aware that law, order, system, rules, are necessary to the success of every work of charity that is or can be instituted. Without them they cannot live or do their intended work. Yet, still, unvarying routine, rigid adherence to their letter maims and cripples, and if persisted in, kills them.

Instances of this, and of how certain charitable movements which have become cold and barren are present to our mind and will readily suggest themselves to the minds of others. It would be invidious to mention them.

The Life of Dom Bosco, and the continuance of his life in the Salesian Society of which, under God, he was the founder, contains another invaluable lesson to all, whether laymen, priests, or bishops. It is the fruitfulness, the *Catholicity* of the Church, in originating and adapting methods of carrying on work of charity, at once old and yet ever new, to suit, to meet and supply the ever continuing wants and needs of poor suffering humanity, amid all the changes of human society.

The saintly Dom Bosco was not a personage of times long past and gone; not a holy, devout, self-sacrificing man, whose name and works are preserved from oblivion in chronicles of the Middle Ages, or those that preceded them. He belongs to the nineteenth century, and to the present, latter part of the nineteenth century. He lived, too, and labored, and his labors were signally blessed of God in this age of skepticism and of contention; and in Italy, where the seeds of rebellion against and hatred of the authority of the Church had already sprouted and grown, and were rapidly bringing forth their satanic fruit.

CARDINAL LAVIGERIE AND THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE. Edited by *Richard F. Clarke, S. J.* London: Longmans, Green & Co. New York: Catholic Publication Society Company.

This book is more than its title implies; or, rather, its title is misleading, implying that its subject is the relation of the African primate to the slave trade on the Dark Continent; whereas it is, in reality, divided into two parts, the first giving a biography of the Cardinal, and the second an account of the African slave trade. Both parts form a narrative of most absorbing and thrilling interest, the former telling of a life of energetic and fruitful activity almost unequalled in these later ages of the Church, and the latter of barbarities most inhuman, and that form the darkest stain on the boasted civilization of our age, which seems to be more absorbed in commercial aggrandizement than in the relieving of human suffering.

Father Clarke has performed a noble work, and done it well, though many will think that he has, to some extent, spoiled it by a little characteristic English boasting in the preface. "England," he says, "has for a century or more taken her place in the forefront of the anti-slavery crusade. She has long since abolished slavery in all countries under her sway,"—yes, in name only, but not in fact. "She has rejoiced over

its abolition in the United States of America,"—when human respect compelled her to do so, and after she had sympathized and almost openly sided with the slave power in this country while there was yet hope of its success. In recent times she has often gone to war with savage or barbarous nations, but has it not been for the protection of British commercial interests, and not in the interest of human freedom? We think, therefore, that the pro-English tone of Father Clarke's preface is out of place, especially as there was no occasion for alluding to England at all, Cardinal Lavigerie's great mission being in a position to be tested by its own merits. And the work, as regards him and his labors, is deserving of unstinted praise. After reading this book, one easily concludes that he is such an apostle as "has long been needed for the uprooting of the traffic which degrades and depopulates Africa, and inflicts on her children revolting cruelties and sufferings that call out to heaven for vengeance"; "one whom we may hope that God has chosen for the apostolate." The book before us is "perhaps the best evidence of what are the aims of Cardinal Lavigerie and the spirit that has actuated his life. His noble self-devotion is . . . the growth of a lifetime spent in the service of God and of his fellow-men. In his episcopate in France he was the apostle of his diocese. In Algeria he was the apostle of the Arabs, and that under circumstances which rendered his apostolate a most difficult one. At the present moment he is the apostle of the slaves of Africa." Of this apostolate any summary of Father Clarke's book could give but a faint representation. It must be read in full to obtain an adequate idea of his labors and of the unspeakable heinousness of the traffic in human beings which he is so earnestly, and we hope successfully, striving to make a thing of the past.

LES ORIGINES DE LA REVOLUTION FRANÇAISE AU COMMENCEMENT DU SEIZIÈME SIÈCLE. LA VEILLE DE LA REFORME. Par *R. de Maulde-la-Clavière*. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1889.

M. de Maulde is not the first writer who has tried to trace the origin of the French Revolution to the events of the "Reformation" time; but yet he opens up some new ground and adopts a theory that all his readers will not be willing to accept, namely, that had the upturning of Germany's religious affairs, especially with regard to the holding and acquiring of landed property by the Church, been imitated in France, there would subsequently have been no such disturbing of both Church and State as was seen at the close of the eighteenth century. In other words, he holds that the alliance of Church and State effected in France in the early part of the sixteenth century was destined to be fatal to both. It would hardly have been so had each party entered into the contract and remained in it on equal terms. But, unfortunately, as the civil power in France developed into the absolutism of the Bourbons, the Church came to be only the servant of the State, and not its equal. It was the Gallicanism that grew to full maturity in the reign of Louis XIV., that compromised the Church as well as the State when the great crash came. Too much royal power was the cause of the change in France, as too little had been in Germany. The comparison, therefore, which our author draws between the two countries is faulty, at least in this respect; and the conditions which in the sixteenth century prevented the story of the latter country from being repeated in the former, would, had they remained unchanged, have had the same effect later on. And had Germany, in the latter half of the fifteenth century, been unified as France was, it is more than probable that Martin Luther would have cut

a very small figure indeed in the history of his country. This is the conclusion one naturally draws from the reading of Janssen's first volume; and we are surprised that M. de Maulde overlooks it, particularly as he evinces considerable familiarity with the German professor's work, whose plan, indeed, he imitates to some extent.

But yet, M. de Maulde has made a very valuable contribution to the literature of history, in the picture which in this first volume he draws of the condition of France at the close of the Middle Ages. He shows that materially the country was then prosperous and the burdens of feudalism not so heavily felt as the average historiaster would have us believe. He is at fault, however, in the account he gives of religious life; it is not complete or satisfactory, dwelling too long on the so-called abuses, and not long enough on the influence of genuine faith and practice. His conclusions, however, are morally and politically sound; and it would be much better if the France of to-day would adopt them and act upon them. We await the next instalment of this work with both curiosity and historic interest.

PROBLEMS OF GREATER BRITAIN. By *The Right Hon. Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke, Bart.* Author of "Greater Britain," "The Present Position of British Politics, Etc." With maps. Macmillan & Co. London and New York: 1890.

This is a work well worthy of thoughtful perusal by intelligent Americans. By "Greater Britain" the author means all the dominions of the British Empire, excluding England, Scotland and Ireland. In an 8vo. volume of upwards of seven hundred pages he separately describes and discusses the material resources and the political, industrial, educational, moral and religious status and prospects of each of the British possessions, and also their respective means of defence in case of war. The chapters on the British dominions in North America contain also careful studies of their relations to the United States, and comparisons of their present and prospective prosperity and progress, their political organization, the partisan divisions of their population on lines of race, religion, and political ideas.

The subjects of Labor, Protection of Native Industries, Education, Religion, Liquor Laws, and the Future Relations of the Mother Country and the Remainder of the Empire, are very fully and carefully discussed, and also in the final chapter, the subject of Imperial Defence.

The work is not, in any sense, a series of theoretical speculations. It embodies the results of discriminating observation and careful study of the British possessions during two different visits—in 1866-67 during a journey round the globe, and again in 1875; and also of a laborious examination of official documents, and of conferences with distinguished officials and other well-informed persons in the countries that were visited. The intelligent reader, therefore, though he may not agree with the author's ideas on various subjects, will find in the book a very large amount of interesting and valuable information.

THE RELIGIOUS ASPECT OF EVOLUTION. By *James McCosh, D.D., LL.D., Litt. D.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

THE WORKS AND DAYS OF MOSES; or, A Critical Dissertation on the First two Chapters of Genesis. By *Sir William Perring, Bart.* London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

We notice these two books together because, though they may seem to treat of different subjects, their contents are really cognate, so much so that the substance of the latter is dealt with at some length in the

former. And they are both notable, if not entirely satisfactory, efforts in the line of Christian apologetics. We note it as a strange oversight that not a Catholic authority is cited in either work, notwithstanding the indisputable fact that Catholics are among the foremost writers on both Scriptural and scientific subjects.

Can it be possible that the Ex-President of Princeton College has given his attention to evolution these thirty years back, and has never heard of Prof. St. George Mivart, England's greatest propounder of the modified theory of evolution, that is in perfect harmony with Christian teaching? or that the names of Cardinal Wiseman, Dr. Molloy, and many others are unknown to Sir William Perring? Yet so one would be led to infer from glancing over the pages of both; but it is strange and worthy of note that the conclusions both arrive at are those of the leading Catholic writers. Rev. Dr. McCosh briefly surveys the whole field of the evolution controversy, and indicates in what sense we may receive and advocate the theory of development in both the animal and the vegetable worlds. After stating the question he narrates the organic history, defines the powers modifying evolution, and points out the beneficence in its method. Then he discusses final cause in evolution, the mutual relations of geology and scripture, and finally the age of man. The English writer named above discusses in a long introduction the general question of creation as recorded in the book of Genesis, and in separate chapters has apt observations on Moses's law of writing, the first and second chapters of Genesis in particular, and he then, after a statement of some difficulties, examines the various theories as to the meaning of the days of Moses. In his final chapter he states his conclusions in a Christian sense.

INSTITUTIONES LOGICALES SECUNDUM PRINCIPIA S. THOMÆ AQUINATIS; ad Usum Scholasticum. Accommodavit *Joannes Pesch, S.J.* Pars II. Logica Major, Volumen 2, continens Logicam Realem et Conclusionem Polemicam. Friburgi Brisgoviae; Sumptibus Herder. 1890. St. Louis: The same House.

We have already noticed the first and second volumes of this masterly exposition of the principles and practice of logic, based on the scholastic principles of St. Thomas, the first volume treating exhaustively of the precepts of logic, and the second of critical and formal logic. This third volume is the second and concluding part of the second volume, and it contains real logic and an appendix of controversy, covering the whole subject, in which are concisely sketched the chief systems of false philosophy that have been in vogue in recent times. The treatise on "Real Logic," which fills about three-fourths of the large volume, is subdivided into three dissertations, the first dealing with Transcendental Logic, or the conception of being in general; the second with Predicamental Logic, or the conception of categorical being; and the third with Post-predicamental logic, or the relations of beings to one another. Each dissertation is subdivided into sections, and these again into chapters and paragraphs, all arranged with a view to the facilitating of the student's work in acquiring knowledge. The various false systems discussed in the Appendix are the secularism of Bacon, the empiricism of Hobbes, Locke, Condillac, Hume, Comte and Mill, the exaggerated intellectualism of Descartes, Spinoza's dogmatism of pure speculation, the scholastico-mathematical method of Leibnitz and Wolff, Berkeley's idealism, the constructive method of Fichte, Schelling, Hegel and Schopenhauer, Cousin's eclecticism, Gratry's ontologism, De Bonald's traditionalism, and the transcendental realism of Herbart and Trendelenburg. A copious index fittingly terminates the work.

SOUVENIR VOLUME. Illustrated. Three Great Events in the History of the Catholic Church in the United States: (1) Centenary Celebration; (2) Proceedings of the First American Catholic Congress; (3) Dedication of the Catholic University. William H. Hughes, publisher: Detroit, Mich.

OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE CATHOLIC CONGRESS, held at Baltimore, November 11 and 12, 1889. William H. Hughes, publisher: Detroit.

The first of these works is a royal 4to. volume gotten up in commendable style, as respects the illustrations, letter-press and general typographical make-up.

The illustrations, including therein portraits of His holiness Leo XIII., Pius VI., Archbishop Carroll, Cardinal Gibbons and all or nearly all the archbishops and bishops of the Church in the United States and also portraits of a number of distinguished Catholic laymen, are of themselves more than worth the price of the volume.

The letter-press contains the sermons, and the speeches and papers delivered or read at the Centenary Celebration, at the Catholic Congress, and at the Dedication of the Catholic University.

The second of the works above mentioned contains the official report of the proceedings of the Catholic Congress, with an introduction by William J. Onahan, of Chicago. It is published with the *imprimatur* of the Right Rev. John Foley, Bishop of Detroit. Its contents are the same as those of that part of the first-mentioned work which gives an account of the Catholic Congress.

DIARY OF THE PARNELL COMMISSION. Revised from "The Daily News." By *John Macdonald, M. A.* London: T. Fisher Unwin. New York: Catholic Publication Society Company.

The day has not yet come to write the history of the vilest political conspiracy of modern times, and the most unsuccessful, too, for it has injured only the party concocting it; but when it does come, this account of Mr. Macdonald's will be of considerable assistance to the historian, full as it is and on the whole fair and honest. In a long preface he tells of the events leading to the appointment of the Commission, showing coincidences strengthening the suspicion that the Government was a party to the slanders of the London *Times*, which invariably were published just in time to help in the enactment of coercion laws. Full, if not complete, reports are given of the proceedings from day to day, with all their exciting and amusing incidents; from the first meeting on October 22d, 1888, to the last on November 22d, 1889, the one hundred and twenty-eighth day. Though the real interest ends with the breakdown, flight and death of Pigott, yet the proceedings subsequent to this tragic climax—or anti-climax if you will—are an essential part of the history, as is also the Parliamentary Blue-book containing the report of the Commission Judges, which has appeared since Mr. Macdonald's work, and which is hardly less injurious to the enemies of Ireland than was the proving of the forgery of the letters attributed to Mr. Parnell. A copious index enhances the value of the work before us.

CORRECTIONS—Two errors marked in the proof of Mr. Marshall's article escaped notice until too late for revision. One occurs on page 268, eleventh line from top, which should read, "The second General Council," etc., and not "The fifth," etc.; and the other, merely and obviously typographical, on page 281, twelfth line from top, where, instead of "Narianzen," it should be "Nazianzen."

THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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SALUTATORY.

THE aims of the "AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW" and the mode of attaining them were admirably set forth in the first Salutatory, in January, 1876, by the late Monsignor Corcoran, its first editor. His solid and luminous mind, which united "with the flash of the gem its solidity too," at once gave character to the new publication. His name alone was sufficient to attract and to hold the highest intellects and brightest pens in the Catholic body. No man or staff of men can adequately fill his place. There are in our country individuals quite as learned in special branches as was Monsignor Corcoran, but for catholicity of knowledge, for wide, general, and accurate information, such as is invaluable in a publication like the REVIEW, he had no peer in the New World, and probably no superior in the Old. On the lines marked out by this great pioneer, the new management proposes to work.

The mission of the REVIEW is to the higher intellects, Catholic and non-Catholic, of the country. That mission becomes more momentous every day. Catholics suffer most from the ignorance of learned men, learned in almost everything but Catholic doctrine, history, and tradition. The extent of this ignorance is almost incredible. Most of these men are thoroughly honest, and opposed

VOL. XV.—25

not to the Catholic Church but to something which they have imagined it to be, but which in reality is but an attempted combination of contradictory elements; a combination which is of impossible existence outside of human imagination. That wondrous union, as they regard it, of supreme cunning, learning, and audacity, which has held its place for nineteen centuries, which attracted and held captive the greatest intellects of the ages, ought to be to such minds a subject worthy at least of philosophic examination, if not of religious interest. It will be the aim of the REVIEW to explain clearly to such minds the philosophy, theology, and sociology of the old Church. These, like Corinthian columns, at once support and adorn the temple of human society. All men who feel an interest in the stability of our civilization should examine them, and learn their necessary connection with that stability. Civilization must wither here, as it has in every country of the world, without morality; but morality requires self-sacrifice, and self-sacrifice requires adequate motives, and the great doctrines of the Church alone can furnish such motives. To expect the flower of social purity without the stem and root that vivify it, is the blinding superstition of this age. The stem and root are doctrines which underlie and give motive to self-sacrifice. Pluck the flower from them, it retains its perfume and looks as beautiful, but soon it will droop and wither and fall leaf by leaf on the cold earth. As well expect to have science without first principles, as morality without doctrines to sustain it. And these doctrines must be true. "Wars between men may cease," says Edmund Burke, "but wars between principles never cease." By conquest or submission men may cease to fight, but Truth has the communicated life of God. It survives the defenders that have fallen around its standard, and calls forth new guards of honor, whilst Error, like the fallen archangel, though defeated, retains its natural power for evil. The superficial men of our day fancy the best way is to ignore all doctrine, that is, recognize neither army, and thus produce stagnation and call it peace.

From politics, as popularly understood, the REVIEW will continue to keep aloof; but to the ethics of politics it cannot be indifferent. When great moral questions are involved in political issues,

the illumination of sound principles must fall on the dark places of politics and show men that the right alone is the truly expedient, that the poison of one false principle cannot be compensated for by innumerable present advantages, but must course through the veins of the body politic and soon find its heart. We shall endeavor to show that whilst Christianity is a divine institution, primarily designed to regulate man's intercourse with his Creator, it has indirect temporal blessings, second only to its spiritual benedictions. It is the only power to-day that can bring the great contending forces of the world—the rich and the poor—the governors and the governed—capital and labor—together, join their hands as brothers, and impart to them the blessing of the Founder of Christian civilization, Who was the unitive principle of all parties—Himself rich and yet poor—a ruler and a subject—a capitalist and a laborer—the King of Kings, and the carpenter's son and co-laborer.

The REVIEW will also have a scientific character, and endeavor to keep abreast with its contemporaries in this department. If there be any charge against the Catholic Church which her educated children more indignantly repel than another, it is that of being opposed to science and education. A single reflection ought to convince any thinking mind of the *a priori* absurdity of such opposition. All truth must be, of course, harmonious with itself. What is religiously true cannot be scientifically false, nor can what is scientifically false be religiously true. Now it is clear that the religious man is fearless of scientific investigation in precise proportion to the depth of his conviction of the truth of the religion he professes. But it is generally conceded that no persons have deeper convictions of the truths of their religion than Catholics; whether these convictions be rational or not does not affect the argument; therefore Catholics must be the last men to fear science, and, for the same reason, knowledge of any kind. But fearlessness inadequately expresses our position. We love science; for, truth is always holy and of God, whether it is in the natural or supernatural order, for both orders are equally of divine institution. The Catholic Church has been, to a great extent, the educator of the world in both orders. In her schools were the greatest intellects informed and developed. She taught St Augustine his philos-

ophy, and St. Thomas Aquinas his theology, and Christopher Columbus his navigation. She founded the great Benedictine, Dominican, Franciscan, and Jesuit schools, and to-day consecrates hundreds of men and women to the cause of education. She founded the present great universities of Europe, and filled them with more students than they can boast of at the present day. In the light of reason and of fact, this charge against the Church would seem absurd, yet it daily insisted on by the ignorantly learned class of which we have already spoken.

The REVIEW will also have a historical and biographical character. The deeds of the past and the men who performed them are often sadly misrepresented by partisan historians and biographers. The clouds of prejudice that rise from the valleys of the heart, rest on the head-lands of the intellect and obscure truth. Bigotry and calumny, like grave-rats, gnaw at the coffins of the dead. But as living men have a right to their reputations, so have the dead, and it is justice as well as chivalry to defend them.

It seems almost needless to say that the REVIEW will continue to be thoroughly American. The fact is, that in this century the American and Catholic spirits seem identical. All the discordant elements of the world meet here, and are moulded into one heterogeneous mass by the spirit of the country. That spirit is generous enough to respect racial and national idiosyncrasies, but strong enough to insist that they shall be so modified as not to interfere with the one harmonious national character. This is precisely the genius of the Catholic Church, diversity in unity—unity in diversity. Under no other constitution in the world does the Church find herself so perfectly at home.

Catholics give their heartiest allegiance to the government of the country. Nor is that allegiance neutralized or lessened by the spiritual obedience due to Pope or Prelates, no more than the allegiance of non-Catholics is influenced by the authority of their preachers or by their personal opinions of the obligations of a higher law. The greatest patriots that ever lived have been Catholics. We should bear in mind that the bishops of the Catholic Church "are appointed by the Holy Ghost to rule the Church of God" in conjunction with the Sovereign Pontiff, that these bishops love their country as dearly at least as do no-popery

fanatics, that the Pope himself is no irresponsible spiritual Czar, but the subject of a higher law and must administer the laws of the Church. Thorough students of the great wise system of the Catholic Church, though non-Catholics, have praised that system, nor seen the fancied danger of divided allegiance.

We beg to add one word of a somewhat personal character. Whilst feeling it an honor to occupy the place of directing editor of the CATHOLIC QUARTERLY, we feel also that our position at the head of a large diocese will not permit us to give the time and attention necessary to the successful discharge of its duties. We shall give to these duties all the time we can afford, but must depend to a very great extent on the excellent associate editors whom we have selected.

Contributors will be allowed all proper freedom in the expression of their thoughts outside the domain of defined doctrines, the REVIEW not holding itself responsible for the individual opinions of its contributors.

† PATRICK JOHN RYAN.

PHILADELPHIA, May 24, 1890.

THE "IMPREGNABLE FORTRESS."

PRINCE BISMARCK AND THE CENTRE PARTY.

THE world's attention has not yet been withdrawn from the hermit in spite of himself, who, at this moment, in his castle of Friedrichsruhe, is given time to reflect on his own eventful life; for, it has been one which marks an epoch in the history of nations.

Endowed with an extraordinary combination of great qualities, Herr von Bismarck will always rank among those who, in the sphere of their activity, have dominated a whole century.

He has devoted to the service of a great cause, viz., the unity of the German States under the empire of the Hohenzollern, genius of the first order and an iron will; and, having been seconded in his gigantic undertaking by unparalleled good fortune and by circumstances propitious beyond the most sanguine expectations, both his friends and enemies must henceforth count the Chancellor of the first three emperors of Germany among those whom mankind styles great.

But has he been great in every respect? Has he been in the hands of God, like a powerful and formidable instrument, imbued with the consciousness and the firm purpose of being such an instrument? Or, has he been one of those agencies which carry out and execute the designs of Divine Providence, in spite of themselves, but caring little for its laws? Has he shown, in the choice of means, as true nobleness of soul and greatness of character as he has energy and tenacity of purpose?

Did might overpower right in the mind of Herr von Bismarck? It is useless to give an answer now to this question. It would be only a blow inflicted on the dead or dying lion. It is all the more useless, because the facts themselves prove, with evidence clear as the noon-day, that the chancellor of "blood and iron" has demonstrated that for him, as for Napoleon the First, "politics had brains but no heart."¹

¹ Bismarck protested in the session of the Prussian Diet (March 13, 1863) that he never said, "Macht geht vor Recht," "might takes precedence of right." Count Schwerin immediately replied to him that, in any case, the policy of the minister culminated in this Machiavellian motto; the then premier did not dare to give the lie to

Emperor William II., who extorted from his all-powerful minister the "*cedo majori*," has many a time loudly proclaimed :

"He was a man, take him for all in all,
I shall not look upon his like again."

But it is doubtful whether the chancellor's warmest admirers will ever say of him :

"O what a *noble mind* is here o'erthrown !"

Such is the man we must speak of constantly, in the following pages, intended to give a glimpse of the history of a small phalanx whose struggles have been all the greater, and whose victories are are all the more glorious when we remember the strength of the adversary against whom it contended.

For it remains true, and no historian, having the least claim to impartiality, can ever deny the fact, that during his long career of repeated successes on the political battle-field, the formidable chancellor has never encountered upon that ground any other adversary, before whom all his influence, all his strength, all his cunning,—in a word, all his omnipotence have been vain and useless.

On glancing at the twenty-eight years during which he directed the destiny of Prussia, and of all Europe, Bismarck beholds along the path which he has followed, the ruins he has left in profusion everywhere. He sees thrones which he has cast down, empires and kingdoms which he has dismembered, majorities and chambers which he has crushed, ministers whom he has consigned to oblivion, ambassadors whom he has annihilated, political parties which he has pressed to the wall and influential men whom he has cast aside ; but, in thinking of a certain little phalanx of ever intrepid souls, in reflecting on the battles he has waged against them and of all the means with which he has striven to triumph over them, he will repeat, and, to be frank and honest, he must repeat, the words of Tacitus, "*Triumphati magis quam victi sunt !*" and say, with the proud Roman :

"Cuncta . . . subacta
Præter atrocem animum Catonis !"

This "Cato," indomitable in spite of all artifices, this party triumphant in the midst of the most desperate struggles, this phalanx invincible in every attack, this army so weak and, nevertheless, so powerful and always victorious, is the Catholic party of the parliaments of Germany. It is "The Centre Party," called by

this retort. We think that the ex-chancellor of to-day would be understood to still less contradict the evidence of facts.

Already in 1862, Bismarck, who then had just been called to the Presidency of the Ministry, speaking before the House, said : "It is not by speeches and decisions of the majority that the great questions of the time are to be settled,—that was the mistake of 1848 and 1849—but by iron and blood (*durch Blut und Eisen*)."

the most competent and impartial of all judges in such a matter, by Herr von Bismarck himself, *the impregnable fortress, der unüberwindliche Thurm*.

Is it not a touching spectacle for every noble and generous heart to behold weakness the conqueror in a struggle against force; to follow in one's mind the destinies of a political party which grows more loyal to its principles and, therefore, more powerful, as the number of its adversaries increases? This is, indeed, a study, doubly interesting at a time when parliamentarianism is doing so much to bring itself into discredit in the eyes of its own warmest supporters. If we do not disguise the fact that, as Catholics, we are proud to call such men ours, and that we find a double satisfaction in recalling their struggles and victories, we trust it will not be said of us that we have taken sentiments for reasons and desires for facts.

I.

THE CHARACTER OF PARLIAMENTARIANISM IN GENERAL IN THE GERMAN EMPIRE AND IN THE KINGDOM OF PRUSSIA.

That we may estimate accurately the career of the Centre party, we must, first of all, distinguish clearly the two parliamentary fields upon which it displays its activity: The "Reichstag," that is, the Parliament of the Empire, and the "Landtag," the Chambers of the Kingdom of Prussia.¹

The war against Austria in 1866, which Herr von Bismarck, according to his own confession, had been plotting ever since his accession to the Prussian Cabinet in 1862, had taken away from that Catholic power the leadership in Germany and had transferred it to the Protestant dynasty of the Hohenzollern.

The creation of the North German Confederation ("*Nord-deutsche Bund*"), under the King of Prussia as chief, was the result. The crushing defeat of France shortly after removed the last obstacle to the unification of the German States. The "*patriotic anguish*" ("*angoisses patriotiques*") of M. Rouher and of his sovereign, Napoleon III., who realized the growth of Prussia, was silenced; and the Empire of Germany was proclaimed at Versailles on January 18th, 1871. Henceforth the King of Prussia bears the titles of "*Deutscher Kaiser, König von Preussen*," Emperor of Germany and King of Prussia.

The empire ("*Das Reich*") has, by its constitution, an essentially federative character, and *must* in no way absorb the government and legislative powers of the many states, kingdoms, grand duchies, duchies, princedoms, etc., which form parts of it. The King of

¹ The intelligent reader will understand that we are forced to give an insight into the situation, to show in a clear light the struggles, efforts and energy of the Centre party.

Prussia is especially "*der Oberste-Kriegsherr*," the Commander-in-Chief of the army of the whole empire, in the name of which he can declare and wage war.

Thus Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Saxony, Baden, Hesse, etc., have, as well as Prussia, their own kings, grand dukes, dukes, princes, etc., and their chambers; in a word, their *own constitutions*.

The empire, as such, has only one parliament, the "*Reichstag*," whose members are elected in the different States by *universal suffrage*. It pertains to the Reichstag to propose and vote all legislative measures applicable to the whole empire.

The complement of the Reichstag is the "*Bundesrath*," composed of delegates chosen, not by the people, but by the *governments* of the different States. All the laws of the empire must be passed on by the Reichstag, approved of by the Bundesrath and signed by the emperor.

The ordinary mouth-piece of the emperor in these corporations of the empire is the Chancellor, "*der Reichskanzler*."

The representation in the Reichstag and in the Bundesrath being proportioned to the importance and population of the States, it is easy to conceive the predominance of Prussia in both Houses; and with such a Chancellor as Herr von Bismarck, who sneered at majorities when he could not manage them as he desired, who imposed his own will on his colleagues in the Bundesrath, as well as on the emperor, we might well exclaim: *The empire, it is the Chancellor*.

His power was such that he had not even to resort to the refusal of the imperial signature for nullifying any proposed law that had been passed by the Reichstag; he simply buried it in the Bundesrath in which he had taken good care to secure the exclusive nomination of men blindly devoted to his policy, putting in practice the motto of Cæsar: "*He thinks too much; such men are dangerous*."

Catholic Bavaria, ruled by an insane king, and later by a "*liberal*" regent, under the administration of Dr. von Lutz, sent to the Bundesrath only creatures of this apostate, strutting beneath the rays of the Bismarckian sun. Hence we can understand how, during the last few years, anti-Catholic laws, after having been abrogated by the almost unanimous vote of the Reichstag upon the proposal of the Centre party, were maintained by the Chancellor, thanks to the veto of the Bundesrath.

The Kingdom of Prussia, since its very foundation, and by reason of its origin, has preserved a well-marked Protestant character. The Catholics, who were few at the beginning, were deemed citizens of the second order, "*Staatsbürger zweiter Klasse*."¹

¹ In his political testament, Frederick I., first King of Prussia, advises his successors to uphold the "*Evangelical religion*," "because through the Reformation *and the*

The annexation of Catholic Silesia, under Frederick II., did not change the situation. In 1815 two other provinces, viz., Westphalia and the Rhine province, almost entirely Catholic, the finest and richest portions of the kingdom, were incorporated with Prussia. The Catholics then constituted a third part of the Prussian population, but King Frederick-William III., did not cease to consider himself as the protector of Protestantism and to exercise his royal "episcopate" (Summepiscopat) even over the Catholics, who were forced to submit to every kind of harassing laws.

The Constitution promised, in 1815, to the Catholics for the protection of their rights, was never granted during his long reign (he died in 1840). A kind of an agreement with the Holy See, implied in the Pontifical Bull, "*De Salute Animarum*," in 1821, was faithfully respected so far, as all the concessions therein granted to the Protestants against the Catholic Church were concerned. In short, never before the accession of King Frederick William IV. had Prussia been "ein paritätischer staat;" Catholics were never held to be equal to Protestants.

Frederick William IV., possessed of a noble and generous heart, was the first to break with this so-called Prussian tradition. The Revolution which burst forth during his reign (in 1848), in harmony with the social commotions in neighboring states, was a consequence of the bureaucratic absolutism of his predecessors, with which some of his ministers were still indoctrinated. During this Revolution Catholics gave many proofs of their devotedness and faithful patriotism, and the Constitution of the 31st of January, 1850 was their reward. The equality of creeds; the abrogation of the "Placet;" freedom for the Religious Orders; the nomination of priests restored once more to the now independent bishops; parochial schools; religious teaching given exclusively by ecclesiastics—such were the concessions of the new Charter, which inaugurated for the Catholics in Prussia an era of peace and flourishing development. We shall see that this happy state of affairs did not last long, and that the Prussian tradition was soon re-established. The Constitution gave birth in Prussia to the parliamentary régime. According to provisions of the national Constitution, the legislative power is vested in the King, the *Herrenhaus*, and the *Abgeordnetenhaus*. This last is the Assembly of the representatives of the people, the *Abgeordneten*.¹ These

secularization of the principalities, which was a consequence thereof, the power of our house has been considerably increased; moreover, if the Pope were to regain his influence, our house would lose much of its grandeur." See Bachem, *Preussen und die Katholische Kirche*, p. 10.

¹ The House of Lords and the House of Representatives constitute the Prussian *Landtag*. The latter corresponds to our Congress or Legislature. An *Abgeordneter* of the *Landtag* means always a member of the lower House.

members are elected by the famous system—an election of three “degrees.” Each municipality chooses its electors, “Wahlmänner.” These go to the chief town of the district and publicly, in loud voice, select their candidates in the presence of a delegate of the government sent expressly to preside over the election. When we consider that absolute independence of character is necessary for exercising the office of a “Wahlmann,” the courage displayed by the Catholics in increasing the ranks of their deputies is the more praiseworthy at an epoch when the fact of voting for a candidate of the Centre party sufficed to inflict upon the elector, *the blot of an enemy to the country, and to make him incapable of holding any public office!*

The *Herrenhaus*—House of Lords—is composed of the heads of certain noble families, who by right of birth belong to it; then, of the delegates of the large cities; the great landowners; the delegates of the universities; and lastly, of those appointed by the king. The *Herrenhaus* does not belong to any particular party in the ordinary sense of the word. Still less can this be said of the Catholic members thereof, who, being very few in number, have been incapable of any efficient action.

In his struggle against the Church, Herr von Bismarck availed himself of radical measures for paralyzing the influence of the few conservative Protestant members whom the Chancellor's liberalism had frightened. He begged the Emperor to make his authority absolute by creating an amply sufficient number of *Herren*, absolutely docile to his orders. As the Centre party did not exist in the *Herrenhaus*, we have no need to dwell on it. Let us recall, however, in passing, that a few Catholic nobles, the Duke of Ratibor, Count Frankenberg, etc., have gained for themselves a questionable notoriety by disavowing the efforts of their co-religionists, and by claiming to be favorable to a hybrid, spurious Catholicism called State-Catholicism. It is true that others, such as Prince Radzewill, Count de Brühl, Count de Hompesch, and almost the whole Rhenish and Westphalian nobility, have largely compensated for that base servility, by their noble and courageous attitude, upholding one of the finest mottoes of nobility, “*More honor than honors*” (*Plus d'honneur que d'honneurs*).

It is worth mentioning, that the two Chambers of Prussia have never acknowledged the Constitutional system, in the meaning applied to this word in other countries, such as England and Belgium, where the defeat of the majority leads, as a rule, to a change of the ministry. The Prussian ministers do not depend upon the Chambers, nor are they responsible to them for the royal acts bearing their signatures. During the twenty-eight years that Bismarck was president of the Cabinet, the famous formula, “*The*

king reigns but does not govern," had no other meaning than "*the king reigns but Bismarck governs!*"

Most certainly, his declarations of absolute devotedness to the Emperor and King were sincere, but we can easily understand that no heroic effort is required to proclaim one's self the servant and vassal of a superior whose will is inspired by and bent according to our own fancy. Herr von Bismarck has never stood exclusively upon the same platform with any party in the German Parliament. He accepted the majority, wherever it resided. The so-called Conservatives, with or without prefix,—Conservative, Old Conservative, Free Conservative,—became soon the reverse of the true Conservatives, and (with but few exceptions) blindly followed the programme of the man whose absolute preponderance knew how to triumph over the old Protestant orthodoxy. The Liberals, or National Liberals (as they call themselves in their vain self-conceit), Bennigsen, Lasker, etc., humbled themselves before the golden calf, as soon as he yielded to their hatred of the religious orders and granted them rich offices.

The "Progressist party," Richter, Virchow, etc., proclaiming war against bureaucracy, demanding more extended constitutional rights, have been, especially during the later years, the most implacable adversaries of the prince-autocrat. But this did not prevent him from accepting with eagerness their co-operation whenever they waged war on the Catholics, and when he could make use of their hatred against religion, thus giving the lie to their own motto, "*freisinnige*—friends of liberty." Even the Catholics themselves received fulsome flattery from him in acknowledgment of their undoubted patriotism whenever some salutary and economical law, otherwise in conformity with their programme, could not be enacted without their support. Such was the field on which the small army of the Centre party had to operate. Let us now see how this group was formed, what was its flag, what battles it had to wage, and how far they succeeded.

II.

THE ORIGIN OF THE CENTRE PARTY AND ITS PROGRAMME.

Is the Centre party a *political* or a *religious* party? The answer to this question will throw great light on the whole spirit of the movement.

Herr von Bismarck and the entire Liberal section have, more than once, declared that the Centre party had no right to sit in a political assembly, because it was a *religious party*, and that this fact alone was sufficiently indicative of bitter enmity and war against the government.

Let us analyze this idea. Is not the Centre party a political party? Yes; it has always inscribed on its programme the just and impartial solution of all political and economical questions which were the order of the day at the time of the elections. Yes; it has always been a truly constitutional party, and has loudly and repeatedly proclaimed its fidelity to the monarchy and its devotedness to the true interests of the people. Yes; the Centre party has always proclaimed the rights of truth, of liberty, of fatherland, and in all matters affecting the internal and external policy of the country it has always struggled against "bureaucratism" and centralization, demanding a just and equitable administration in Prussia, the preservation and protection of the federative character of the Empire.

Is the Centre party a *religious* party?—a party organized only to protect religious interests? No; it was formed at the very epoch when an impartial king had just granted to his people so great a concession of liberties as up to that time had been unknown in Prussia. It was in 1852 that sixty-one Catholics of the House formed the *Catholic fraction* which, in 1859, adopted the name of the "Centre party." A religious party? That is to say a party seeking to acquire privileges for a definite creed? No. This party demands that the constitution shall not be a dead letter. It asks that religious liberty, as well as every other kind of liberty, shall no longer be the exclusive privilege of the Protestants.

A religious party? Yes. It is also a religious party, if you will. The men who constitute it are religious men. They do not admit the atheism of the State any more than that of the individual. And, furthermore, they recognize in their faith the truths which religion teaches them; the precepts she gives them as their guide both in their public and private life. They do not share the opinion of those who pretend that they are bound to lay aside in the lobby with their overcoats and umbrellas, their religious convictions in order to be neutral as members of parliament. A religious party, that is, one which will protect religion? Yes, they will guard their religious liberty above every other liberty, because it is the most precious and fundamental of all; and if politics consist in being anti-religious, then the deputy of the Centre party will always be your adversary; he will avail himself of his right of legitimate defense to protect, in his own name and in that of the people, freedom of conscience, liberty of faith, and the liberty of his holy mother, the Church.

Yes, yes, in this sense the Central party has been, and still is, a religious party, as any party composed of true and firm believers must necessarily be. We will say more. No man can be truly a statesman, truly politic, if irreligious; if he is not imbued with

that truth emanating from the very nature of things and testified to by your very hatred of religion; if he does not admit that religion and God are the foundations of all great social and political questions. In fine, we will say: Yes, the men of the Centre party are religious men, because they are tolerant; because of all intolerance that of irreligion is the worst. The facts of the case proclaim this truth. From 1862 till 1869 Bismarck never reproached the Centre party of the Landtag with not being a political party, for the religious persecution had not yet been inaugurated. The first indications of the premeditated assault upon the Church were made in 1869, in Berlin, on the occasion of a riot instigated against the *convents*, when the Centre party did not fail to unmask the perfidious hypocrisy of Liberalism.

The great events and political transformations of the year 1870 introduced the kingdom of Prussia into a new phase of its national existence. The empire, being proclaimed, was to receive its constitution. In their quality of citizens, of Catholics, and partisans of the old Centre the Catholics were obliged to concentrate their forces in order to meet the new condition of things.

On the 11th of January, 1871, fifty-one Catholic deputies constituted again the *Centre Party in the Landtag*; and on the 21st of March, of the same year, sixty-one members of the "Reichstag" formed a party with the same name, in the *Imperial Parliament*. Their programme remained the same, though broadened to answer the new situation. Their motto was: "*Für Wahrheit, Freiheit und Recht*,"—"For Truth, Liberty and Right."

At their head stood Mgr. Ketteler, *the great Bishop of Mayence*, and among the laymen, von Mallinckrodt, the brothers Reichensperger, von Savigny and Windthorst acted as their executive committee. Catholic Bavaria had sent such eminent men as Prince Löwenstein, Baron Franckenstein, Dr. Jörg. The aristocracy was also most worthily represented by the Barons Schorlemer-Alst, von Heeremann, Counts Ballestrem, Bissingen and others. The mere names of Liegens, Lieber, Buss, Lindau—not to mention others—were, in themselves, equivalent to a platform. MMs. Moufang, Westermeyer, Majunke and others worthily represented the clergy. Here we must recognize the fact that German Catholics esteem their priests in a high degree, and show them a marked preference in social affairs. They know full well that the priest has the same rights as any other citizen, and that his education and profound knowledge place him in the foremost rank; that his sacred character and his highly social mission are the surest guarantees of the sincere, disinterested and unbiased devotedness which a representative owes to the interests of his electors. The other members of the "Centre Party," far from

feeling uneasy at seeing men in cassocks in their group, considered themselves honored by having such companions in Parliament. On one occasion, Herr Windthorst said: "We acknowledge that we wish to have among us some members of the clergy. There are many questions in which their advice and experience are valuable and quite often indispensable at a time when the politics of our adversaries consist in attacking Catholicism."

In the preliminary meetings which preceded the definitive formation of the "Centre Party" in the new Reichstag they had long and earnest discussions as to the appropriate name to be adopted by the party. Some proposed to call it the Catholic party ("Katholische Fraction"), whilst others, especially MM. Windthorst and Reichensperger emphasized the name "*Centrum*" (Centre), as better showing forth the principal objective scope of the party, which was, *the defense of all the constitutional liberties, as well in behalf of Catholics as of Protestants*. Their opinion prevailed, and in order to express still more clearly the character, essentially and truly conservative of the party, they called it "*Centrum- oder Verfassungs-Partei*" (the party of the "Centre," or of the "Constitution.")

It is explicitly stated in its written statutes, that the party is not exclusively Catholic; that, on the contrary, all Christian believers can become members if they adopt its political and constitutional programme. Thus, from the very beginning down to the present time, several Protestant deputies have frequented the meetings of the "Centre Party," have constantly voted with it, in quality of "*Hospitanten*," that is to say, without having their names inscribed as members. Others, namely, MMs. von Gerlach and Schulz, have been received into full membership; Herr von Gerlach, a venerable man, and a true conservative of the old stock, has been constantly elected by a Catholic constituency. As Catholic Ireland, so also does Catholic Germany furnish the strongest proofs against the charge of Catholic intolerance and fanaticism!

The little army was now formed, but it was on a peace-footing, and its formation was in no way the result of Catholic mobilization. It was ready to enlist under the flag of the new empire. Mgr. Ketteler expressed its views, when he said: "We unreservedly acknowledge the newly-founded empire; we will defend its unity, although we intend to guarantee to every participating State that independence which the common welfare admits." But will Herr von Bismarck permit the Catholics to occupy a room in the new dwelling, which he is just going to roof?

O, yes, Catholics of Germany, you are a thousand times right in proclaiming loudly that you love the Fatherland dearly; that you love its glory as much as do any of your fellow-citizens; that your

sons have watered with their blood the soil of France from Strasburg to Paris; that your priests, your friars and nuns have wrought prodigies of charity under the deadly volleys of guns and chassepot rifles; that your bishops, your priests, your press and your orators have enthusiastically and unanimously celebrated the great and glorious victories of your armies and the foundation of the German Empire. All that is true, very true; but do you not know Schiller's:

"Der Mohr hat seine schuldigkeit gethan; der Mohr kann gehen?"

"The negro has done his duty; the negro can go?"

And do you not fear that it may be applied to yourselves? Do you not know that nothing is more elastic *than the word patriotism*? In all times despotism has forged it into a weapon against its most innocent victims. It is useless for you to say that you crave nothing but liberty, equality and common rights for yourselves and for others. Know ye well that your being Catholics is in the eyes of many your greatest crime; that your foes will declare that you are mere strangers, not children of the Fatherland; that you are enemies of the country and of the empire, "*Vaterlandslose*" "*Reichsfeinde*," and that it is high time to deprive you of your common rights?

If, then, you wish to claim a place in the new empire, you will be forced to conquer it by the greatest sacrifices; nay, more, by far harder-fought battles than those of Sedan and Metz!

III.

THE "KULTURKAMPF."

This word, invented by the socialist Lassalle, and applied by Prof. Virchow, the atheist and progressionist deputy, to the campaign inaugurated against the Catholics in behalf of "*culture*," sums up all the horrors of a religious persecution, which Mgr. Martin, Bishop of Paderborn (who died in exile in 1879), did not hesitate to call "*a new Diocletian persecution*." We will only touch the psychological problem, how could a man like Bismarck disregard so totally the lesson written in blood upon every page of history, and foretold by those divine words: "The stone which the builders of this world rejected, the same is become the head of the corner. Whosoever shall fall upon that stone shall be bruised, and upon whomsoever it shall fall, it will dash him to pieces." —Luke 20, 17 and 18.

Pius IX., in his celebrated allocution of Christmas, 1873, condemning the Kulturkampf, uttered these memorable words: "It is not only with secret machinations, but with brute force, that they try to exterminate Catholicism in the new German Empire. Men who not only are not of our holy religion, but *who do not even know*

her, dare to arrogate to themselves the power to determine her dogmas and rights." *Ignorance and prejudice!* Ignorance of a religion which it is enough simply to know in order to respect and appreciate her civilizing power; prejudice, blindly nourished, especially by Protestantism, and carried to hatred; these are the principal causes of these most violent attacks upon the Church of Christ. "*Hoc unum gestit, ne ignorata damnetur.*" "We ask only that you do not condemn us without examination." But like Tertullian, we must ask it in vain, as long as time shall last; for the "*dixit insipiens*" will remain true of God and His works, as long as men, blinded by their passions, or their prejudices and pride, "*veritatem in injustitia detinent.*"

We class Prince von Bismarck among these latter.¹ From the very beginning of his diplomatic career as Prussian ambassador to the Bundestag of Frankfort (1852), he proclaimed publicly by word and by writing that some day or other "*the open fight*" against Catholics must "begin in Germany."² That thought matured in his mind the nearer he approached the realization of his gigantic undertakings, which were, from the *national standpoint*, the *supremacy of Prussia in Germany as a consequence of the defeat of Austria*, and from an *international point of view*, the *preponderance of the German Empire over the Latin races in the affairs of Europe by the downfall of France*; and on religious grounds, the *intensifying of the Protestant character of the new empire, both at home and abroad, by the destruction of Catholic influence*. Well persuaded that "*violenta non durant*," especially in the domain of conscience, he tried first, upon the occasion of the Vatican Council, to make use of the *Catholic bishops* themselves as instruments in his anti-Catholic crusade.

Count von Arnim, equally ambitious and intriguing, and a pos-

¹ Bismarck was never an Atheist. He himself made public profession of his Protestant orthodoxy, and on a certain occasion declared in the Chamber, "To me, life without belief in supernatural Revelation is simply inconceivable."

See the three letters of Bismarck to Emperor William published a short time ago, in which the Chancellor touchingly pictures the domestic joys of the devout Christian in the holy season of Christmas. These same letters show how completely the minister had gained the confidence of the emperor, which he was shrewd enough to take advantage of, making him believe that he had no other desire than to fulfil the will of his master. According to the biography written by his amanuensis, Busch, Bismarck is a member of the fanatical sect of the "Bohemian Lutheran Brethren," and every evening before retiring, he is accustomed to read a portion of the "Daily Watchwords of the Brother Congregations."—*Tägliche Lesungen der Brüdergemeinde*, Busch, *Graf Bismarck und seine Leute*, p. 128.

He had, however, little love for Catholics, or for the Catholic Church, nor did he ever understand Catholic teaching. He is very superstitious. He will refuse to sit down at a table where the number of guests is 13, and Friday is for him an unlucky day.—See Majunke, *Geschichte des Culturkampfes*, p. 11.

² See Poschinger, *Preussen in Bundestag I.*, p. 320.

itive hater of Catholics, was sent to represent Prussia at the Vatican. His instructions from his chief were, to encourage opposition in the German bishops to Papal infallibility, both before and after the definition had been given; to promise them the fullest support, and, if necessary, to threaten Prussian legislation against the Catholic Church "in case the Council could be terrified by the cry of *schism*."¹ The German bishops were therefore expected to take part in, and, in fact, to begin the struggle. By separating themselves from Rome, the centre of unity, and drawing the people after them, they were to seek a "a reconciliation" with Protestants, as was preached by the apostate Döllinger, and thus gradually to accomplish their amalgamation with the "German National Church."

This plan, however, proved a total failure, because of the fidelity of the Catholic bishops and their Catholic flocks, who remained steadfast, even after the Piedmontese government, encouraged by the notorious despatch, "*Maintenant ou jamais*," sent by Bismarck from Sedan, had taken possession of Rome. Then, more than ever, the captive Pontiff, Pius IX., became the centre of unity for the Catholic world, and especially for the Catholics of Germany.

Moreover, the war against France, which was proclaimed simultaneously with the dogma of infallibility, also served as an instrument in the hands of Providence to prevent, at least for the time, any effectual support being given to apostasy.

Even on the battlefield, and under the very walls of Paris, Bismarck never lost sight of his plan to obtain the mastery over the Catholic Church.²

Emperor William was indignant at the outrageous robbery committed against the Pope, and showed himself inclined to favor an intervention in his favor, when the Archbishop of Posen, now Cardinal Ledóchowsky, together with some Catholic nobles, urged him to take that step, but Bismarck soon succeeded in changing his mind. Already, at Versailles, he entered into an agreement with some members of the Conservative and Liberal parties that, in the new constitution of the empire, Catholics should not be allowed the freedom of worship then granted by the Prussian laws. And, while still in France, he succeeded in gaining over the Emperor

¹ See Majunke, *Geschichte des Kulturkampfes*, p. 29. It will be remembered that in 1874 Count von Arnim, then ambassador to France, was recalled by Bismarck, condemned in court, and sent into exile, where he died, and thus added another important chapter to that great record "*de mortibus persecutorum*," which God Himself has written in the history of the world.

² According to a report in the *Figaro* of September 14, 1882, Bismarck said at Rheims, 1870, to Werlé, the mayor of the city: "*The Latin races have run their course; they have but one element of power left—religion. When we shall have become masters of Catholicism that influence will soon disappear.*"

to his future campaign against the Catholic Church. Thus, the "Kulturkampf" had already been agreed on in principle, and was soon to be included in the constitution of the empire as a permanent institution to serve as the authentic sanction of "The Protestant Empire."¹

The time had come, indeed, for Prince von Bismarck to repeat, "Now or never." Having made up his mind for the religious war, he could not hope for a more favorable moment to begin it. Centuries might pass without offering the same propitious circumstances.

The two armies seemed very unequally matched, both as regards numbers and resources. The one was sure to crush the other at the first onset. It was led by a general whose diplomatic achievements, proverbial energy, and dazzling successes, might well defy all competition, and even comparison. None of the neighboring nations were to be feared.

The most powerful Catholic peoples were suffering from the disastrous consequences of destructive wars. Italy rejoiced to find such a powerful ally of her perjured and parricidal policy. Russia applauded the imitation of her own brutal and Cossack treatment of Catholics.

Add to this international co-operation, so propitious for Prince von Bismarck, the fact that the internal condition of the empire warranted the expectation of a sure victory, and you can see why the emperor and the whole imperial household (except the noble empress Augusta, who was forced to remain silent) deemed the time come to awaken again with redoubled energy the anti-Catholic traditions. The chiefs of the secondary states of the empire, mostly Protestant, had not the least desire, or at least lacked the courage, to oppose the designs of the man whose herculean power threatened to annihilate them. The good and pious king John of Saxony, who, as a faithful Catholic and devoted patriot, appealed to Berlin in his apprehensions, was soon convinced of the uselessness of his efforts.

An army so formidable, both in point of numbers and by the prestige of its astounding victories, was ready to suppress the least token of disobedience to existing law.

All political parties, of whatever complexion, whether of the empire or of the kingdom, joined hands eagerly against the "common enemy,"—that is to say, against Catholicism, represented by the small phalanx of the Centre party. Were not all these exceptional circumstances well calculated to dazzle, nay, to blind the intellect of a man whose heart had always cherished an aversion

¹ For particulars, see *Majunke*, p. 32 seq.

to Catholics? Moreover, this man, so fully convinced of his own prowess, and intoxicated with his victories, this man, who, in the presence of the national Chamber and of all Europe, flings in the face of the Pope and the Church the celebrated defiance: "No, I will never go to Canossa, either in body or in spirit!" Had this man been compelled to face a formidable army, there can be no doubt how he would have answered the question of the poet:

"Contre tant d'ennemis que vous reste-t-il?"

He would have certainly replied, in the haughty words of Médée:

"Moi! moi, vous dis-je, et c'est assez."

But it was not enough. No, all those kings and princes, all those soldiers and artillery, all those allies at home and abroad, all that prestige, all that influence, all the cunning of that extraordinary man, did not suffice to annihilate that little band, which is strong and invincible in spite of its weakness, because it upholds the cause of God and of His Church, because it feels within itself all the strength and superhuman consolation which its divine Master bestowed upon it in the words: "Fear not, little flock."¹ Oh! yes; the Centre will feel the wounds you inflict upon it. More than one of its champions will fall on the field of battle, but like the mountain oak of which Horace speaks, the very iron with which you wound it gives it strength:

"Duris ut ilex tonsa bipennibus
Nigrae feraci frondis in Algido
Per arma, per opes, ab ipso
Ducit opes animumque ferros!"

The struggle will be a stubborn one. At times you will think that you have subdued your enemy, but his strength returns, and you, though invincible, will be crushed beneath his heel. Nay, more; from afar, you yourself behold with wonder and bitterness the perennial, youthful vigor of your foe, whom your emperor and your successor take by the hand to place him henceforth in the front ranks of an army which, without his support, cannot save civilization:

"Mersus profundo? Pulchrior evenit
Luctere? multa proruet integrum
Cum laude victorem,"

It was in March, 1871. The Emperor William I., escorted by all the princes of the blood and a brilliant military staff, appeared

¹ Luke, vii., 32.

for the first time in the Reichstag. He was received with enthusiastic cheers. Conservatives, Liberals, Progressists, and members of the Centre, greet him with the same enthusiasm. The speech from the throne had just been read, after a last cry of "Unser Kaiser lebe, hoch! hoch! hoch!" The day was appointed for debate on the most fitting answer to be given to the imperial message. That answer was drafted and submitted to the Assembly by Herr von Bennigsen.¹ Did that address clearly and candidly usher in the Kulturkampf? No, that would have been imprudent and indelicate. One passage, however, there was in it which was calculated to astonish the Catholic members. Its object was to intimate to them, at the very beginning of the session, that the Pope, however grossly insulted, despoiled, and imprisoned, need under no circumstances look to the empire for any assistance whatsoever. Had the Catholic members petitioned for any such assistance? Not at all. Such an intimation, then, must wound them deeply. Certainly. That was precisely the intention of those who introduced it. Their object is to draw them into a snare. They are to be stigmatized as "Ultramontanes," branded as "Particularists," as men thinking only of their own religious interests even to the detriment of the empire. In covert terms, Bennigsen at first alluded darkly to certain "foreign influences," which, he said, had been detrimental to the late "German empire." By this, official relations with the Pope were plainly alluded to; and in order that all might understand that the new empire had no need of his Holiness; and that the situation of the Pope in prison met with the entire approval of the Parliament, Bennigsen had inserted in the address the following words: "The days of interference with the affairs of other peoples will never be seen again, never, under any pretext or occasion whatsoever." It was the formal, explicit, and official declaration of the so-called principle of "non-intervention." When the discussion of the address began, Bennigsen himself explained fully the bearing of this declaration. He said: "We affirm most vehemently, that the new empire will, at no price, be a party to a Germanico-Italian or Germanico-Christian policy."

What attitude was there for the Centre party to take in the presence of such a provocation so poorly disguised? To sign the address such as it had been drawn up, would be to approve of a false and dishonest principle; it would be to admit a modern error condemned by the Church; it would be, in fine, under existing circumstances, to consent beforehand to play the part of dupes,

¹ Herr von Bennigsen is a citizen of Hanover. In 1866 he gave himself body and soul to Prussia. He became the leader of the "National Liberal Party," and has since then been Bismarck's right hand in all parliamentary intrigues.

and submit to see themselves forever condemned to silence in the halls of parliament. The party did not deliberate long, and their decision, quickly arrived at, was in keeping with the principles of justice and the dignity and loyalty of true representatives of the people. Herr Reichensperger took the floor and said: "Gentlemen, my colleagues and myself are entirely willing to sign the address to the emperor. Our patriotism is second to none. But do not ask us to assent to a pretended principle which every conscientious man must reject. There is no question of the Holy Father at present. We never alluded to him here. What you propose is a theory, and a theory which is as contrary to common sense as to natural and Christian law. How long is it since the duty of helping one's neighbor when his house is on fire has been abrogated? Let us hope that we may never be required to lend such assistance, but at the same time let us not begin our work by proclaiming a policy which no statesman can honestly accept."

But the majority had decided otherwise; Bismarck who, during his whole political life had never ceased to interfere with the affairs of other States, either by threats, which he called "cold-water jets" "*kalte Wasserstrahlen*," or by diplomacy, instigated both Liberals and Conservatives to uphold the Bennigsen address. That address gave him a weapon against the Centre party.

A vote was reached on March 30, 1871. The reply proposed by Bennigsen was carried by the overwhelming majority of 243 to 63! This same division of the House, by a steady vote of 63 from the Centre party continued till 1879, that is to say, during the entire existence of the *Kulturkampf*, which Bennigsen had just proclaimed in the name of his master.

The *Reichstag*, faithful servant of the Chancellor, carried out *his will to have an anti-Catholic empire!*

The reader may be inclined to believe that now it is clear who were from the very beginning the enemies of the empire. Who else could be meant? Did not the Centre party, by its attitude, prove its hostility to the Chancellor and his followers and consequently to the empire? Did not the Centre party stir up the first dissension in the bosom of the new-born *Reichstag*? Could not its members simply and plainly sign the address as it was formulated? How did they dare to arrogate to themselves the right of correcting Bismarck's plans? Was such a party a patriotic one? No, certainly not, it did not love its country; for it was not ready to sacrifice its principles to Bismarck's policy. That party looks to Rome and obeys the Pope, and its true master dwells in the Vatican. What then is to be done with these men who are in truth foreigners, anti-Germanic in feeling? We cannot expel them all from the empire, but we will strive to blot out that anti-national

party from Parliament; then we will subdue the electors who have sent them to us by uprooting from their hearts a religion which dictates to them so provoking an attitude; and that religion against which we are going to wage war is not Catholicism; no, we respect Catholicism. It is Ultramontanism, it is Jesuitism, it is Romanism! Therefore every man must be against Rome! Let that be our battle-cry!

Such was in truth the pretext, as ridiculous as it was perfidious, of which Bismarck and all his tools availed themselves for so many years to justify their attacks upon the Centre party and the Church! Such was also the repulsive and degrading hypocrisy with which they designed to wound, torment and exterminate Catholicism, in promising the people "to free them from the yoke of Rome!"

At first, Bismarck conceived the ingenious (though ridiculous) plan of destroying the Centre party through the instrumentality of the Pope himself! Count Tauffkirchen, a Bavarian, had succeeded Count d'Arnim as minister to the Vatican. This poor diplomat, so proud to represent the emperor, informed Cardinal Antonelli, according to his instructions received from the chancellor, that the Catholics, and especially the Centre party, were hostile to the new empire, and as a proof he furnished a falsified report of the discussion upon the text of the reply to the imperial message!!! This secret manoeuvre seemed at first to be a success, thanks to diplomatic lies, but it fell flat and failed miserably, much to the chagrin of the double-dealing chancellor and his over-servile ambassador. A letter from Cardinal Antonelli to Mgr. Ketteler (June 19, 1871), assured the valiant soldiers of the Centre party of the full sympathy of the Holy See "in their defense of the rights of conscience and of religion."

Their enemies were therefore compelled to resort to open persecution, though, of course, under the guise of law. "*Habemus legem, et secundum hanc legem, debet mori!*" It is true, these laws did not as yet exist, but it is an easy thing to make them, with a majority at one's back! Catholics will not accept them; so much the worse for Catholics. They shall be held up to the world as rebels, as revolutionists, and every exceptional measure will be lawful against them. The law factory was set in motion and worked with a speed that astonished even the 19th century, which is so fertile in laws, and therefore so poorly endowed with genius and intelligence to make them.

The Reichstag gave the signal. "Religious liberty" was erased from the constitution of the empire; Herr von Blankenburg, the bosom friend of Bismarck, and all the Conservatives, the Jew Lascker, the freemason Treitschke, with the whole Liberal party, the Progressists Richter, Rickert, Virchow, in a word, the whole "co-

alition," cheered the declarations of the Bavarian liberalist, Dr. Marquard: "We have begun the fight against Ultramontaniam; we will push it to the end!"

In order to reduce the clergy to silence, the famous "*Lex Lutziana*," against the alleged "abuse of the pulpit," was passed, which forbade a priest to utter any word "that might seem capable of disturbing the public peace," punishing such violation *with imprisonment!*

Herr Wagener, a servile tool of the Chancellor, took charge of the ignoble duty of carrying through a bill by which the Jesuits, and all "affiliated orders," were banished.¹ The *Master* himself ordered the Bundesrath to decree that all religious orders then existing in Prussia, Franciscans, Redemptorists, Lazarists, etc., were so "affiliated." Millions of bayonets were not enough to protect the empire against the monks entrenched in their formidable fortress, the convent cell, and armed with that deadly weapon, the Rosary. "*Heraus mit den Reichsfeinden!*" The Colossus trembles before them; therefore, they must be banished.

It was thus the *Reichstag* gave the signal for the *Kulturkampf*; the real war, however, had to take place in the *Landtag*, for the *Kingdom of Prussia must furnish an example to the other states of the empire in the struggle against Rome, "im Kampf gegen Rom,"* as minister Falk declared openly in the Chamber.

From the very beginning, the president of the Cabinet (Bismarck) intervened personally in the debate, and proclaimed, in language the most violent, the great principle: "Exclude the priest from the school! The school belongs exclusively and entirely to the State!" The new school law was passed, because, cried out Bismarck, "the Protestant empire is threatened by Catholicism!" And "Abgeordneten" and "Herren" answered, Amen.

There were, however, in the eyes of the minister a few "National Catholics," viz., such apostates as made up the small following of Reinckens, the man sacrilegiously consecrated "bishop" of the "old Catholics," or rather "new Protestants." What a valuable aid have we not here for the formation of the "national church!" Let us, then quickly enact laws for his support and protection, that thus we may attract Catholics to his fold!

Such laws are passed. The apostate is recognized as a "Catholic bishop," with a yearly salary of 48,000 marks (\$12,000). Catholic churches are placed at his disposal, possession of the same being given by the gendarmes and soldiers; his "curates" receive large salaries; in short, the Chancellor imagines that now the Pope must tremble. A new enemy has been specially created for him.

¹ Later, Herr Wagener fallen into disgrace, died a pauper in 1889, abandoned by all his former friends.

But of what use is the Pope? Has Prussia any need of him? Not at all. Therefore, let us destroy the Papacy, at least in Prussia! Let us strike at the same time both the bishops and priests; let us stop their salaries; let us put these revolutionists in jail, or, if necessary, expel them from the country! But to do that, you will be compelled to *amend the Constitution*, and that is a delicate and odious matter. Granted; but he who wills the end must will the means also; we have a majority obedient at our beck whenever there is question of laws against Catholics. Let us put the question to a vote, and all will be accomplished!

Hence the passage of the famous May Laws (voted in 1873-4); absurd, iniquitous laws, a Draconian code, which show plainly that the man of blood and iron would stop at nothing to prepare a *Sedan* for the Catholics. These laws declare expressly that Catholics must not acknowledge *any ecclesiastical disciplinary power outside of Prussia*—the nomination of priests shall *no longer depend upon the bishops*, but upon *the state*, whose supremacy, even in religious matters, both bishops and priests shall acknowledge *under oath*—the state shall have control of the *education of the clergy*—the exercise of the ministry by a bishop or priest *without the consent of the state* is deemed *illegal*, and will be *severely punished*—an Ecclesiastical Court,¹ composed of laymen, apostates, or Protestants, shall henceforth pass judgment in all ecclesiastical affairs, and shall show special favor to the turn-coats!

Yes, yes, indeed, such were the laws made, not in China, not in Russia, but in Prussia, and in the intelligent nineteenth century; and, what is worse, they were brutally enforced! Many bishops and hundreds of priests were deprived of their office, imprisoned, exiled; others, robbed of their income and reduced to poverty; the ministration of the sacraments to the dying was made a crime when proper authorization had not been given by a Protestant governor! Marriages and baptisms were *declared invalid—*risum teneatis!**—by the Protestant Falk, a man of overweening self-conceit, whom Bismarck had made minister of worship! The census of the clergy became impossible in Prussia. All the seminaries were closed! The Catholic clergy, faithful to conscience, were forced to give up their positions; the press was enchained; editors were sent to prison for the least offence against his majesty, the Chancellor, who had full authority to call to task all "*Bismarck-Beleidigungen!*"—reflections on Bismarck—and all this "to protect the Fatherland," to "propagate true civilization," to establish "internal peace!"

¹ "Kirchlicher Gerichtshof."

Oh, yes, they did establish that peace! They enjoyed it during the hottest struggles of the "Kulturkampf," when they had dispersed the shepherds and silenced the flock! It was, indeed, a mournful peace; more dishonorable to Prussia than that of Frankfurt was to France. It was, as Mallinckrodt so forcibly termed it, "the grave-yard's peace!"—"der Friede des Kirchhofs!"

THE CENTRE PARTY IN BATTLE.

Portae inferi non praevalerunt adversus eam! These words pronounced by Jesus Christ guarantee the immortality of the Catholic Church, but they cannot be applied fully to the Catholic people of any particular country. The history of the apostasy of more than one nation, notably of England, proves this sad truth. But, it is equally true, that the faith of a people devoted to the Church, of a people struggling for the liberty of their religion, is preserved by the immortality and indefectibility of the Catholic faith in general. In every case Catholics lose their faith only through their own fault; when, on the other hand, they bravely and heroically uphold it, they have always been and always will be invincible. The history of the Catholics of Germany, like that of the Catholics of Ireland, furnishes us with a new proof of this truth, as consoling as it is remarkable.

Our subject does not demand of us to speak of the admirable example given by the glorious Catholic episcopate of Germany, by the Ledochowskys, the Melchers, the Kremetzkes, the Martins, the Brinkmanns, and so many others, whose truly apostolic constancy has won for them that eloquent fraternal tribute of the American hierarchy: "You are made a spectacle to angels and to men!" Neither can we enter into any details so as to do justice to the incomparable zeal, the unshakable courage and the spirit of self-sacrifice with which the clergy, almost to a man, proved themselves true to duty and overcame all the sufferings of persecution and all the artifices of seduction.

Our task is to consider specially the laymen and particularly those who fought for their wounded mother in the very teeth of the enemy, and hand to hand, so to speak, with the commander-in-chief of a formidable army. Such was the work of the Centre party. This work was the more important, when we consider that for years the voice of ecclesiastical authority was reduced to silence, and if heard at all, could only be at rare intervals and from the remoteness of exile. It can be said with truth, that in those times the Centre party was fulfilling a providential mission, that it had to take the place of spiritual guides of the people, to direct, to encourage and to fortify them in the struggle. These were extraordinary times, and the Catholics of Germany had need of extraor-

dinary graces and of extraordinary men. Praise be to God ! Neither the graces nor the men were wanting to them. Ecclesiastical history will enroll the names of Mallinckrodt and of Windthorst with the Athanasiuses and Chrysostoms of Catholic Germany, and the whole phalanx of chosen men who marched in the train of these leaders, and will remember forever the heroic deeds and the great sacrifices of their lay-priesthood.¹

Is it necessary to speak of the *eloquence* of the leaders of the Centre ?

Eloquence is never more imposing than when it enshrines the delicate and strong emotions of the soul in great and noble thoughts. "*Pectus est, quod disertos facit!*" said Quintillian. Such is the character of the eloquence of men like Mallinckrodt, Windthorst, Reichensperger, von Schorlemer-Alst and Lieber, the leaders of the Centre. Whilst listening to them you are conscious of the chords that vibrated in a Demosthenes, a Cicero an O'Connell, a Berryer ; you are conscious of the mighty voice of truth and justice ; you behold that enthusiasm and that passion for good which at times exalt the speaker to sublime heights in the expression of principles, and at others, furnish him with the most impressive accents of contempt and indignation. *Vir bonus dicendi peritus!* Many orators of the Centre have illustrated in memorable speeches this definition of the orator given by the Roman of old.

But we cannot dwell on this point. We ought rather to point out the principles themselves, the inmost convictions which were the foundation of that eloquence ; for it is in them that we will see the life of the Centre's strength and the secret of its success and its victories.

Here, then, is the line of conduct marked out from the beginning by the deputies of the Centre, defended faithfully and carried on without the slightest wavering and under all circumstances.

1st. *Wahrheit, freiheit und recht!* Truth, freedom and justice!

Wahrheit! We are convinced of the truth of our divine religion ; God imposes upon us the duty of observing it and of keeping it intact, and no power on earth shall force us to sacrifice the least iota of it !

Freiheit! We ask for true liberty, and we will defend it as well against the despotism of power as against the abuses of license.

¹ Mgr. Ketteler retired in 1872 from the parliamentary arena, where the episcopal word was drowned in the overflowing cynicism of triumphant insult. Being an old army officer and patriot, a Prussian patriot to the heart's core, he had always hoped that Prussia, by becoming the first power in Germany, would grant to the country real peace between Church and State. But in face of the projected May Laws he wrote to his constituents, " I am compelled, like many others, to renounce that hope, which I have cherished for a quarter of a century ; *we have deceived ourselves: wir haben uns getäuscht!*"

We demand especially the most precious of all liberties : religious liberty !

Recht! The State has its rights and its independence. We will be their energetic defenders against all revolution and against every attack. But the State is not the source of the rights of its subjects; it enjoys its prerogatives only because it has the mission of assuring to all the people the free exercise of their rights.

2d. By the laws called ecclesiastical, the State arrogates to itself power which does not belong to it; it legislates in a matter beyond its sphere; it destroys the divine constitution of the Church, enters into the domain of conscience and violates our most sacred rights. We cannot then submit to such laws without renouncing our God and our religion. *Oportet Deo magis obedire quam hominibus!* But no one shall ever accuse us of exciting revolt. We reject all idea of revolution. We will therefore oppose your May Laws with a "passive resistance"; we will endure your violence, we will go to prison and to exile; we are prepared even to die for the right, but we will never oppose violence to the brute force of your gendarmes and your soldiers. Having done our duty, we shall say gladly: "*Moriamur in simplicitate nostra!*"

3d. Hence, also, the intimate union between the Centre and the *Holy See*, the source of all strength and of all unity in the Church. That union has not been loosened for a single instant, even under the most difficult and delicate circumstances. Accepting this principle, that the successor of St. Peter has alone the plenitude of spiritual power in the Church, these men of faith always victoriously answered Bismarck: "The Pope is our head in religious matters; your laws shall never depose him; you never can tear out from our hearts our attachment to the throne of St. Peter. It alone can grant to the State certain concessions in ecclesiastical affairs. Apply to Pius IX., to Leo XIII., and any measure sanctioned by them shall be faithfully carried out by us."

With this platform, the deputies placed themselves on that rock which can never be shaken, and became as invincible as the rock itself. Bismarck employed every means to draw them away from it. In order to find a pretext for suppressing the Prussian legation at the Vatican, he induced the emperor to nominate to that mission a subject of the Pope, a Prince of the Pope's household, Cardinal Hohenlohe, without even seeking the permission of Pius IX. to dispose in this fashion of the services of a man entirely dependent on the head of the Church. He speaks of it in the Chamber in order to force a declaration from the Centre. The declaration is promptly given: "It is not our business to judge of that matter; apply to the Pope; and if he accepts your proposition we will be satisfied, and will make no objection." Who does not

know how, on that occasion also, the wily plan of the Chancellor was baffled by the firmness and prudence of Pius IX!

4th. The sound Catholic principles of the Centre, and its uninterrupted attachment to the Holy See, had, as a natural consequence, an *intimate union* between the Centre and the bishops and priests of Germany. Never, we believe, in any parliament in the world, have the sacred rights of the episcopate, of the clergy, and of the religious orders, found more sincere and eloquent champions. "There is but one way to overcome the resistance of our apostolic men; it is the one the pagans used against St. Paul, you must behead them!" said Mallinckrodt, one day, in the midst of the most profound silence of the Chamber, on which his words fell like blocks of granite upon the heads of his adversaries. On another occasion, the Chancellor was imprudent enough to refer to the bishops and priests as revolutionary. Immediately, von Schorlemer-Alst, a true "chevalier sans peur ni reproche," rose to his feet, and with his penetrating voice hurled at the head of the astounded Chancellor this magnificent apostrophe: "What! our bishops submit to the severest sufferings that you inflict upon them, in order not to fail in their duty to God and to the Church, and you dare to call them rebels! And who is he who hurls this accusation against them? It is the man who, in 1866, violently overthrew the constitution of the Confederation of the German States, to which all the states, including Prussia, had sworn fidelity; it is the man who, in 1866, did not fear to ally himself with the arch-revolutionist, Garibaldi; the man who induced Klapka, and the subjects of the Austrian emperor, to revolt in Hungary and Dalmatia; the man who undermined the fidelity of the soldiers to their flag and to their emperor . . . in a word, it is Herr von Bismarck! And that man, whose past record is defiled with such gross and contemptible deeds, dares to accuse our bishops of being revolutionists without bringing forward a single fact in proof of his assertion!" That day the Chancellor was evidently crushed to the wall; that *argumentum ad hominem* was peremptory; the Liberals themselves felt that here they heard the language of outraged honesty and just indignation.

5th. But what could the Centre party effect; what was it without the *Catholic people*? If the German people were to be guided by such leaders, these leaders had received their mission from the people, and must be encouraged and upheld at their post of honor by their constituents. This supposes that the people clung to their religion with the same confidence, the same firmness, the same spirit of self-sacrifice, the same enthusiasm, as was shown in parliament, and that the manly declarations of their representatives found a deep and grateful echo in those who had elected them.

Did that union exist? Did it exist always, and under all circumstances? Did it continue in the midst of the hottest struggles and in the face of persecution?

Facts have answered that question with an eloquence which the world well understood, and still understands, and which fills their very enemies with admiration. That reciprocity of feeling and action of the Catholics of Germany by which the representatives cherished, protected, and encouraged the people, and the people followed, honored, and venerated their representatives, forms one of the grandest chapters in the parliamentary history of all countries. The unlimited confidence of the electors in their representatives could only be equalled by the fidelity with which these corresponded to that trust.

The "May laws" were adopted. The same year, 1873, new elections took place. The Centre in the Landtag gained 38 new seats, and in the Reichstag 28.

A few months afterward a great calamity overwhelmed the Centre party. Mallinckrodt was struck down by death in the very hottest moment of the battle, May 26, 1874. Universal mourning filled the Catholic hearts of the land, such a mourning as had never before been witnessed for any man.

In all Prussia there was not a single Catholic Church or chapel where the Holy Sacrifice was not offered for the repose of the soul of this leader, so venerated and well loved; and everywhere the faithful crowded into the temples and prayed with tears in their eyes *Lux aeterna luceat ei, Domine*, for him who, a few days before his death, had finished one of his grand discourses, with the triumphant cry of the martyrs: *Per crucem ad lucem!* Our Jonathan had fallen upon the field of honor, and of him also were verified to the letter these words of Holy Scripture: "And they bewailed Jonathan exceedingly, and Israel mourned with great lamentation." (I. Mach., xiii.).

And also on those days of sorrow and mourning, the enemies rejoiced, saying, we will certainly destroy them, for "they have no prince nor any to help them." But another Simon seized the immaculate standard which had fallen from the hand of his dying brother, and seeing that the people were in dread and fear, he assembled them and exhorted them, saying: "You know what great battles I and my brother have fought for the laws and the sanctuary, and the distresses that we have seen, and now far be it from me to spare my life in any time of trouble; for I am not better than my brother. I will avenge then my nation and the sanctuary, for all the heathens are gathered to destroy us out of mere malice!" (I. Mach., xiii.) Need we name this Simon? He is the accomplished statesman, the consummate orator, the party leader with-

out equal, and besides all this, the Christian model, Herr Windthorst!

It was not only the deputies of the Centre, but all the Catholics of the empire who unanimously acclaimed him general-in-chief, "and the spirit of the people was enkindled as soon as they heard these words, and they answered with a loud voice saying: thou art our leader in the place of Jonathan thy brother; fight thou our battles and we will do whatsoever thou shalt say to us."¹

And the new Simon was, in every regard, the worthy successor of the first; he also, as a leader prudent and foreseeing, "gathering together all the men of war, made haste to finish all the walls of Jerusalem and he fortified it round about."

And now, after nearly twenty years of desperate struggle, not only Germany but the whole world, friends and enemies, are unanimous in rendering homage to this venerable old man, and in bestowing on the grand Machabee of our days, the glorious title of the ancient: *Magnus dux et princeps populi sui!* the great captain and leader of his people! But the most beautiful recompense that a man, laboring like him for the good of his country, can find upon this earth, is the faithful attachment, the profound veneration and unalterable gratitude of a people never inconstant in all those days of dire calamity, also of most splendid victory. And this recompense, which is so much the more agreeable and so much the more consoling, because it is so rare, Divine Providence has given generously to Windthorst and to all his companions in arms. Of him and the whole Centre party might be truly said, as of the brother of Jonathan: "*Et quaesivit bona genti suae, et placuit illis potestas ejus et gloria ejus omnibus diebus.*" "And he sought the good of his nation; and his power and his glory pleased them well all his days." (I. Mach., xiv., 4).

CANOSSA.

Sensational utterances have always produced, and now-a-days more than ever seem to produce, wonderful effects. They electrify the masses, being the embodiment, as it were, of the leading ideas of a period, a generation of a party.

¹ Dr. Windthorst is, like Bennigsen, a Hanoverian, but unlike him, he never forgot his allegiance to his old king, the blind and aged George of Hanover, whose infirmities and misfortunes appealed to his sense of chivalry. On this account he was frequently reproached by Bismarck with "Particularism" and "Welfenthum," but Windthorst proved triumphantly to the princely champion of monarchy that his attachment to his former king was entirely consistent with his fidelity to the empire.

Windthorst has the title "Excellenz" as quondam Minister of Justice of King George, on which account he is called "*die kleine Excellenz.*" During almost twenty-five years the city of Meppen sent him to the Landtag and (since 1870) to the Reichstag, so that Schorlemer-Alst has invented for him the beautiful title of the "Pearl of Meppen," "*die Perle von Meppen.*"

Bismarck, with his keen knowledge of men, knew how to turn to his own advantage this weakness of human nature, which manifests itself so conspicuously in that arena of intrigues, of vanity, of political passions, which go to make up the *parliament*. Though no orator, or at most only an orator after his own fashion, his great experience, both of affairs and of men, his assurance, his boldness, even his aggressive attitude, stamped his speeches with a character of inimitable originality. He had, besides, the talent of using most happily his literary and historical reminiscences, and thereby enriching the German tongue with many "winged words" ("*geflügelte Worte*.")

The most sensational of these, as well as the most fascinating to the adversaries of the Church, the great Chancellor uttered in the Reichstag, May 14, 1872: "There is only one sovereignty, the sovereignty of the law, . . . fear not, *we shall not go to Canossa, neither in body nor in spirit.*"¹) The thunder of applause which greeted these words from the benches of Conservatives, Liberals and Progressists, re-echoed throughout the length and breadth of the land. The death-blow seemed to have been given then and there to the Centre party, to bishops and priests, and to the whole Catholic people. In the eyes of his blind admirers, Bismarck never was greater than on that 14th of May, when his admirers almost bore him in triumph, after he had spoken those "memorable, irresistible and unanswerable words."

All is over now with the Church and with the Centre party. The State will maintain its laws; never shall it yield to Rome; never to Windthorst; never will it make concessions to the Pope, nor to the bishops. We have conquered Catholicism. And why? *Ipse dixit* (the master has said so). On the pedestal of a statue, erected shortly after in honor of Prince Bismarck, these words were engraved: "We shall not go to Canossa." In the eyes of his flatterers, therefore, these words express more even than Sadowa, Metz, Sedan and Paris, the true title which their hero has to the gratitude of posterity.

This is the year 1890. Nearly twenty years separate us from the events we have chronicled in the preceding pages. Already time, *edax rerum*, has literally rent the pedestal of Bismarck's statue, and the fissure runs straight through the famous historical words. But, beyond this fact, which is the result of natural causes, do we not see a higher providential action, of which it is the appropriate symbol? *Has not history itself here also torn into shreds the haughty declaration* of the most powerful political genius of our time? In other words: Has Herr von Bismarck come out

¹ "*Seien sie ausser Sorge, nach Canossa gehen wir nicht, weder körperlich noch geistig.*"

victorious from his gigantic warfare against the Pope, the bishops and priests, and especially against the Centre party? Has he not, in his turn, also been forced to exclaim: "*Galilæe vicisti?*"

Facts are stubborn things; "*Cum tacent, clamant*"; their very silence speaks eloquently to the just and impartial mind.

1st. Bismarck employed every means to destroy the *papal authority* in Germany; to detach both pastors and people from the centre of unity; witness his repeated declarations in parliament; witness the May laws; witness all the favors bestowed upon the German schismatics or heretics, to the "*Staats-Katholiken*" and "*Alt-Katholiken*."

In order to give to his warfare against the papacy an international character, on the very day of his "*Canossa*" declaration, he sent a dispatch to all the governments of Europe, suggesting the course to be followed, in regard to the election of the future Pope! In this document he said that "*the relation of the Papacy with the governments had been completely altered by the definitions of the Council*"; that, therefore, they all should agree "*on the conditions on which the coming election would be recognized.*" The result proved a complete diplomatic fiasco. No answer was even given by any government, yet Bismarck's measure was, in itself, calculated to give rise to endless complications in political and religious matters.

History, which relates the above facts, tells us also, with no less certainty that no one in our day has contributed more powerfully towards restoring the moral prestige of the Papacy *from an international point of view*, than Bismarck, when he asked Leo XIII. to act as arbitrator in the affairs of the Caroline islands; it tells us that no one has tendered a more striking homage to the papal authority in the Church than this same chancellor, when he solicited the intervention of the Holy Father in an affair which seemed to be exclusively of a political order, namely, *to obtain the vote of the Centre party for the "Septennate."*

The union of bishops, priests and faithful with the successor of St. Peter, has never been more intimate, more cordial, more loyal, in Germany than during the *Kulturkampf*.

And this has been the work of the Kulturkampf, the work of Bismarck.

2d. Has Bismarck *triumphed over Catholicism in Germany?*

Without doubt the persecution has inflicted deep wounds on the Catholic Church in Germany. For many years the regular discharge of pastoral duties was made impossible. Pastors were separated from their flock. The beneficial influence of the religious orders was destroyed. Priests were decimated and seminarians found the threshold to the sanctuary closed against them. It will

take time to heal all these wounds. Yet we ask the question: *Has Bismarck triumphed by his hostile measures?* Here again history answers clearly and emphatically, *No!* The "National Church" was a miserable failure; the handful of "Old Catholics" are struggling helplessly for existence; the government and the people are fully convinced that Dr. Reinkens is the *first* and *last* bishop of that sect, and that no more government money will be squandered for the maintenance of the apostate. "State Catholicism" is a still-born child.

And why? Because the persecution aroused and strengthened Catholic feeling among priests and faithful. A people that will follow its deposed and unjustly condemned bishops to the prison-gates and loudly proclaim under the very prison-walls its inviolable attachment to Church and bishops; a people that will love its priests the more because of their opposition to the seductive promises of the secular power, and cheerfully share its last loaf of bread with them—for hunger was one of the weapons used by the government;—a people that, deprived of its lawful pastors, will prefer to have divine services held by laymen, to have its dead buried without the priest rather than have any communion with such as had received their commission from the State; a people whose enthusiastic loyalty to their representatives in parliament increased in proportion to their manly defense of religion and liberty; a people, finally, that will not shrink from the greatest sacrifices rather than renounce its religious convictions; such a people is invincible even when contending with the most skilful diplomatists, or with the most powerful potentates; invincible by the strength of that faith which conquered the world, and through the help of Him who "abandons none of His own, and least of all, a whole nation, unless He himself be first abandoned."

3d. And now as to the position of the *Centre party*. All parties had become subservient to Bismarck's policy; Conservatives turned Liberals and Liberals became Conservatives, as he willed it; and this the more readily, as both parties had sacrificed to him all principle and joined the famous party called "*Bismarck sans phrase*." Thus he was always supported by a party, or rather by a majority, whose principle it was to have no other principle than blind obedience to the all-powerful ruler.

The Centre party alone was never conquered. They remained ever true to their principles, and therefore it was that their electors remained true to them. In vain did the chancellor struggle during twenty years to split up and dissolve the party, heaping upon it the most odious accusations, and even trying to brand its members as the accomplices of the murderer Kullmann!¹ The party was not

¹ On the 13th of July, 1874, a young man fired at Prince Bismarck, in Kissingen, without, however, injuring him. Kullmann had for years completely neglected his

broken up; it did not "dissolve and evaporate," according to the complimentary expression of Minister Puttkamer. *The impregnable fortress never surrendered.*

To this day the Centre party represents, in the truest sense of the word, the Catholic people, the nobility, the clergy, and the burghers of all grades. It was with pride that this people sent back to Berlin those men of honor who had fallen from their government positions, victims to the Kulturkampf; such men as the indefatigable Mooren, the excellent Kauffmann, the Landrath Jansen, equally eminent as a government official, as a citizen and as a Catholic, who may be justly styled: "*Every inch a gentleman!*"

"You cannot make us pliable," said, one day, Herr von Schorlemer-Alst; "like steel, we become harder under the hammer! You are going to Canossa; we shall meet you there with the Catholic Church and Gregory VII.!" And truly, that steel has shown its strength. . . . To-day the Centre party is the most numerous in the Reichstag and in the Landtag. In both Houses the Vice-President is a Catholic (Count Ballestrem in the Reichstag, Baron Huene in the Landtag); a bishop (Dr. Kopp, prince-bishop of Breslau), and a priest (the celebrated Hitze) were invited by the emperor to the international labor-congress. Fifteen years ago the members of the Centre party were stigmatized as "*Reichsfeinde*," as "*enemies of the empire*"; to day, at the death of the noble Herr von Franckenstein, the emperor sends his condolence to his mourning family and to the Reichstag for the loss of a "*great and well-deserving patriot!*"

One word more in conclusion in relation to Prince Bismarck. We have given him credit for his great qualities as well as for his great faults; for his political services and failures; we do not hesitate to render him also a tribute of homage for one of his actions, the more deserving of praise as it is but seldom found in men of his position. *Bismarck has had the courage to disavow the Kulturkampf which was mainly his work.* We do not mean to say that he has divested himself of his prejudices against the Church and the Centre party, and that by going to Canossa he passed through Damascus. We have no grounds for such a statement. Yet if, politically, perfect contrition was wanting in him, surely he had attrition, and this will answer in history, especially when followed by a public confession. If the wrong inflicted on the spouse of Christ could not move his conscience, at least as a man of ob-

religious duties. A Catholic baptismal certificate was found on his person, and the chancellor, shortly after, had the audacity to insult the Centre party with these words: "The murderer hangs to your coat-tails." "*Der Mörder hängt sich an Ihre Rockschösse!*" His organ, the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, then designated the Centre as the "*Kullmann party*."

servant and logical mind, he had to admit, like Fouché, after the execution of the Duc d'Enghien, by order of Napoleon I.:

"C'est plus qu'un crime, c'est une faute!"

At the sight of all the ruins he had made in waging war against peaceable citizens, at the sight of the ravages wrought by the irreligious spirit to which he had given full sway; at the sight of the monster Socialism rearing its head with incredible audacity; hearing the old Emperor William, after two horrible attempts on his life, cry out, "Man muss dem volk seine religion wiedergeben" (Give back to the people its religion)—the Chancellor and Minister showed his independence of character and true patriotism by openly acknowledging the necessity of changing his tactics and of revoking his anti-religious measures.

Already, in 1876, he commenced negotiations with Pius IX., but his proposals could not be accepted. In 1878, he explicitly solicited an interview with the Apostolic Nuncio of Bavaria, Mgr. Aloisi-Masella; in 1879 he invited the Nuncio of Vienna, Mgr. Jacobini, to a conference at Gastein, in Austria. In 1881, the Prince himself, compelled, as he said, by the "logic of facts" (*Logik der Thatsachen*), proposed in the Reichstag the *re-establishment of the embassy* at the Vatican, and obtained its adoption by the votes of the Conservatives and the Centre party *in spite of the violent opposition* of the Liberals and Progressists. Since then, one after the other, most of the May Laws have been either withdrawn or modified, and made far more lenient by the power of "dispensation," which the government demanded of Parliament—all in consequence of the incessant remonstrances of the Centre party.

In 1887, Bismarck laid before the Landtag a bill agreed upon *between himself and the Pope* to determine the legal status of the clergy in Prussia. On this occasion the Chancellor made the following significant declarations:

"My standpoint is altogether *a political one*. . . . I have often before signed declarations of peace. . . . now *rebus sic stantibus*, it is my desire to *do the same with the Pope*. . . . Herr Beseler (a liberal) has just now told us that the *Religious Orders* are odious to the Protestants. Gentlemen, that has nothing to do with the subject. The question is,—to *re-establish peace within the state and with the whole nation*. . . . whether the Religious Orders are necessary or not *depends on the opinion of our Catholic people*. . . . In regard to the *education of the clergy*, I consider the May Laws *a failure*. . . . Personally, *I lay no stress* on the obligation of the bishops to notify the government concerning the appointment of priests. . . . *Internal peace is no less necessary for our political influence abroad.*"

Thus Bismarck spoke in the Herrenhaus, March 23d, 1887. Before the Abgeordnetenhaus he defended the "law of peace" in the following terms (21st of April, 1887): "We must make *concessions to our Catholic fellow-citizens, . . . the good of the state demands it. . . .* Others may prefer to continue the struggle, . . . but the government has only to ask itself, *what is beneficial for the whole state?* . . . Gentlemen, if you had my share of responsibility you certainly would vote the law. . . . It is time to end the fight; I say this *in view of the "salus publica,"* and in *view of the future. . . .* If you trust me, you will unanimously adopt the law; . . . *should it fail to pass, I will be compelled to resign for my own political honor and authority.*" In other words: Either adopt the "law of peace," or I retire from the arena of politics; either end the struggle against Catholics, or the state itself is in imminent danger!

This was the *clearest and strongest condemnation ever uttered against the Kulturkampf!* It was, at the same time, a *confession* that all the efforts of the Chancellor and of his allies against the Church had been vain and fruitless.

With justice, then, one of the greatest political historians of Germany, Dr. Jörg, wrote at that time: "*This fact is unique in parliamentary history. Any other minister would have retired into the solitude of private life, leaving to his successor the responsibility of such an altered condition of internal politics. Prince Bismarck alone could dare do what he did!*"

Three years after, and Prince Bismarck has been forced to "retire into the solitude of private life."

Peace has dawned once more upon the Church in Germany; yet all the just claims of Catholics are far from being satisfied. Will they ever be in Prussia? It is our heart's desire, for the welfare of our beloved Fatherland. Meanwhile, the Centre party will continue to be the pride and joy of the faithful Catholic people. True to their Church, and true to their sovereign, they will fight on to the end, full of hope and full of courage, for the cause of "truth, freedom, and justice," and thus remain ever:

"The impregnable fortress!"

CONSECRATION OF THE PHILADELPHIA CATHEDRAL—HISTORICAL REMINISCENCES.

THE consecration, this year, of the noble Cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul, Philadelphia, on the feast of the commemoration of St. Paul, the Apostle, whom the Church so unwaveringly associates with the chief of the apostles, fixes an epoch from which we can turn our glance into the historic past, and attempt to look into the future, though we cannot stand with the prophet Balaam on the jutting height and see God's Church below us, and the clouds of futurity lift for a moment to reveal its vicissitudes and its glories amid the constant combination of human changes.

A cathedral in Philadelphia consecrated forever to the service and adoration of Almighty God under the invocation of the holy apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, the humble unlettered fisherman, and the disciple of Gamaliel, rich in the lore of scribe and Pharisee. The consecration consummates the work of Bishop Francis Patrick Kenrick, the man of learning and power, whom Providence raised up to deliver a diocese from schism which was striving to overwhelm Catholicity and destroy it, unless it consented to live the mere slave of infidelity and heresy.

Let us go back three-quarters of a century. The diocese of Philadelphia was without a bishop. The first who held the office had died of a broken heart, from the constant war made upon him by the trustees of his pro-cathedral, a body unknown to the canon law, men elected by those men to whom they let pews or seats in a church which they did not even own, men who had lost any remnant of faith ever implanted in their souls, avowedly strangers to the sacraments of the church, imbued with and influenced by the ideas of every sect around them, and every possible error against Catholic discipline.

The Rt. Rev. Michael Egan had been a priest of the purest and highest type in the Order of the Seraphic St. Francis. Humble, zealous and laborious as he was, his ability was as fully recognized in his Order as was his piety. This Galway priest became guardian of the famous convent of St. Isidore, in Rome, but left the honors of the Eternal City to become a working missionary in his native land. His merit and worth became known in America, and the congregation at Lancaster, with the approval of Bishop Carroll, invited him to Pennsylvania. He won the esteem of the founder of the American hierarchy and the attachment of his people. Seeing the vast field

for missionary work in this country, he solicited and obtained at Rome the necessary powers to found a province of the Franciscan Order in the United States. Before long the Catholics of Philadelphia urged Bishop Carroll to transfer him to St. Mary's Church, as a position better fitted for him than that of assistant in a country parish. Philadelphia then became the scene of his priestly functions, and it was this worthy friar of St. Francis whom Pope Pius VII., on the recommendation of Bishop Carroll, appointed first bishop of the newly-erected see of Philadelphia. Mild and gentle, full of zeal to maintain his flock in the faith, and make it known where it had been misrepresented, a career of usefulness in the episcopate, environed by the love of his people, seemed almost certain. But the Protestant spirit of trusteeism with none of its Protestant safeguards had been treacherously fastened on the Catholic organization. Bishop Egan had scarcely returned from Baltimore, with the oil of consecration yet on his brow, when the trustees of St. Mary's Church, who did not even own the ground, began a war upon him which they maintained with unrelenting bitterness till he sank under the strain. His physical constitution gave way, and when priests who were fellow-countrymen turned against him, his nervous system yielded, and he died a martyr to the rights of the Church, extended as he implored on the floor of a little room adjoining old Saint Joseph's. He expired on the 22d of July, 1814, the first member of our hierarchy to die in America.

Before the year 1815 was ushered in, Rev. Louis de Barth de Walbach, a priest of a noble family, naturally cautious, prudent and firm, was administrator of the bereaved diocese.

The year 1815 was an eventful one in the history of the Church in this country. It opened with the authorities of the diocese of Louisana calling on the faithful to rise and repel the invaders of our American soil; it saw the feeble sex gathered around the altar to implore God in His mercy to avert the destruction which seemed imminent; it saw the head of the Church there congratulate the victorious general on a victory which was rather the work of a kind Providence than the result of human strength or skill. The same year saw Georgetown College, our oldest literary institution, chartered by Congress; it beheld Maryland rejoice that Pius VII., by restoring the Society of Jesus, had given the old Catholic province the organization which had planted religion there and maintained it during all the dark and gloomy days of penal laws and bitter persecution. The eventful year saw Louisiana once more directed by a consecrated bishop, after languishing since the days of Spanish sway in anarchy and rebellion. The Catholic body, indeed, mourned before the close of 1815 the death

of the great founder of the hierarchy, the Most Rev. John Carroll, but amid their tears over his body, gathered to rest at an advanced age, they were consoled by the remembrance of how much Heaven had accomplished through his ministry in raising a scattered community of Catholics, disheartened and manacled by the old slave instinct, ground into the very fibre of their hearts by long years of oppression, into a set of men instinct with the freedom wherewith Christ had made them free in the domain of religion, and with the freedom with which civil institutions had endowed them in the noblest government the world had yet beheld.

But in Philadelphia there was gloom; tears over the bier of the good missionary and devoted bishop, who had fallen the first victim to the anti-Catholic spirit of trusteeism, a gloomy outlook for the future, the good dejected, disheartened, no project for any great work for God's glory, a sense of utter hopelessness.

It was a strange state of things to be brought about by a few factious men, in a State where in colonial days Catholicity had been comparatively free, had enjoyed liberty unknown even in Maryland, where in the number and prosperity of her children everything seemed to promise a future that would make the Church in Pennsylvania the wonder and envy of Catholics in other States.

Yes, perhaps it was this very prosperity and immunity which made Philadelphia and Pennsylvania the scene of an inevitable strife, a battle which, in the nature of things, could but come, and could but result, though not without loss of souls, in the triumph of Catholic faith, Catholic discipline and Catholic principle.

If we look back a little farther, if our glance takes in the whole century, we behold the Rev. John Carroll consecrated in a chapel dedicated to Our Lady, Bishop of Baltimore, on the feast of the Assumption, 1790. We see the contemplative daughters of Carmel arrive to raise their hands in prayer, while priests exercised the ministry, and the faithful struggled with the cares and the trials and the temptations of life. We see the sons of Olier, the company of St. Sulpice, offer their services to our protobishop and come to found St. Mary's Seminary and College in Baltimore; we see the disbanded Jesuits, still faithful to their old spirit, rear their college on the heights of Georgetown, and begin its work for education which for a century has given the Church young men trained in learning, science and a knowledge of their faith.

Yet it was in Philadelphia where the faithful had not been schooled in the lessons of adversity, but mingled more as equals with those outside the fold, that a want of attachment to the Spouse of Christ was first evinced openly and distinctly. The evil spirit of schism and rebellion was concealed beneath a national mask, but it came out into the broad light of day when the men who

were among us but not of us denied the authority of Bishop Carroll and arraigned the Sovereign Pontiff, Pope Pius VI., as having invaded their rights as American citizens in erecting the See of Baltimore. The same evil spirit sent Bishop Egan prematurely to the grave, and prepared to wage as relentless a war on the next prelate appointed by the Holy Father to the See of Philadelphia.

When the Rt. Rev. Henry Conwell arrived in the country as second bishop of the See, all was ripe. The very first Sunday that he appeared in the pro-cathedral he was insulted and ridiculed from the pulpit by an unworthy young priest who was already the tool and slave of the trustees, and destined to a wretched end. This priest had not such credentials as satisfied Bishop Conwell that he was one to be incorporated into his diocese. He declined to give him faculties for the diocese of Philadelphia. The trustees had the opportunity they desired, you "may tell it weeping, enemies of the cross of Christ."

They excluded the bishop from the Board of Trustees because he was not an American citizen; claimed the right to appoint pastors in the church, elected the insubordinate priest and gave him a seat in the board, though not a citizen and claiming to belong to a diocese in Ireland. Then they drove the bishop and his faithful priests from the pro-cathedral and inaugurated a schism that lasted for years. Their unfortunate tool endeavored in vain to escape from their thralldom; the great Bishop England, who saw fully the dangerous nature of the situation, tried to save him and tried to draw him away from Philadelphia, but these enemies of the cross of Christ held him fast and hurried him in the way of destruction. They professed great respect for the laws of the Church, and paraded extracts from an old copy of the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, holding up mere notes of the decisions of Popes a thousand years ago, in a different age, in different countries and under different circumstances, as a rule of iron, to which they were duly submissive and all Catholics should bow; but when the decision of the Archbishop of Baltimore was against them, the decision of bishops like Cheverus and England, for whose judgment they called, was against them; when a Pope not of the early or middle ages, but the living, ruling Pope pronounced in the very case after they had presented their claims in the strongest light, they laughed to scorn opinions of bishops and the very judgment of the Vicar of Christ.

What a life of struggle was that of the aged Bishop Conwell! He planned a cathedral where he would be free from such enemies of the cross of Christ. He called on foreign parts to aid him. Propaganda exhorted the bishops of the United States to institute collections that would enable their Right Reverend Brother of Philadelphia to erect a Cathedral where Christ should be free, but

Dr. Conwell was too far advanced in life to accomplish his projects. After fighting the good fight like a hero, he yielded weakly in a despondent moment; and then elicited from Rome a clear and distinct utterance anathematizing for all time the un-Catholic and destructive claim of those enemies of God's church, the trustees of St. Mary's.

All great works for the good of Catholicity in Pennsylvania, seminary, college, academies, schools, hospital, asylums, all these necessary institutions had been thwarted at the outset, rendered impossible by the action of these evil men who rent the seamless robe of Christ, chilled Christian charity and arrayed Catholics against each other.

Once more the diocese was in the hands of an administrator. Holy and able priests shrank back from a proffered mitre that was lined with thorns. The great diocese of Philadelphia, that should have been a picture of Christian progress, of Catholic prosperity, of holy zeal, was paralyzed. Religion lost rather than gained. The altar of St. Mary's Church was profaned by sacrilegious rites offered by priests without authority or power, priests placed there by men who utterly despised the discipline of the Church and the laws of morality. Fortunately, men of that class have gone from among us; the men who then assailed the Church from within, have gone to their account, some by sudden and unprovided death. Their children and their children's children educated without Catholic principles, are rarely to be found in the household of the faith. This great trial was the unhappy lot of Philadelphia. She endured the suffering and by the example of her trials and tribulations, became a salutary warning to every diocese in the land.

God, in His Providence, sent at last a man to rally the host of the Lord; the sword of the Lord and of Gedeon was uplifted; the timid and faint of heart were dismissed, and before the faithful few the walls of their strong city crumbled. The Right Rev. Francis Patrick Kenrick came as a man of power. The student, the professor, had done much active missionary work under the saintly Flaget. In the lists of controversy under the humble title of Omicron, he had discomfited the boastful enemy of the faith. A man of learning, of experience, of inward power and strength and firmness, he came to raise the diocese from the dust, and quicken it with life. He seemed to act out the words of the Apocalypse: "And to the Angel of the Church of Philadelphia, write: These things saith the Holy One, the True One, He that hath the Key of David. . . . Behold, I will bring of the synagogue of Satan, who say they are Jews and are not, but do lie; Behold, I will make them to come and adore before thy feet; and

they shall know that I have loved thee." The trustees, these men who said they were Catholics, and were not, but did lie, attempted to resist him. He struck them down by a single blow; they rose staggering and confused and attempted to continue their resistance; a heavier blow laid them helpless at his feet. The whole diocese of Philadelphia was not to be paralyzed by a few "who say they are Jews, and are not, but do lie." A church of St. John, free from its corner-stone to roof from all taint of heretical trusteeism after he had established legitimate authority, became his pro-cathedral. And in his vigorous action, the priest who reared St. John's, Rev. John Hughes, learned the lesson he was to practise in another field when the mitre was placed on his brow, and he, too, had to cope with the evil that sought to fetter, to cripple and to poison the Church of God.

Selected for his work by the advice of the bishops assembled in the first Council of Baltimore, Bishop Kenrick came to the city long rent by dissensions, long injured by scandals, long enervated by lukewarmness. Under his impulse new churches sprang up, able priests extended missions and prepared for additional houses of worship. Academies for young men opened in Philadelphia, the *Dames de la Retraite* founded an academy there for young ladies, as the Poor Clares soon did at Pittsburgh; the Sisters of Charity multiplied their schools and opened an academy at Wilmington, and in 1834 the diocese could boast of a theological seminary under the care of the learned administrator himself. It grew and developed, and was soon dedicated to the great bishop and trainer of priests, St. Charles Borromeo. The present venerable Dean of the Hierarchy, Most Rev. Peter Richard Kenrick, was its president in 1838, when its incorporation by the State gave it a permanent existence. Soon after, the president's chair was filled by another great and noble man, Rev. Michael O'Connor, the greatest Patristic theologian of our Church, destined in time to wear the mitre of Pittsburgh, to labor there for God's glory till the busy brain was worked beyond its natural strength, and he retired to the Society of Jesus, which he had long desired to enter. With what feelings of reverence have we knelt by his grave, and now the grave has closed over his brother, who, after guiding also the seminarians at St. Charles's Seminary, became bishop in Nebraska.

"There were giants in those days," and among these must be classed Rt. Rev. Michael O'Connor. Years of experience in the Diocese of Philadelphia had made him aware of the condition of Catholicity in Western Pennsylvania. In 1841 he was sent to Pittsburgh as Vicar General to restore peace and harmony. On the spot, able to look around him and study the actual situation of affairs, Dr. O'Connor saw what the necessities, the imperative

needs of the faithful were, and how much an earnest, devoted Bishop stationed there might accomplish. Of himself he never thought, and his appointment in 1843 came upon him like a sudden clap of thunder. His whole mind, his whole heart was absorbed with the one idea of entering the Society of Jesus. He hastened to Rome, and kneeling at the feet of Gregory XVI., whom he knew so well, he begged permission to enter the Order founded by Saint Ignatius. But the Sovereign Pontiff looked at the work to be done in America. He saw before him the learned, able priest best fitted to accomplish it, and appointed him Bishop of the Diocese of Pittsburgh. Consecrated by Cardinal Franson in Rome, he returned to Pittsburgh with a heavy burthen of care. What work was before him! Churches were needed in many places: some of these were soon in progress. Academies, under Sisters of Mercy, schools, asylums, Sunday-Schools, a Catholic newspaper, soon showed that a new centre of Catholic life and energy existed in Pittsburgh. Then came a theological seminary, of which no one better than Bishop O'Connor knew the importance. Every year showed its increase of churches, priests and institutions. The Bishop's eye took in all coming growth, and at great sacrifice he secured lands which rose rapidly in value and aided him in his good work. In less than ten years Pittsburgh diocese had so grown that the interests of Catholicity called for its division. Bishop O'Connor was one who sought labor, and never shrank from it. The Diocese of Erie was erected: here much was to be done, and Bishop O'Connor, leaving Pittsburgh already well on the road of religious progress, prepared to turn all his energies to build up the new diocese. His people could not consent to the change. Yielding to the voice of the clergy and people, and the exhortations of the bishop appointed to succeed him, the Pope restored Bishop O'Connor to Pittsburgh. How his days were given to active work in his diocese, and to study, is written on the pages of the history of the Church in this country. Softening of the brain, long threatened, at last developed. He became a constant sufferer from excruciating headaches. His days as an active bishop he felt had passed, and leaving his brother, Rev. James O'Connor, as administrator, he again sought Rome, to lay down his great burthen and obtain leave to enter the Society of Jesus.

His retirement caused general grief. Priests and people alike felt how great was their loss. Student and man of learning, he was yet eminently practical; naturally a recluse, he seemed to know and understand all men. He had the great secret of impelling men to act from high and noble motives, inspiring men easily to imitate what they saw in his energetic, self-denying life.

Under the impulse of such men as Bishop Kenrick and Dr. Michael O'Connor, religion assumed another aspect. Catholicity was no longer the faith of a small, weak, divided body, whose dissensions excited pity or contempt. It became to the eye of bigotry a mighty power, which falsehood pictured to the deluded as a menace to the well-being of the country, as though harmony and piety and self-devotion, and industry, and obedience to the laws were not the very elements to build up a commonwealth and render it not only fair to the gaze but strong to its very heart's core. The terrible days of 1844 came, and a city, named after brotherly love, beheld churches of the living God profaned and given to the flames, the home of Sisters who had rushed to the bedside of pestilence, reduced to ashes, the streets red with the blood of Catholics. "God seeth," even in the midst of such profanation and murder and oppression, "God seeth" the triumph of His Church. The diocese of Philadelphia had sustained persecution from within, persecution from false brethren; it had now undergone a terrible persecution from without, when men thought it a service to God to butcher her faithful children; she was meriting the promised beatitude—"Blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and speak all that is evil against you, untruly, for my sake."

Under this blessing, came St. Thomas of Villanova's College, where the sons of St. Augustine, though hampered by the destruction by the rioters of their church and the rich stores of learning accumulated in their library, founded a seat of education which has grown vigorous with the lapse of years. St. Joseph's College was commenced; the Ladies of the Sacred Heart founded the academy which has so long been conducted at Eden Hall, giving to Christian homes ladies of the most perfect training and well-informed piety. The Visitation Nuns entered the same field, while the Sisters of St. Joseph and Sisters of Our Lady aided the pioneer Sisters of Charity in the management of parochial schools. Then came Sisters of the Good Shepherd to labor in their peculiar field, and win back to Christ and religion those whom the allurements of the world made very lepers in the land.

Almost coeval with the terrible riots, came the division of the great diocese which, by mountain path and devious ways, Bishop Kenrick had so laboriously visited in discharge of his episcopal duties. The see of Pittsburgh was created, and the great priest, Michael O'Connor, who knelt at the feet of the Pope to ask leave to enter the Society of Jesus, was commanded to rise and assume the episcopal dignity before indulging this wish of his pious heart. The diocese of Philadelphia lost half its territory; it lost a great priest; but the Church gained by the accession to its hierarchy of one of the most remarkable members, thoroughly learned, eloquent, far-seeing, judicious, calm, broad, generous, sympathetic.

With the diocese reduced in size, well equipped with a diocesan seminary, educational and charitable institutions, with priests, many of whom had been carefully trained under his own eye, and priests and people animated by a holy love of religion, Bishop Kenrick felt that he might commence a work to add dignity to religion, and endow Philadelphia with a cathedral worthy of the prosperity which God had given it, and the glorious hopes entertained by the faithful. Then, on Sunday, September 6th, 1846, Bishop Kenrick, with the clergy of the city and the ecclesiastical students of the diocese, moved in procession from the Seminary of St. Charles Borromeo to the site opposite Logan Square, and there, in the presence of a vast multitude, numbering fully ten thousand, the corner-stone was laid with all the ceremonies prescribed by the Church. In a pastoral letter he called upon the faithful of the diocese to aid in erecting the proposed Cathedral, the church not of a parish or a city, but of the whole bishopric; but other calls were more urgent. St. Michael's and St. Augustine's were to be rebuilt; the Catholics in Spring Garden to be provided for. A widows' home, a hospital were greatly needed. The cry of famine-stricken Ireland appealed to all hearts with an eloquence and pathos that brought generous response. In view of all these calls on the charity and piety of the faithful, the hand of the Bishop was stayed. In 1849 he addressed to his flock a pastoral, in which he proposed to complete, at first, only the sanctuary and transept within two years, leaving the carrying out of the original design to be postponed, or executed gradually, as circumstances might warrant. But before even this restricted plan could be carried out Bishop Kenrick became Metropolitan.

The Sovereign Pontiff, sensible of the worth of the author of the "*Theologia Dogmatica*," "*Theologia Moralis*," "*The Primacy of the Apostolic See*," the revision of Martin and Challoner's Douay Bible, promoted him to the Archiepiscopal See of Baltimore. It was one characteristic of Bishop Kenrick that he did not attempt to do all himself. He directed, encouraged, stimulated; his priests and people learned to know that the good work would receive all the aid of his influence, and the great end was accomplished, while only the few saw how great a part he had in its inception and its success.

As his successor in the See of Philadelphia he had recommended the Redemptorist Father, John Nepomucene Neumann, originally a secular priest in the diocese of New York, but who had enrolled his name among the sons of St. Alphonsus Liguori. Great but unostentatious learning, piety, zeal, prudence, characterized the great Religious whom Bishop Kenrick knew and revered. When his name was proposed at a meeting of the bishops, Rt. Rev. Michael O'Connor, who knew Philadelphia and its wants

so well, and who knew Father Neumann, said: "Philadelphia must have a bishop that can build the Cathedral; since the Redemptorist Father Neumann knows how to erect fine churches with small means, I give him my vote." It was, indeed, from the outset a dominant thought in the mind of Bishop Neumann, who might well say, with the royal prophet: "The beauty of Thy house have I loved and the dwelling place of Thy glory." In his first pastoral he reminded the faithful of their obligation to join in carrying out the great work, and in May, 1852, he issued a circular calling a public meeting to take practical steps for its completion. He would incur no debt. As means came, the work went on. On one occasion, he said: "The circumstance of its progressing slowly ought not to discourage any one, nor should any one be tempted to doubt of its ever being finished. The old saying holds good here: 'What is to last long must be built slowly.' Our principal object in moving thus slowly is that the faithful may not be taxed too heavily, since every parish has its own institutions to support." Slowly and surely, under the guidance of this saintly man, the great structure rose. By 1858 the walls were up, and the faithful could begin to comprehend the size and majesty of the Cathedral which they had reared for the honor of Almighty God. There it stood, one hundred and thirty-two feet wide, two hundred and seventeen feet long, vast, imposing, solid. On the 13th of September, in the following year, a little more than thirteen years after the laying of the corner-stone, the keystone of the dome was set, and the cross placed in position more than two hundred feet high in air. Right Rev. James Frederic Wood, coadjutor to Bishop Neumann, performed the ceremony of blessing it, while the crowd who filled the grand interior listened in rapt attention to the eloquent words of Bishop Spaulding of Louisville.

Bishop Neumann raised his heart in gratitude to God for permitting the work to be so far accomplished, but he was not led away from his cautious policy by a desire to complete the interior of the Cathedral. His life was not long, indeed, to be spared to the city and diocese which he had edified. Bishop Neumann expired on Vine Street. His life had been that of a saint. Death did not find him unprepared or unprovided. The cause of his Beatification has actually been introduced in the Congregation of Rites at Rome, and the Episcopal Process into his life and virtues, which lasted two years, has been taken under the authority of Archbishop Ryan, and has been approved by the sacred Congregation, so that the Pontifical Process will soon follow. Slow as such investigations are, some now living may witness in the Cathedral, which he did so much to rear, the celebration of the Beatification of Blessed John Nepomucene Neumann, and his portrait exposed within its walls for the veneration of the faithful.

The successor of this saintly man, Most Rev. James Frederic Wood, became the first Archbishop of Philadelphia. Though war desolated the land, he bent all his energies to complete the interior, and he had the consolation to dedicate it with all solemnity on the 20th of November, 1864. A fine medal, the most exquisite piece of numismatic skill struck in connection with the Catholic Church in the United States, was issued by Archbishop Wood, a fitting memento of the work of so many pious desires, of such anxious thought and persistent effort. Around it cling the memories of the great Archbishop Francis Patrick Kenrick, of Bishop Michael O'Connor, the saintly Neumann, the energetic Archbishop Wood. Now in the centennial year of the consecration of Baltimore's first bishop and archbishop the great cathedral of Philadelphia is to be consecrated with all the rites and ceremonies prescribed by the time-honored pontifical of holy mother Church. It is a grand event to commemorate a century of growth.

Eloquent pens have depicted the condition of the church a hundred years ago as contrasted with its present state of promise, but let us look back for half a century. The Redemptorist Fathers had just secured a footing in Pennsylvania by founding a house at Pittsburgh; the Sovereign Pontiff had erected the two Californias into a diocese, and thus unconsciously prepared for the thriving dioceses and institutions in the upper province. For the fourth time the Fathers of the ecclesiastical province of Baltimore had gathered around their metropolitan in the venerable cathedral of Baltimore; diocesan synods were held in Baltimore and Cincinnati, soon followed by similar venerable assemblies in New York and Philadelphia. There was activity in the church and yet the numbers of the faithful and their resources were so scanty! There were but 501 priests in the land; churches, even adding in chapels, numbered only 454. All New England was one diocese; Maine that now has a bishop and a numerous body of clergy had six priests, attending nine churches, three but just erected. New Hampshire, now a separate diocese, had two churches and as many priests. Vermont had one church, and gazed sadly at the smoking ruins of St. Mary's, Burlington, fired by an incendiary. Connecticut and Rhode Island each had two priests; the former two, the latter three, churches. Massachusetts had fourteen churches, the ruins of an Ursuline convent, the nucleus of a college, a house of Sisters of Charity and fourteen priests. The diocese of New York, then embracing the state of New York and half of New Jersey, but now divided into no fewer than seven bishoprics, had but sixty-three priests. Philadelphia, since grown into seven dioceses, had fifty-one priests, seventy-eight churches and chapels. Ohio, now constituting three dioceses, had twenty-four churches and thirty-

five priests. Indiana, now forming two prosperous dioceses, had twenty-seven churches and twenty priests. Illinois had not even a single bishop as yet, had twenty-five priests and twenty-seven churches. Arkansas had one church and two priests. Michigan had twelve priests. Wisconsin had four priests, where there are now an archbishop's and two bishops' sees, each with a numerous clergy. Iowa, with a see at Dubuque, had a bishop whose clergy consisted of two priests. Tennessee had one bishop, one priest and one church; Mississippi one church and one priest. The diocese of Mobile, with thirteen priests and seven churches, seemed far in advance, and Charleston, with a diocese embracing three states, had under the great Bishop England risen to fourteen churches and nineteen priests. The episcopate had just lost the great Simon Gabriel Bruté, Bishop of Vincennes. Most Rev. Samuel Eccleston was Archbishop of Baltimore, Bishop Fenwick was in Boston, Bishops DuBois and Hughes in New York, Bishops Conwell and Kenrick in Philadelphia, England in Charleston, Portier in Mobile. The venerable Bishop Flaget, last survivor of the suffragans of Archbishop Carroll, was still at Bardstown with Bishops Chabrat and David, Bishop Purcell was at Cincinnati, de la Hailandière at Vincennes, Miles at Nashville. Detroit and Natchez were vacant. Beyond the Mississippi Bishop Blanc presided at New Orleans and Bishop Rosati at St. Louis. They are all cherished names, yet how few they were and how hard the struggle. These were they who "in their life propped up the house and in their days fortified the temple."

If the half century has given us such wonderful increase, let us be thankful in holy fear and keep each feast of dedication and consecration in the spirit of the valiant Machabees, "with canticles and harps and lutes and cymbals. And all the people fell upon their faces, and adored and blessed up to heaven Him that had prospered them."

It falls now to the eloquent, vigilant and beloved Archbishop of Philadelphia, Most Rev. Patrick John Ryan, to complete the work on which all in the long line of his predecessors took part in hope or deed. It will be his privilege to consecrate it absolutely and irrevocably to God's service by the most solemn rite in the pontifical of the Church, and make the day one to be commemorated year by year, as the Feast of the Dedication of the Temple by the Machabees was kept by the people of God till it perished, and is still kept by their scattered descendants throughout the world. A bull by the Sovereign Pontiff canonically erecting the edifice into the Cathedral Church of St. Peter and St. Paul will crown the work of years, and set its seal on the consecration by his Grace, Archbishop Ryan.

CATHOLIC DOGMA AND SCIENTIFIC DOGMATISM.

IT is now about five-and-twenty years since the attention of the world was specially directed to the theory of man's natural origin by the process of organic evolution. Since then all kinds of surmises and speculations, with a certain class whose principles are naturally opposed to those of the Church, have passed current as science, and have been pointed to as indisputable evidence of the advance of modern thought. Because the Church has not endorsed the opinions that have so universally obtained outside her pale, she has been decried as the enemy of progress and enlightenment. Because her children have scrupulously eschewed all theories that conflicted with the teachings of their faith, they have been stigmatized as inimical to science, and accused of retarding its advancement. In a word, it has been proclaimed that the Church has now, and always has had, a baneful influence on science, and on those who would devote themselves to scientific research, and that, consequently, science and her votaries have nothing of good to expect from the Church, or from those who acknowledge adhesion to her authority, and who subscribe unreservedly to her doctrines.

The subject-matter, then, of these charges—the influence of the Church on the progress of science—will bear more than a cursory examination. And in order that the results of this influence may be brought out in a brighter light—an influence that bears to the doctrines of the Church almost the same relation that effect does to cause—we shall contrast it with the influences that are non-Catholic and anti-Catholic.

That there may be no misunderstanding about the use of terms employed during the course of this article, it may at once be premised that, unless otherwise specified, the general term "science" will be used to designate what are ordinarily known as the natural and physical sciences—those sciences, namely, that are based on observation and experiment, and whose various data are co-ordinated by induction.

We shall, in the first place, briefly define the relation between religion and experimental science, and then refer, in a few words, to the dependence of the various empirical sciences on philosophy—the science of principles. After this we shall inquire who are popularly reckoned as the chief representatives and exponents of what is known as modern science. We shall next give a brief account of what these alleged masters of science are supposed to

have accomplished, and what contributions they are reputed to have made to the general stock of human knowledge. We shall then compare the conclusions of various investigators of recognized authority, and ask our readers, on the evidence presented, to form their own opinions of what we are constantly called upon to accept as science in its latest and most advanced phase.

In contemplating the relation between religion and science, between dogma and the results arrived at by experiment and induction, the first thing that must arrest one's attention is the responsibility that rests on any body or organization that claims authority to teach in matters of religion. When an individual or an organization claims to have received a divine commission to teach and preach, there is immediately and necessarily associated with such a commission an idea of infallibility that cannot be separated from the commission any more than it can be separated from truth itself.

For this reason all religious bodies, as well as their founders, are responsible, not only for the errors they teach directly, but also for those which they teach by implication. For this reason, too, they are accountable for errors in matters of science and philosophy when such errors are logically derived from doctrines that are considered as a part of the creed proclaimed or of the faith professed. And yet more. In addition to the errors that they directly or indirectly teach as organized bodies, they are likewise amenable for the errors of individuals affiliated to them, whenever such errors are the logical outgrowth from principles generally maintained, or from tenets accepted by the bodies in question as fundamental. The truth of this view is so plain that it cannot be gainsaid. It is based on simple common sense, and no one endowed with ordinary reasoning capacity would have the hardihood to contradict it any more than he would call in question a self-evident truth of philosophy or mathematics.

Of all the religious organizations, however, that ask us to give our assent to their teachings, there is only one that is equal to such a responsibility; only one that can meet such exacting requirements as those just enumerated, and that body is the Catholic Church. It alone, of all religious denominations, has taught, and it alone can teach the truths of faith without, in any way, or in any instance, contradicting the certain declarations of science, and without, in the slightest degree, impeding its development. It alone, in virtue of the truths embodied in its doctrines, aids and fosters science, and, by reason of the light which it sheds, prevents the student of science from going astray, when, if deprived of such light, a lapse into the most pernicious errors would often be almost, if not quite, inevitable.

The Church, it is true, has no mission to teach science. Her mission is to save souls. Neither has she any "call to watch over and protect science." Nevertheless, owing to the intimate connection between revelation and nature, the truths of theology cannot be entirely separated from those of science, without great detriment to the latter. For this reason Cardinal Newman justly observes "a university cannot exist externally to the Catholic pale, for it cannot teach universal knowledge if it does not teach Catholic theology."¹ For the same reason he declares that "to withdraw theology from the public schools is to impair the completeness and invalidate the trustworthiness of all that is actually taught in them." For a similar reason, also, he asserts "that revealed truth enters to a very great extent into the province of science, philosophy and literature, and that to put it on one side in compliment to secular science is simply under color of a compliment to do science a great damage." Scientists, then, require the guidance of other truths than those deduced from observation and experiment. They must have recourse to another and higher order of knowledge—to Revelation—to be able to draw just conclusions even in their own special spheres of research. Without the light of Revealed Truth "they say what is true *exceptis excipiendis*; what is true, but what requires guarding; true, but must not be ridden too hard or made what is called a *hobby*; true, but not the measure of all things; true, but if thus inordinately, extravagantly, ruinously carried out, in spite of other sciences, in spite of theology, sure to become but a great bubble and burst."²

It is important to bear these facts in mind, when we consider the weight of responsibility resting on the various religious sects scattered throughout the world, for the errors of their individual members. The fact that a member of any sect, in following out to its logical consequences any principle or doctrine, may go farther than do the authors or recognized leaders of such sect, does not remove the responsibility from the sect to the individual. The individual is logical, consistent; the sect and its authors and promoters are not; and these latter, therefore, must bear the responsibility of all the errors evolved from the doctrines taught, when such doctrines come within the scope of the creed professed.

Thus Mohammedanism is answerable for the errors of those who accept its teachings, in so far as such errors proceed from or are the natural outgrowth of Mohammedan doctrines or principles. The Koran, for instance, distinctly proclaims the Ptolemaic theory of the universe, and to this theory every good Mussulman is committed. The Hindoo religion also teaches a false system of astronomy, and

¹ *Idea of a University.*

² *Op. cit.*, p. 94.

likewise false systems of anatomy and physiology. These systems every devout Hindoo must accept as so many articles of faith, inasmuch as his faith is so interwoven with false, scientific systems that it is inseparable from them. Swedenborgianism labors under the same difficulty. The revelations of its founder—aside from objections that may be urged against them on other grounds—are discredited by his erroneous statements regarding the planets and solar system.

In the instances just quoted we have spoken of religious organizations and their founders as directly and explicitly teaching what is demonstrably false in science. But there are other and more numerous and more serious cases, wherein scientific errors are engendered and fostered indirectly. It may be on account of adopting some false principle of philosophy or theology, and making it the basis of a system of belief. The extent of the application of the principle asserted may not be perceived by the originator of the system, but, when it is carried by others to its logical consequences, it is found to be fraught with disaster and ruin.

Luther's principle of private interpretation of the Bible is a case in point. Its logical sequence is rationalism and infidelity; and rationalism and infidelity have given birth not only to the materialism, pantheism, agnosticism, and atheism, which prevail to such an alarming extent in our day, but also to all those false and absurd theories in philosophy and science that have been so rife during the last three and a half centuries.

Luther's principle, however, is only one among many that have equally impeded the progress of true science. The rejection of authority, the denial of the existence and necessity of revelation, the assertion of the sufficiency of human reason for the discussion and solution of all problems in philosophy seem, at first sight, to have little connection with the progress of natural and physical science; and yet, as Cardinal Newman has demonstrated in the masterly work above quoted, nothing could be more prejudicial to them or oppose greater barriers against their development.

Examine now the principles of the various bodies that are opposed to the Catholic Church; consider the doctrines of the different denominations that have protested against her authority, and rejected her teaching and discarded her philosophy, no less than her theology, and we shall see how wide-reaching is the blighting influence already alluded to, and how much of the error in every department of knowledge these same organizations can be indicted for, and that, too, by reason of the principles they maintain and the doctrines they inculcate.

One of the great glories of the Church is the introduction, by

her children, of the experimental or inductive method into the study of natural and physical science. It was by studying nature in accordance with the principles of induction that the great Catholic scientists, from Galileo and Pascal to our own time, have been so successful in their investigations, and have been able to do so much genuine work in all the branches of science. But, while recognizing the value of the inductive philosophy as an aid to the study of nature, and to co-ordinating the countless facts and phenomena which came before them, these illustrious sons of Holy Church knew well the extent of its availability as an instrument of research. They were ever conscious that the sphere of its application was circumscribed, and was limited to the discussion of facts and phenomena fully observed and classified, and to conclusions legitimately drawn from such facts and phenomena. They recognized all along the existence of higher and more trustworthy guides—a Christian metaphysics and a divine revelation—to which their inductive philosophy was always made subservient. Over and above their knowledge of facts and their inductions therefrom, they ever retained a science of principles which, corroborated and supplemented by the truths of revelation, prevented them from falling into error.

But see how different it is with those who ignore the principles of metaphysics, and who reject the teachings of revelation. Instead of taking the inductive method for what it really is—one of the branches of philosophy to be confined within the domain of the empirical sciences—they employ it to the exclusion of all other aids and methods. In a word, they deny revelation, and relegate philosophy as a science of principles to the unknown and unknowable. This is what has been done, and what is being done, by a constantly increasing number of men who call themselves scientists, and “advanced thinkers.”

Take Herbert Spencer, for instance. He is looked upon as one of the leading philosophers of the day, and has a large following of enthusiastic admirers. But his “New Philosophy,” in spite of all representations to the contrary, teaches, either directly or by implication, the rankest materialism, and the most downright atheism. He, however, is simply carrying out the infidel and rationalistic principles of the reformers of the sixteenth century; and, as such, may justly be regarded as a scientific exponent of their principles, and as an advanced disciple of their irreligious teachings. The same may be said of many of his contemporaries, who are regarded as occupying a front rank among modern scientists.

Tyndall, Huxley, Darwin, Hæckel, Vogt, Büchner, Mohlschcott, Paul Bert, and others of that ilk, belong to the same school, as

their principles—if principles they can be said to have—are essentially the same. Denying the knowability of God, cause, creation, being, substance, they have left only phenomena, and rejecting revelation and philosophy, as a science of principles, there remains to them only the experimental or inductive method of arriving at truth. They sin, by adopting as the only source of knowledge a method that was employed by Catholic scientists in the study of the physical sciences only, and then as auxiliary always to a higher philosophy. They abuse a system which is good, indeed, in its proper sphere, but which is worthless outside of that sphere, or when taken as a substitute for metaphysics.

Others there are, who still give metaphysics a place in their sciences, but who fail to distinguish properly between the functions of metaphysical principles and the office of simple induction. They confound the former with the latter, and give to induction powers it does not and cannot possess. They do not, it is true, like those of whom we have just been speaking, use it as the sole method of philosophy, but give it a prominence which it cannot hold, and for which it was never intended. One class sins by exclusiveness—by accepting only the empirical method—rejecting metaphysics entirely; the other by giving it an exaggerated importance, and allowing philosophy, as a science of principles, only a secondary place, when by its very nature it should occupy the first.

But what, it may be asked, have false principles of philosophy or theology to do with the advance of experimental science? How can the religious systems of the reformers of the sixteenth century be construed to be an obstacle, direct or indirect, to progress in geology, zoology, astronomy, or any other of the natural sciences? We need not go far for an answer. They impede the proper development of science and retard its progress by giving us false views of nature, and by preventing us from looking upon nature in its entirety, and as related to God its Author. These false systems throw men into the habit of speculating and of evolving theories, and imagining them to be so much positive knowledge. They lead men to take hypothesis for demonstration, to accept opinions and guesses of individuals for genuine science. In a word, they make the followers of these systems spend their time in weaving from the webs of their inner consciousness idle fancies, instead of contributing by genuine work to the advance of practical science and true philosophy.

Let us illustrate. Among the modern scientists who are best known, and who have been most applauded, are Tyndall, Huxley, the late Charles Darwin, and Ernst Hæckel, "the Darwin of Germany." But who are these men, and on what does their reputation rest? Popular scientific speculators, known solely by their

extravagant and materialistic theories. "Advanced thinkers," forsooth, who have gained an ephemeral notoriety by dressing up in modern scientific terminology the oft-rehashed theories of Leucippus, Heraclitus, and Epicurus. Separate their theories from their contributions to real science and what is left? What have they done for the advance of science to gain the gratitude of their fellows? Let us see.

Tyndall was, for many years, lecturer on "Natural Philosophy," in the Royal Institution of Great Britain, and was, in this capacity, the successor of the illustrious Faraday, and the great Sir Humphry Davy. But what a pigmy, by the side of these eminent students of nature! Tyndall has been a popular lecturer, it is true, and a clever experimenter, and, with many, a fascinating theorizer, but we do not think one can say more of him. He has done some little original work in physics, in lines pointed out by others, but there is nothing in the intellectual make-up of the man to entitle him to be considered a deep thinker, and nothing has he done by invention or discovery in the realm of nature, to justify one in putting him above a second-rate or third-rate scientist. One can find dozens among his contemporaries, who, although less known to the general public, stand head and shoulders above him, in his special branches of research. As a physicist, and as a mathematician, the late Professor Clark Maxwell was a giant, compared with Tyndall; and yet the notoriety of the latter, with those who know no better, is considered as proof of his intellectual superiority over the former. What has been said of Maxwell, can with equal truth be said of the eminent physicists, Sir William Thompson, P. G. Tait, Gabriel Stokes, Sir G. B. Airy, late Astronomer Royal, and many others of his countrymen, who, although less known to the public than Tyndall, are considered by those who are cognizant of their relative abilities, and of what they have, severally, done for science, as deserving to be classed with a different caste.

Professor Tyndall has published some interesting lectures and notes of lectures on "Sound," "Heat," "Light" and "Electricity," and some original memoirs on the same subjects, the latter of which are known only to a limited number of specialists in science; but we venture to assert that he owes more of his celebrity—if we should not rather call it notoriety—to some of his speculative discourses than to all his other writings taken together. Prominent among such discourses, we would mention two: that on "The Scientific Use of the Imagination," and his address before the British Association for the Advancement of Science, at Belfast. In the latter, particularly, he tries, like many of his co-workers, to apply the experimental method—the only one with which he has any acquaintance—to the discussion of the pro-

foundest questions of philosophy and religion, to both of which, by the way, he is an utter stranger. Here he lays aside the mask which had before so illy concealed the irreligious tendencies of his teachings, and boldly proclaims the baldest materialism, declaring that he sees in matter "the promise and potency of all terrestrial life."

Huxley is celebrated in Europe and in this country, as one of the foremost representatives of modern thought. He has held, in various institutions in Great Britain, the position of professor of biology and comparative anatomy, and has, when confining himself within his proper sphere and to methods with which he is familiar, done much for which he deserves well of science. As a skilful investigator in some departments of natural science, he has won for himself an enviable position among contemporary scientists. But how many know Huxley for the real, practical work which he has accomplished? How many have ever heard of his actual contributions to science? How many, even among those who talk so much about his views, can give even a partial list of the facts and phenomena to which he first directed attention? Not one in a thousand; not one in ten thousand. They know that he is an exponent of evolution, and that, for some reason or other, he ranks high among modern agnostics, and that he maintains that animals are only conscious automata. They may know, too, that he holds that protoplasm is the physical basis of life, and that he finds an argument for evolution in the bones of the fore-legs of the horse, as studied in the light of certain fossils recently discovered in our western prairies; but, as a rule, their knowledge respecting him and his teachings, goes no further. Like Tyndall, Huxley is celebrated as a popular lecturer, and as the author of several volumes of addresses, lectures and reviews, in which he makes known his views on nature, matter, force, life, and which, like Tyndall's views, imply, if they do not always express, the most pronounced forms of materialism and pantheism.

What has been said of Tyndall and Huxley, can, in a great measure, be repeated, respecting the late Charles Darwin. As a close, patient, intelligent observer of facts and phenomena in the animal and vegetable world, he has had few if any superiors. No one who reads his works, can help admiring the ingenuity and the fertility of resource which he displays in his investigations, and the various devices which he makes use of, in attaining to a knowledge of the laws and processes of nature, as displayed in the animal and vegetable worlds. But here his merit ends. The conclusions he draws from the facts he has so diligently studied, the theories he bases on them, would be discreditable to the veriest tyro in logic. And what impresses one painfully in reading the

works of Darwin, and of those belonging to his school, is the thought, I should say, fact, that he is all along directing all his energies, not so much to increase our knowledge of nature as to establish and corroborate a pet theory. All his observations and experiments are made with that end in view, and they are marshalled together, often irrespective of their real bearing on the theory in question. Facts are presented, assumptions made and conclusions drawn, with a recklessness and a disregard of the simplest rules of dialectics, that are simply amazing. Did one not know how often "the wish is father to the thought," and to what an extent a passionate adherence to preconceived notions can render one oblivious to the simplest principles of reasoning, and contradictory of self, one would find the feebleness of his attempts at argumentation simply unexplainable. In the case of Darwin, however, these glaring defects of logic and his striking lack of consistency are frequently passed over, by the average reader, unnoticed. The interest excited by the facts presented by the author, the charm of his style and the fascinating manner in which he groups together the facts and phenomena of which he treats, captivate the mind to such an extent, that one loses sight of the connection between the premises laid down, and the conclusions drawn therefrom.

And even in his speculations, what has Darwin done but revamp, in such a way as to embrace a larger number of facts and phenomena, a theory that has been maintained, under one form or another, ever since the time of the earliest philosophers of ancient Greece? Darwin's theory of development, or evolution by "natural selection," and "the survival of the fittest," is only a modern way of putting the hypotheses of Anaximander, Empedocles, Heraclitus, Anaxagoras, Democritus, Aristotle, Epicurus and Lucretius among the ancients, and those of Kant, Oken, Lamarck and others among the moderns. The author of "The Descent of Man" and "The Origin of Species," far from originality, has not even the merit of novelty. He simply brings together and collates the observations of others, and, adding them to his own, gives forth to a sensational-loving world an old theory decked out in a garment of many colors, and cut according to the requirements of the prevailing fashion of that capricious *modiste* ycleped "Modern Science."

And this is what Darwin has contributed to the general treasury of natural knowledge. He wrote many books and spent a long life in the fruitless work of presenting in a new form an old speculation, and one which, by its very nature, can never be raised above a speculation. This is what is called science! And it is for this

that Darwin is lauded to the skies, and called blessed among the generations of the devotees of science!

But we would direct attention to another apostle of science—Ernst Hæckel, professor of natural history in the University of Jena. The German naturalist, not satisfied with the assumptions of his English co-laborer, advances much farther. Taking the theory of evolution as demonstrated, he proceeds to trace out the genealogy of man, from his first monad ancestor to his final development into an anthropoid ape, and then into that species of animal that naturalists call *Homo Sapiens*. In his "Natural History of Creation," he boldly and unhesitatingly describes all the links in the chain. Many of these links, of palæozoic antiquity, are represented by animals, whose fossil remains, at least, are known to science. Others, however, never have had any existence outside of Hæckel's imagination. But this matters not. Hæckel's theory demands their existence, and that is sufficient reason for their reality. If they have not existed, they ought to have existed. And Hæckel gives all this as veritable science; as the undoubted conclusions of experiment and observation. And more than this, he expects it to be accepted as such—as something that has passed the requirements of demonstration—as something that can no longer be called in question.

But Hæckel does not stop here. He is prepared—men like Hæckel are always prepared for the accomplishment of difficult and impossible tasks—not only to give us a full genealogy of man from the simplest gelatinous monad, but he is also ready to tell how this humble albuminous ancestor of ours was produced from inorganic matter. He does not, of course, believe in a Creator. A belief in God would be anti-scientific, for the reason, Hæckel will tell us, that such a being is unnecessary. According to Hæckel, there exists nothing but matter and force, and these are eternal. Assuming this as unquestionable, he applies his monistic or mechanical theory, and gravely and grandiloquently tells us that all the various forms of organic and inorganic nature are simply the products of natural forces acting on matter. Carbon, hydrogen, oxygen, carbonic acid and nitrogen, under the multiple action of chemical affinity, electricity, solar heat, and a thousand and one other *unknown* causes, give birth to the simplest forms of animal and vegetable life, and lo! the mystery of creation is explained. As between the exploded theory of spontaneous generation—he calls it *autogenic* archigony—and creation, he unhesitatingly accepts the former. Any hypothesis, however wild or absurd it may be, that will enable him to evade admitting the existence of a personal God, Hæckel is prepared to accept and urge on the acceptance of others. He dresses up his theories in an interminable series of neologisms,

mostly derived from the Greek, which reminds one of the Macaronic volubility of the doctor of Molière, and having done this, he fancies, it would seem, that he has marshalled together so many arguments in true syllogistic form.

We challenge any one possessed of the least logical acumen to read Hæckel's "Evolution of Man," or his "History of Creation," and say that we have been guilty of any exaggeration in any statements we have made regarding his opinions, or the artifices to which he has recourse in stating and maintaining them. We do not mean, however, to imply that Hæckel is, as a naturalist, entirely devoid of merit. Far from it. As a patient and acute observer of facts and details, particularly in the domain of the lower forms of invertebrate life, he, like his English co-worker, Darwin, is entitled to his meed of praise. But it is when he attempts to generalize from the facts and phenomena observed, that Hæckel falls into the most stupid blunders, and into the most glaring absurdities.

Hæckel, like Huxley, Tyndall and Darwin, has written a number of works that have attracted more or less notice. Some of these are monographs of undoubted merit on purely scientific subjects; but those of his productions that have reached the general public are the ones embodying his atheistic views of creation, and his flighty imaginings regarding the natural history of animals and man. His observations and discoveries in biology are known only to a few naturalists, whereas the poison of his materialistic teaching has been disseminated, as is usual in such cases, over the whole world.

So much, then, for the four best-known and most popular representatives of modern scientific thought. Huxley and Darwin are not known for their original and extensive researches in biology, but rather for their evolutionary teachings, and for their confessed agnosticism. Tyndall is not as much known for his investigations in the domain of physical science as he is for his pronounced materialism. And Hæckel is famous,—or infamous, rather,—not for his studies of the lower forms of life, but for his theories regarding organic evolution, and for his proud and defiant atheism.

And what confirms the truth of what we have been saying, and what at the same time makes matters worse, is the belief in the popular mind—a belief, too, that is more general than most people are disposed to admit—that there is some intimate, if not necessary, connection between the sciences which these men pursue and their avowed irreligious tenets; that their openly-proclaimed agnosticism, materialism, atheism, must—as effect proceeds from cause—follow from their studies of nature and nature's laws. They

are looked upon as authoritative teachers, and their utterances on all subjects pertaining to philosophy and religion, no less than those relating to the sciences they profess, are regarded as infallible.

What we have said respecting the four coryphei, just named, of modern science may, with equal truth, be iterated of their less eminent but scarcely less notorious disciples. Carl Vogt, and Büchner, and Oscar Schmidt, and the late Paul Bert, take up the teachings of their masters, and carry them, if possible, to even greater extremes. The conclusions they draw are contained, if we will, in the false premises of their teachers, but it is only when the deduction is made that one realizes how terrible and inevitable these conclusions are. They are so wide-reaching that they embrace everything—science, philosophy, morals, religion. Nothing is sacred. And in the teachings of these men we are told that we have embodied the latest deductions of what is popularly known as science,—a science that carries with it the subversion of social order, of morality, of religion, and ends with a bold and positive negation of the immortality of the soul, and of the existence of a personal God.

According to Büchner, the *natural* origin of man is demonstrated beyond a peradventure of doubt, and has already taken its place among the most memorable discoveries of modern times.¹ From this to the conclusion of Mme. Clémence Royer, one of Darwin's translators, there is but a step. According to this French Darwinism, "Not only motion is transformed into sound, heat, electricity, light and reciprocally, but all these different forms of one force, which is always identical, are transformed into life, intelligence, will and voluntary action. . . . Intelligence and thought, like extension, impenetrability and motion, are simply phenomena of matter."² Max Stirner, another member of the same school, sums up his faith more briefly: "There are," he says, "only two realities which I recognize,—myself and what I eat." A typical representative indeed of that proud and puffed-up class spoken of by the Apostle, that acknowledged "no God but their belly, and whose glory was their shame!"

One would think, to judge from such statements, that the sole object that some of our so-called scientists have in view in the study of nature, is the inventing of theories that will exclude God from the universe. But when one peruses the works of such men as Strauss, Vogt, Hæckel and Büchner, his suspicion becomes a conviction. They declare their real animus, and in terms that

¹ *Man in the Past, Present and Future*—Introduction.

² *Origine de l'Homme et des Sociétés*, p. 26.

cannot be misconstrued, when they avow, as they do, that "To-day, thanks to Darwinism, the torment of the intelligence, meditating on the world and forced to admit finality, is soothed, and aspirations towards a First Cause are calmed. Natural selection has changed all that. It permits one to conceive of an end as unconsciously determined and as infallibly attained, and will replace God for a more happy posterity." Yes, according to Charles Martins, Darwin is "the Messiah of the natural sciences, and Darwinism the Gospel of modern times," or, as Renan would put it, Darwinism is "the grand explanation of the world and of true philosophy."

The danger to be apprehended from all these irreligious theories, and it were foolish to close our eyes to the danger, lies not so much in the errors they embody, but rather in the number of those who, with persistent unanimity, have devoted themselves to the propagation of such theories and the damnable errors with which they are all more or less impregnated. In referring to a similar subject the illustrious Cardinal Newman truly observes, that "The world is a collection of individual men, and any one of them may hold and take upon himself to profess un-Christian doctrine, and do his best to propagate it, but few have the power for such a work or the opportunity. It is by their union into one body, by the intercourse of man with man, and the consequent sympathy thence arising, that error spreads and becomes an authority. Its separate units which make up the body rely upon each other and upon the whole for the truth of their assertions, and thus assumptions and false reasonings are received without question as certain truths on the credit of alternate cheers, and appeals and *imprimaturs*."¹

In what we have said we have given some of the most vaunted conclusions of those who are popularly regarded as the leaders among modern scientists. These conclusions—which, as we shall see, are as unwarranted as they are opposed to the principles of true science—embrace in their final summation the theory of the animal origin of man through organic evolution, and the pernicious atheistic doctrine which recognizes only matter and force.

These conclusions, however, as before stated, are only old errors in a new guise. They are arrayed in a garb demanded by the studies made in the various sciences in these latter days, but the dress used is only a vamped form of an old garment, and the errors which it is designed to adorn, or conceal rather, are only the Protean shapes of the materialism and atheism that was proclaimed by Greek and Roman sophists twenty or thirty centuries ago. Tyndall, Hæckel, Vogt, Büchner and their school have merely re-

¹ *Contemporary Review*, May, 1885.

peated, in modern scientific terminology, the self-same errors that the Doctor of the Gentiles found dominant when he preached in Athens, and which he was called upon to confute when he went to announce the Gospel of Christ in the palaces of the Cæsars on the banks of the Tiber.

And yet more. Our modern scientists have not only reiterated the errors that have obtained, in one form or another, for the last three thousand years, but they have also shown themselves just as wanting in unanimity of opinion as did their materialistic and atheistic predecessors of times long past. They agree, it is true, in maintaining what, on final analysis, would prove to be one and the same error,—negation of God and free will,—but they are not at one as to the way of giving expression to their errors, or as to what should or should not be adduced in support of their impious theories.

Huxley, for instance, like Darwin, is an evolutionist, but he does not at all agree with Darwin in assigning to "Natural Selection" all that is claimed for it by the plausible author of the "*Origin of Species*," and of "*The Descent of Man*." Hæckel differs from both Huxley and Darwin, and insists on views to which neither of his English co-laborers would subscribe. Indeed, so radical is he, and so gratuitous in his statements, that one will find few among scientists that are not acknowledged disciples of Hæckel, who are prepared to go the same lengths as the Professor of Jena. Hæckel coolly draws up the genealogy of man, and pictures for our inspection the different links of the chain from the first monad down to the last ape-man,—or, as he puts it, the last pithecanthropoid,—and then has the assurance to ask us to give to his fiction the same credence that we should give to the genealogies of the royal families of France or England.

Carl Vogt, one of the high-chiefs of evolution, spoke more truthfully than he knew, and certainly with more force than he intended, when he stated that, "The discussion respecting the origin of man—a discussion that is characterized by its comparatively slight animation in other civilized countries—has reached its apogee in Germany, and has assumed a character singularly bitter and passionate. There has been a deluge of brochures, verses, and caricatures, even, in which each one overwhelms his adversary with arguments more or less ridiculous, and assails him with opprobrious and calumnious epithets. There are two distinct camps,—the one under the direction of Mr. Hæckel, who maintains that man is in a direct lineage with the venerable *Amphioxus* and the *Ascidians*; whilst M. Semper and his valiant adherents insist on a relationship that is more direct with, and approximates more closely to, the *Annelides*."

Virchow, the founder of cellular pathology, and Hæckel's teacher, pertinently remarks, in speaking of the theory of evolution, or transformism as he prefers to call it, that, "Rarely does one see a problem as important as transformism treated in a more trifling, I might say, more absurd, manner. If to establish a theory it were necessary only to select and combine phenomena after a certain fashion, we might all, whoever we are, quietly sit by our fireside, smoke our cigar and construct our little theory." In his celebrated address before the German naturalists and physicians at Munich, on "Freedom of Science in the Modern State," he goes further and declares; "Every positive progress which we have made in the region of prehistoric anthropology has removed us further from the demonstration of this relation." All his more recent utterances, moreover, in reference to the theory of evolution are in accord with this statement. And Du Bois-Reymond, who stands at the head of German physiological science, says, in reference to Hæckel's genesis of man, that his "Genealogical trees have, in the eyes of science, about as much value as have the genealogical trees of the heroes of Homer in the eyes of historical criticism."

When, to adduce another instance, it comes to discuss the length of the period of man's existence on earth, the views of our "advanced" scientists and their followers are equally extravagant, and reveal, if anything, a less accordant spirit than that which presides over their speculations concerning man's origin.

The question of man's antiquity has been a favorite one with infidels, materialists, and atheists, ever since the time of Voltaire. They seem to imagine that if they can prove the antiquity of man to be greater than that which they have been pleased to find in the Bible, that they thereby impugn the truth of the Scriptures, and sap the very foundations of revealed religion. We shall not now indicate wherein lies the falsity of their reasoning, but content ourselves with giving some idea of what persistent and desperate attempts they have made to establish their theories, and how signal, in every case, have been their failures.

The first time the Biblical chronology was seriously called in question was towards the latter part of the last century. The attack was first made in the name of astronomy, and conducted by some of the ablest scientists of the age. Among these were M. Bailly, the distinguished French astronomer, and Prof. Playfair, of Edinburgh, one of the most eminent mathematicians of his time. In support of their onslaught, they brought forward certain astronomical tables of Hindoo origin, and insisted on it, that these tables clearly evinced the fact that observations were made by Hindoo astronomers over 4000 years before the

Christian era, and that, consequently, the period of man's existence on earth was much greater than that indicated by the generally received Biblical chronology.

The conclusions, however, of Playfair and Bailly did not stand the test of criticism. Their calculations were soon proven to be false, and it was shown that the sacred books of the Hindoos afford no more evidence for the fabled antiquity of man than do the mythical dynasties of China or Babylon.

A few years later, a greater sensation was produced by the discovery of the now famous zodiacs of Esne and Dendarah during the expedition of Napoleon into Egypt. Dupuis, a distinguished French *savant* contended that the temples in which these zodiacs were found must have been at least 15,000 years old. Other investigators were content with an antiquity of 12,000 years. Many scientists were now sure that they had evidence that could not be questioned, and infidels boastfully proclaimed that the Christian chronology was set aside as a myth. But just at the most heated period of the discussion—a discussion in which the whole civilized world was interested—the illustrious Champollion, the discoverer of the hieroglyphical alphabet of ancient Egypt, came forward and proved to a certainty that the much-vaunted zodiacs referred to schemes of nativity in connection with judicial astrology, and belonged to a period not antecedent to the first and second centuries of the Christian era.

Disconcerted and worsted in their astronomical campaign, the forces of error and their scientific allies, although loth to acknowledge defeat, prepared at once to reconnoitre for a vantage ground in a more propitious and in a less accessible field. They soon found the object of their quest in the new, and then unexplored, domains of geology and prehistoric archæology. Unable to cope with the soldiers of truth on the broad, open plain, and in the clear light of the suns and constellations of heaven, the enemies of revelation and of true science betook themselves to the dark and tangled forests of the mountain fastnesses. Here they at once began a guerilla warfare with weapons of an entirely different character from those which they had previously used; and, with these, they flattered themselves that they would soon march to certain victory.

One squad would get behind a shell-mound and assail its enemies with the calcareous remains of the cockle and periwinkle; another would entrench itself in some gravel pit, and thence hurl a shower of flint arrows and palæolithic javelins; and still another would seek concealment in some weird, damp, gloomy cave, and from the darkness thereof project the fragmentary bones of extinct bears, hyenas, and pachyderms, and, occasionally, too, in the way

of a *coup de grace*, the ghastly cranium of some hapless mortal, who, in an age long past, had died and found his final resting place in this self-same cavern.

To pass from the language of figure to the language of fact, the argument briefly stated was this: Researches in the dim and pre-historic past, and notably in the fertile fields of anthropology, have brought to light a number of facts, that, as contended by a number of scientists, and a still larger number of infidel sciolists, prove unquestionably that man's antiquity must be much greater than any rational interpretation of Scripture would permit one to assign.

The evidence in support of the argument comes in the form of ancient human remains and human implements and monuments which recently have been discovered, and about which much has been said and written. We are referred to fossil remains of man found buried deep in the solid rock, the formation of which above and around the remains found, must, we are informed, have required untold ages—periods of time that can be reckoned only by tens of thousands of years. We are told of the fossil man of Guadalupe, found imbedded in the shell and coral limestone of Guadalupe in the West Indies; of the fossil man of Denis, discovered under a lava deposit from an extinct volcano in Auvergne, France; of the fossil man of Mentone, in Italy; of the skulls of Cro-Magnon and Neanderthal, and of fossil remains of like character found in various parts of the Old and of the New World. We are forced to listen to learned disquisitions on the round towers of Ireland; on the weems and burghs and pillar-stones of Scotland; on the rock-cut temples of India and Arabia Petra, and the no less famous structures and monuments of Central America and Yucatan. We are overwhelmed with the relics of ancient Swiss lake-dwellings and Danish kitchen-middings, and are compelled to inspect specimens, whose number is legion, from all the bone-caves and peat and gravel deposits of Europe, and all this because some theorist, forsooth,—some scientific monomaniac, we should say—will have it that he has found in some peculiarly-shaped flint, that might have been fashioned by the action of the elements themselves, as well as by human hands, or in some piece of pottery, an irrefragable argument in support of his notion of the fabled antiquity of his ancestors, who, by the way, he will just as strongly insist, are in a direct line of descent from some extinct family of anthropomorphous apes. It is, indeed, a pity that we cannot consistently tell such a one that we believe him, and that, in *his case* at least, we are disposed to accept his conclusions as the expression of the truth.

But let us give the results, expressed in numbers, of some of the

conclusions of a few of our popular geologists and anthropologists respecting the antiquity of man.

The illustrious naturalist, Count Pourtales, finds fossil human remains in a freshwater sandstone in Florida, and Prof. Louis Agassiz forthwith estimates them to be "by a moderate computation," ten thousand years old. A certain Mr. Horner comes across some pieces of pottery and burnt bricks at various depths in the mud deposits of the Nile, and makes calculations—in which Sir John Lubbock and Sir Charles Lyell substantially agree—which require for man an antiquity of at least thirteen thousand years. Other geologists, by computations based on these same pieces of pottery and burnt bricks, will extend the 13,000 to 60,000 years. Jukes, an English geologist, puts the antiquity of the human period at 100,000 years. According to Lyell and Lubbock, palæolithic man must date back some 200,000 years. Prof. Fuhlrott makes an exhaustive study of the Neanderthal skull—a human cranium that attracted an immense deal of attention at the time of its discovery—and claims for it an antiquity of from 200,000 to 300,000 years. Mr. Vivian, another geologist, from certain fossils discovered in a cave in Devonshire, estimates the duration of the human period in England at 264,000 years. Subsequently these figures were extended to 1,000,000. Dr. Hunt, at one time president of the British Anthropological Society, thinks that Mr. Vivian's estimate, high as it is, is insufficient. He goes to work and figures the antiquity of our race to be full 9,000,000 years.

Again, many geologists, among them Mr. James Geike, contend that man existed before the glacial periods, the beginning of which, according to Mr. Jas. Croll, the astronomer, dates back 240,000 years. Scientists, however, are not at one in their estimates of either the date or the duration of the glacial period. Mr. Evan Hopkins, F.G.S., says that there are geologists who place back the beginning of the glacial age at 1,280,000,000 years. If, then, man is pre-glacial, according to these geologists, he has an antiquity before which the age claimed for him by Manetho and Berosus, in their dynasties of Egypt and Babylon, fall into insignificance. Even the countless and everlasting dynasties of the Chinese can produce nothing that will give man a more truly venerable antiquity than the estimates given by the geologists just mentioned.

But we are not yet through with our geological computations. Prof. Huxley goes even further than his *confrères*, and thinks that man is not only pre-glacial, but that "he existed when a tropical fauna and flora flourished in our northern clime." Man, then, must have existed in the carboniferous age; an age which all geologists teach us was long anterior to the glacial period, and an

age which most of them contend was millions, if not hundreds of millions, of years earlier than the comparatively recent age of ice and glaciers. And still more; there are those who, contending for the eternity of existence of matter, would fain believe that man has a still greater antiquity than that claimed for him by the geologists named, and are disposed to insist that his existence on earth, if not quite eternal, runs back so far, and embraces such countless æons that it is impossible to give expression to such duration in numbers.

But enough of such figures and surmises. We wish to know what foundation in fact there is for such conjectures respecting the antiquity of our race, why there is such a wide divergence in the results obtained, and what conclusions have been reached by more conservative, although equally eminent investigators, and what, in a word, are the views of Christian and Catholic *savants* regarding this most interesting question.

All, or nearly all conclusions, like those indicated, are based, as we already have stated, on calculations concerning the age of human remains and human implements, etc., to some of which we have just alluded. The marked divergence in the results obtained is owing to the lack, in most cases, of any reliable means of determining, even approximately, the age of the objects found. The age of a human bone, or of any kind of implement of human fabrication, is ordinarily arrived at by computing the amount of time necessary to form the deposits, be they of rock, mud or peat, in which such human remains are found.

Let us illustrate by a case in point. Some forty years ago, M. Boucher de Perthes, a French *savant*, discovered a large number of articles of human fabrication in the peat deposits of the valley of the Somme, in France. His discoveries were so startling, and gave, according to his interpretations of them, such a great antiquity to the human race, that at first they were received with distrust on all sides. They did not, however, attract any special attention from scientists generally until about the year 1860.

According to M. Boucher de Perthes, measurements of the peat in which the articles referred to were found, was formed at the rate of about an inch and a half, or two inches a century. Sir Charles Lyell, Sir John Lubbock, and other well known scientists, after making an extended examination of these same peat beds, and the objects found therein, were disposed to accept M. Boucher de Perthes's estimate concerning the rate of formation of the peat, and to regard the various objects found in it as having a very great antiquity indeed. In some places the peat mentioned had a depth of twenty-six feet, and must therefore, according to M. Boucher

de Perthes, and Lyell and Lubbock, have required for its formation a period embracing from twelve to eighteen thousand years.

But we can appreciate better the trustworthiness of such observations and computations by comparisons with discoveries made in similar formations elsewhere.

In the catalogue of the antiquities in the museum of the Royal Irish Academy, we are told of a leather shoe found twenty feet below the surface in a peat bog in Tipperary. In the same catalogue, mention is made of a large vessel of butter discovered in the turf at the depth of eighteen feet, in the county of Kilkenny. If, then, we are to believe M. Boucher de Perthes and Sir Charles Lyell and Sir John Lubbock, and scientists of their stamp, the Irish were wearing leather shoes and making butter upwards of ten or twelve thousand years ago. *Risum teneatis amici*.¹

We may add in this connection, that sober and more extended observation has shown that peat can be and has been formed at a much more rapid rate than that assigned by the geologists just named. There are well-authenticated instances of peat being formed at the rate of a foot or two, or even more, per century. Dr. Andrews and others who have taken up the subject of the peat deposits of the Somme valley, maintain that a careful investigation will prove that the time demanded for their formation has been greatly exaggerated. Four or five thousand years is the maximum of time they are disposed to allow, and they think that half that time is amply sufficient.

In the same way eminent geologists and archæologists, whose authority and erudition cannot be questioned, cut down the exaggerated estimates that have been given to the glacial period and to the age of the various human remains that have been found, and to that of the divers works of art or industry that have been attributed to prehistoric man. Instead of the hundreds of thousands, or millions of years, that have been assigned to the human period, it has been demonstrably shown that there is no valid reason for claiming for it an antiquity greater than eight or ten thousand years at most. In other words, as far as any positive knowledge in geology and prehistoric archæology goes, these sciences can make no claims that are in conflict with the general statements of Scripture regarding the age of our race.²

The trouble in geology is that we have no means of reckoning time in years—no positive *data* that can serve as units of measure.

¹ See *The Recent Origin of Man*, by James C. Southall, p. 465.

² See on this subject the recent scholarly work, *Modern Science in Bible Lands*, by Sir J. W. Dawson, LL.D., F. R. S., F. G. S. It is the most concise and masterly statement of the results arrived at by science in this interesting field of research that we have yet seen.

All geological calculations, expressed in years, are simply guesses—conjectures, more or less probable—more or less fanciful and extravagant. But, it is only among Christian geologists that we observe a disposition to acknowledge the full force of the difficulty. Geologists of infidel and materialistic tendencies are loath to admit that the lack of some unit of measure is sufficient to vitiate all their calculations. They still insist that their computations, however diverse, and however long the periods of time required—must be right, because, as they will have it, the Bible, with its cosmogony, genealogies and all, is wrong. Truly, it requires faith, more than sufficient to move mountains, to be an infidel or modern scientist in good standing.

The great American and, we may add, Christian, geologist, J. D. Dana, who occupies an undisputed place in the front rank of the great geologists of the age, makes no attempt to determine the number of years that go to make up any of the epochs or periods that geology speaks of, but simply limits himself to the statement of the general proposition: "Time is long."

M. A. de Lapparent, the eminent Catholic geologist, in his recent admirable "*Traité de Géologie*,"—said to be the most complete and reliable work on geology, extant,—declares that the data on which the geologist is obliged to rely, "are so vague that according to the point of view which one adopts, the figures may vary from one to twenty; sometimes from one to a hundred, and yet even these extreme results deserve scarcely more credence than the others. Wherefore, we must accept with the greatest reserve the numerical results which diverse authors pretend to have attained."

But physics and astronomy furnish us with still stronger reasons for withholding assent to the gratuitous assumptions and exorbitant demands made by a certain class of geologists and biologists for the unlimited secular periods which their speculations require. Instead of the hundreds of millions of years exacted by the advocates of evolution, Professors W. Thompson and P. G. Tait, who are conceded to be without superiors in their special lines of research, tell us that calculations, based on the laws of thermodynamics,—something much more trustworthy than the *data* geologists have to compute from—prove that it would have been simply impossible for any form of animal or vegetable life to have existed on the earth for a greater period of time than ten, or, at most, fifteen million years.¹

Unlike the results reached by geologists, we here have con-

¹ See the *Recent Advances in Physical Science*, by P. G. Tait, M.A., 3d edition, lectures VI. and VII.

clusions that are based on measurable units and calculable quantities. We have a mathematical problem, resting on experimental data of physics, and the answer to this problem affords us an argument against the unwarranted deductions of geologists, that is simply irrefutable.

In a recent lecture, before the Royal Institution in London, Sir William Thompson emphasizes the conclusions he had previously arrived at, and, applying to the discussion of the sun's heat the same methods he had employed in the problem respecting the thermal condition and age of the earth, he declares that it is impossible "to suppose that the sun has existed for more than twenty million years, no matter what may have been its origin—whether it came into existence from the clash of worlds pre-existing, or from diffused nebulous matter. "There is," he says, "a great clinging by geologists and biologists to vastly longer periods, but the physicist, treating it,"—viz., the duration of solar and terrestrial heat,—"as a dynamic question, with calculable elements cannot come to any other conclusion than the one stated."

Mr. H. Faye, one of the ablest astronomers of the age, and a Catholic, goes even farther and draws up an argument, that is, if anything, more trenchant than that of either Thompson or Tait. In his masterly work, *Sur l'Origine du Monde*,¹ he states it as his belief, founded on well known physical and astronomical laws, that the sun, assuming, as he may, that the amount of heat annually radiated by it to have been the same since its formation as it is now, cannot possibly have a greater age than 14,500,000 years. To this he adds, what must strike every one as unquestionable, that, for those who admit the nebular hypothesis of Laplace—and all geologists and biologists pin their faith to this hypothesis—the difficulties presented by the results of his calculations, to the acceptance of the long life-periods which geologists claim, is simply insoluble.

The errors and the changing and contradictory opinions we have referred to regarding the antiquity of man, and, incidentally, the life-period of the earth, are not, however, restricted to this special subject of investigation. On the contrary, they obtain, even in a more marked degree if that be possible, in every other department of what is currently denominated "Modern Science." We have the same cloud of error and conflicting opinion enveloping subjects that are most intimately associated with the gravest questions of philosophy and theology. This is particularly true of such problems as those concerning the origin and nature of man, the unity of species, and other problems of an equally vital nature embraced in the general theory of evolution. But we have not

¹ Chap. xiv.

space to discuss these questions now, for they would each require far more than could be allotted them. Indeed, each would afford abundant material for a separate article. But, if examined, they would only tend to confirm what has already been demonstrated. Let it suffice for the present to have alluded to them. From what has been said so far in the course of this article, we can see what we are called upon to accept as science. We have learned also *en passant* something of those who would present themselves as our teachers and as the exponents of the "New Philosophy."

The science—we refer to the sham science we have been considering—is nothing more than the vain and idle imaginings of those who, in the language of Tertullian, "fail to see that which is, and imagine that which is not." It is a science "garrulous, declaiming, canting, wrangling"; a science barren of useful things, and "meanly proud of its own unprofitableness." It is a fuming, frothing, vaporizing gushing of words, and an incoherent syllabbling and mouthing of names, as dauntless in its effrontery as it is persistent in its attempts to hoist and foist itself into the elevated and sacred shrines of true science and true philosophy. It ends, as has been said of the sophistry of the Greeks, in nothing but disputation and incertitude. "It is neither a vineyard nor an olive ground, but an intricate wood of briers and thistles, from which those who lose themselves in it bring back many scratches and no food." It is, in a word, simply a continuation in a new form, and with variations, of the futile and trifling "disputes of the orthodox Lilliputians and the heretical Blefuscudians about the big ends and the little ends of eggs."

As to the high priests and expositors of this so-called science, we can say of them, in the language of Macaulay, that "we have been for some time past inclined to suspect that these people, whom some regard as the lights of the world and others as incarnate demons, are, in general, ordinary men, with narrow understandings and little information." We can apply to them, each according to his measure, what Ruskin says in his own telling language of that much overrated naturalist, Charles Darwin: "He attracts the attention only of vainly curious and idly skeptical persons, and has collected in the train of him every impudent imbecility in Europe, like a dim comet wagging its useless tail of phosphorescent nothing across the steadfast stars."

Yes, these exponents of modern science—more particularly its German and French representatives—will flippantly talk of our gaseous and albuminoid ancestors, and express surprise if one should venture to dissent from any of their views, however extravagant. They will deny the glorious origin of the human family as declared in the Book of books, and then work with the

incessancy and malignity and desperation of a Mephistopheles to show that man, the lord of creation, descends in a direct line from some favored worm or sea-squirt ; from some privileged mud-fish or catarrhine ape. They will prate glibly about the souls of animals and plants, and insist on our denying the immortality of our own. They will ask us to give up our faith and plunge with them into the maelstrom of materialism or an all-absorbing pantheism ; and in lieu of those sacred truths on which have ever been based the hope, the joy, the consolation of our race, they will offer us in return a dark, cold, forbidding atheism. In the words of the poet,

“ They cast on all things surest, sweetest, best,
Doubt, insecurity, astonishment.”

OXFORD, ANCIENT AND MODERN.

Oxford. By Andrew Lang, M.A. (Seeley & Co.).

The Early History of Oxford : 727-1100 (Oxford Historical Society).

Collectanea (1st series). Edited by C. R. L. Fletcher, Fellow of All Souls (Oxford).

Short Studies in Modern Oxford. By D. H. Bynne (Oxford).

Hand-Book for University of Oxford Students (Clarendon Press).

“**T**HAT colleges which were originally founded to help the poor scholar should have become institutions existing mainly for the purpose of fleecing him, is a most disgraceful fact ; but so it is, and indeed we find the same abuse in our great public schools.” So writes Mr. Bynne, in his short but caustic “ studies ” of the modern misuses of the University. The pith of the remark is less in the sarcasm than in the deep mourning over the days that are past. “ Originally founded to help the poor scholar ” might be written over many of the college gates ; though it is probable that modern scholars, like modern dons, would resent such a very personal reflection. True, there are still many foundations at Oxford which largely benefit a number of poor scholars ; but the point is that the *idea* of the University is now conventional, instead of being as it used to be, charitable. Indeed the word charitable cannot now be fitly used, in its application to the

appropriation of endowments. No word has come to be more degraded than the word charitable; which, in the early ages, meant "moved by the love of God." Among the pagans the word seems to have meant gracious, or favoring, or possibly the doing a thing for the sake of some equivalent; but in its first Christian sense it implied that the *giver* was under obligation to the recipient who enabled him to please God. Humility was, therefore, the attitude of the giver; not, as in these days, the attitude of the recipient. Charity means now both humiliation in the recipient and condescension in the self-worshipful bestower. And so keen is the humiliation that, both at Oxford and Cambridge, a man educated on the foundation is looked down upon. The servitors at Oxford, like the sizars at Cambridge, are "an inferior race of animals academical." Thirty years ago it was the custom at Christ Church College for the poor servitors to dine *after* the rich students; just as it was the custom for noblemen to wear gold tassels on their caps, and for gentlemen-commoners to wear gowns made of silk, to distinguish them from the herd of undergraduates. Modernism has made Oxford a social institution, whereas the founders designed only an academical. So, too, modernism has made Oxford a freethinking university, whereas the founders designed only a Catholic. The word charitable, which, before the Reformation, had the sense of including all men in Catholic fellowship, now almost excludes from so much as a social fellowship the pitiful recipients of Catholic bounty. Thus the two ideas are more opposite than are two religions; they are as opposite as religion and irreligion. They are indeed so hopelessly irreconcilable that no one now thinks of Oxford as being primarily Christian, but only as being, accidentally, not anti-Christian.

A good deal of controversy has been recently revived in England on the following two aspects of the University: 1. Its influence on the young minds of the undergraduates; 2. Its influence on the religious opinions of those clergymen who have graduated after three years of residence. Now both of these aspects must be approached apologetically—that is, with reference to the great past. Ancient Oxford, primitive Oxford, gathered to its broken homes—to its still migratory and unendowed schools—all young men who chose to come to it from any country, and to submit themselves to the rules of the religious orders. It is not easy perhaps in our own time to picture that infant Oxford which preceded any attempt at a university; before the time when the "Oxenford" village and the "Oxenford" schools had ceased to quarrel over their priority of rights. As the village grew into the town, and the schools grew into colleges, the quarrels grew more frequent and more serious; and it is ob-

servable that the earliest charters granted to colleges were in reparation for the injuries done by townsmen. It was in the proportion of the growth of culture throughout the kingdom that the importance of the Oxford schools became appreciated. During the eight centuries which preceded the Reformation, the life of the whole nation, intellectually and politically, stamped its story on the development of Oxford. It would be unreal perhaps to treat critically of those mythological foundations which romance has loved to lay in King Alfred's time; nor is there any good to be gained by speculating what Oxford *may* have been under Roman and Saxon settlements or Danish invasions. It is tolerably certain that neither in the twelfth or thirteenth century were colleges or college statutes so much as known. It is tolerably certain that there was no Oxford University—though there had for centuries been Oxford schools of severe discipline—until the period when, about the close of the fourteenth century, town and gown managed to harmonize their differences. We must be content to know that the University was a product of the middle ages; of those ages when Catholic wisdom created monuments of charity such as no Protestant intellect could have originated.

Let us take a hasty glance at ancient Oxford, at Oxford mediæval, and therefore Catholic. And first, as to Christ Church, though comparatively a modern college—claiming Cardinal Wolsey for its founder—we must remember that it is the heir of a Catholic beneficence which dates back to the close of the eighth century. That St. Frideswyde built a retreat for holy virgins on the plot of ground which is now occupied by the college is not disputed by even skeptical antiquarians; and as we pass to-day through the Quadrangle and Peckwater and Canterbury, we can spare a thought for the seven centuries which preceded Cardinal Wolsey, the magnificent if proud subject of Henry VIII. A portrait of that monarch, and also a portrait of Queen Elizabeth, are hung upon the walls of the great dining-hall; while a portrait of the fallen Cardinal adorns the same hall, in silent satire upon the horrors of the Reformation. But within a stone's throw of Christ Church are other colleges, whose completed fabrics are older by many centuries. To quote the words of the charters of such colleges is to convey their whole object, their whole faith. "All Souls" College, for example, needs no volume save its title to tell all men *why* its founders endowed it. "*Collegium omnium animarum fidelium defunctorum de Oxon.*" What need is there of any explanation? The students of this college were also commanded by its founders to "pray specially for the souls of Henry V., Henry VII., the Duke of Clarence, and for the souls of all the dukes, earls, barons, knights, esquires and other subjects of the Crown of Eng-

land who had fallen in the war with France, and for the souls of *all* the faithful departed." An indulgence of forty days was also conceded to "all Christians who might live within the province of Canterbury, who should visit the chapel and devoutly pray for the souls of the faithful departed." And what a chapel must this have been—for it is impossible to avoid making the reflection—before the spoliators, Grindall and Parker, and other monsters of the age of the Reformation, destroyed the eight altars, stole the chapel plate, desecrated the costly missals, grails and processional, and ordered all the Fellows to utterly deface all copes, albs and crosses, and to remove every token of Catholic times. We will not linger, however, at "All Souls' College," but will pass on hastily to Balliol College—for the sake only of recalling the spirit of ancient Oxford. Masses were commanded to be said in perpetuity—so runs the charter of Balliol College—for the souls of all the founders and of their kindred; while the authorities of the college were laid under obligation to chant requiems for the wife of the founder, so long as Balliol should continue to be a college. And so again as to Magdalen College, "the most absolute building in Oxford," as King James the First not unfittingly styled it, a Mass was commanded by Waynflete, the founder, to be said for "the souls of good memory, to wit, for Henry III., Edward III., Henry VI., Edward IV., for the founder, his parents, for Lord Cromwell, Sir John Fastolf, and other good patrons of the college, on every day in the year, very early in the morning"; and this mass has been "commuted," to quote the scandalous expression of the authorities, who cared no more for the holy souls than for their own souls, "for a choral performance once a year on the top of Waynflete's tower," in bitter mockery of the pious bequest of the founder. Of "Corpus Christi College," let it be noted that her charter contained the order: "The founder, to the praise and honor of God Almighty, the most holy body of Christ, and the Blessed Virgin Mary, as also of the Apostles Peter, Paul and Andrew, and of St. Cuthbert, St. Swithin, and St. Bidin, doth found and appoint this college always to be called Corpus Christi College." And of New College let one word be added, not so much in regard to the piety of its Catholic founder, as in respect of that spirit of Catholic beneficence which always thought first of educating the poor, and indeed designed colleges for them alone. The grand idea of this college was to "provide for the perfect maintenance and instruction of two hundred scholars, to afford them a liberal support, and to lead them through a complete course of education, from the first elements of letters, through the whole circle of the sciences; from the lowest class of grammatical learning to the highest degrees of the several faculties." The object of

the founder has been well nigh obliterated from the actual conduct of our own times; it has been treated with as much contempt as was shown to the original art-work, which made New College one of the gems of the world. Whatever was grand in Plantagenet ideal, and sumptuous in the refinements of art, once adorned the typical chapel of New College, and would have adorned it to-day, but for the Reformation savages who swooped down on everything that was beautiful. To rob churches of their silver and gold, and efface the fairest monuments of art, was the special mission of the English Reformers, whose ignorance and vulgarity might have been excuse for their impiety, had not impiety engendered them both.

We need only linger a moment longer on ancient Oxford, to note its spirit of stern practical wisdom as well as of Catholic piety. Such men as Waynflete and Sir Thomas Pope, Wykeham, Edmund le Riche, and Walter de Merton, were men of thoroughly practical minds: Witness the splendid endowments they have left for the many colleges so magnificently raised, and therefore the inheritance *we* have from *them*, the inheritance of both their faith and their works. These men did not think of themselves, they thought of us. In the provision which they critically made for poor scholars, they had in view the generations which were to follow; just as in the severe rules for their colleges, rules academical and disciplinary, they provided for the forming of such characters as would best hand on the faith to posterity. And so, too, in regard to pure scholarship, their notions were as practical as they were earnest. It is almost amusing to note the difference between the scholarly habits of ancient Oxford and the anything but scholarly habits of modern Oxford. One example shall suffice—taken from Balliol. In “those dark days of ignorance and superstition,” as our Protestant friends love to designate the Middle Ages, every scholar was compelled to speak Latin during meal-time; and, in case of disobedience, the delinquent was served last, and if obstinate he was finally expelled. This is only a suggestive instance of that practical view of education which utterly died out in the sixteenth century. Just as the Reformation killed piety, killed art, killed the comeliness and seemliness of Christian worship, so did it kill the practical side of life, equally in regard to education and to religion, to the culture of the imagination and of the virtues.

We will take Mr. Andrew Lang for our authority—and his new edition of “Oxford” shows his thorough command of the period when Oxford was “reformed” by barbarians—as to the utter ruin which was wrought upon Oxford by the supplanting of Catholicism by Protestantism. Speaking of the reign of Edward VI., which followed immediately on the death of Henry VIII.,

and was, therefore, the first reign of a Protestant prince, Mr. Lang says: "The reign of Edward VI. gave full play to that fanatic and intolerable hatred of letters which had now and again made its voice to be heard under Henry VIII. Oxford was almost empty. The schools were used by laundresses as a place where clothes might conveniently be dried. The citizens encroached on academical property. Some schools were quite destroyed, and the sites converted into gardens. Few men took degrees. The college plate and jewels, left by pious benefactors, were stolen and went to the melting pot. Thus flourished Oxford under Edward VI." Now, be it remembered that Mr. Andrew Lang is an Anglican, and a fellow of Merton College, Oxford. He is not prejudiced, therefore, against the Reformers. The same authority, when speaking of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, tells us that Oxford had sunk so low in the type and the culture of her professors that, when Queen Elizabeth paid a visit to the university, "Oxford could not even provide a university preacher." In other words, a university which but a few years before, during the reigns of English Catholic sovereigns, had been the equal in learning and in aspirations of any university in the world, had come to be so utterly degraded that young Englishmen would not condescend to matriculate, and the best professors were quite unfit to preach a sermon.

This allusion to Queen Elizabeth will bring our survey down to the period when the ancient Oxford gave place to the modern Oxford. It would be a long task, and a useless one, to trace Oxford through the periods which have been styled the Caroline, the Jacobite, the Georgian; just as it would be wearisome to go through the religious epochs, the evangelical, the tractarian, the ritualistic. We may now at once approach the two (perfectly modern) questions which Englishmen are asking with some interest: (1.) What is the influence of the university on the minds of the undergraduates? (2.) What is the influence of the university on the religious opinions of those clergymen who have passed three years in *statu pupillare*, and who are, therefore, all their lives Oxford men?

II.

Mr. Bynne, an accomplished Anglican, has written amusingly, yet perhaps sadly, on the influence of Oxford on undergraduates. He runs through the several grooves of Oxford life, and portrays, with much vividness, numerous characters. The curious and anomalous types of Oxford dons, the official entertainments which they are pleased to give, the grave and the playful pursuits of the undergraduates, with their literary and academical ideas, are all

successfully pictured, though sarcastically. It would seem that the modern Oxford has exaggerated some of the bad features which were first imprinted on it by the "Reforming" pagans; so that what is really good in Oxford life, is in spite of, not in harmony with, the present spirit or atmosphere of the University. The recent immense changes in the authoritative teaching of Oxford—so far as dons could ever be spoken of as teachers—have had this result, that the old-fashioned clerical don has given place to the free-thinking or the unattached. There is still, of course, a majority of High Church, reverend dons; but the doing-away with the necessity of *all* Oxford men being Anglicans, has weakened the sentiment of veneration for the Church of England. The don, forty years ago, whatever might be his defects, impersonated the highest Anglican ideal; in the sense, that is, of his principle of "Church and State," if not, always in the sense of clerical example. He is now an institution which presupposes some sort of Anglicanism as the most respectable of the party leanings of English Protestantism; but he is no longer what he used to be, the (presumed) authoritative teacher as to the orthodoxy of this or that Anglican party. Forty years ago, in spite of the variety of "religious schools," there was an ardent conviction of the divine truth of Christianity; the very earnestness of religious controversy proving how deep was the realization of the necessity of believing *some* Christian doctrines. It was a little cruel, perhaps, of the "University Test-Committee," rather more than a quarter of a century ago, to affirm of Oxford philosophy that it led straightway to skepticism, and that "happy was he who, when he had finished his course, still believed in the divinity of Christ." Few Oxford men, who knew Oxford in 1850, would like to indorse so very sweeping a condemnation. It might have been truer to say that the logical consequences of Oxford were in the direction of putting egoism before authority; but, happily, Protestants are not logical in their religion, however logical they may be in secular grooves. Oxford men, like other men, are educated by their own thought a good deal more than by school-syllogisms or Q. E. D's. It has been said truly that "such men as Laud, Addison, or Sir Robert Peel, owed their greatness, not to having been at Oxford, but to having educated themselves by their own thought—a thought which was independent of Oxford." Narrowness or width is born in a man, nor does a university create much or destroy much. A man's "set" may bias his mind in certain grooves, but his real bent was made before he matriculated. And so we should rather exalt the early training, which taught a simple Anglican rule of piety, than praise (or blame) the dons who did *not* teach anything at all; teach, that is, in the sense of a derived authority,

as Catholic professors teach theology in Catholic colleges. Catholics have to remember, in judging a Protestant university, that its undergraduates have never believed in Catholic dogma; they have believed only in what they call Scriptural truth, and these truths have been privately interpreted, not in the sense of wayward opinion, but in the sense of exercising the *duty* of private judgment. So that, if a Low Churchman become a High Churchman at the University, or an Evangelical become an easy Latitudinarian, the change may have been made through a sincere exercise of that eclecticism which is the born *duty* of every English Protestant mind. A Catholic naturally imagines that a disesteem for Christian dogma must lead quickly, perhaps inevitably, to infidelity. This is not so in the case of persons brought up Protestants. They may retain the sentiment of "belief in Christ," and not only the sentiment but the deep assurance, after they have set aside a good many Christian doctrines, as what they are pleased to call "matters of no importance."

This attitude of the Protestant mind has to be considered in conjunction with a (possible) contempt for every kind of religious system. In the case of the undergraduate at a university, he may look upon going to chapel as a formal bore; he may regard his particular dons as pyramidal impostors, who enjoy their comfortable fellowships and are paid to pray; he may also think of the Church of England as a State compromise, designed to include every divergent opinion on Christian doctrine; and yet, for all this, he may be a thorough Christian at heart, so far as belief goes in the divine fact of man's redemption. It was necessary to say so much, before speaking of particular "influences" in the direction of good or bad in the undergraduate life. Protestantism is a continuously constructive personal orthodoxy. But though it can never attain to doctrinal fixedness, it need not, therefore, abandon "faith in Christ." A story is told of a head of a house, that he boasted to "have attended university sermons for upwards of fifty years, and he thanked God that he was still a Christian." Nor is there any reason to doubt this don's persuasion, that he did not disbelieve a Christianity. He had been brought up a member of the Church of England, and, therefore, only looked upon all heresy as a normal, if troublesome, frailty of the spiritual man.

The question, then, "What is the influence of Oxford on the minds of the vast variety of undergraduates?" is one that must be narrowed to their habits of religious thinking rather than to their conclusions as to faith. It may be said, generally, that the difference between a Catholic and a Protestant is that a Catholic conforms his habits of religious thinking to the teachings of the one infallible Church, whereas a Protestant conforms his habits of

religious thinking to the teachings of his own private eclecticism, thus making his eclecticism his (whole) habit of thought, criticising, not believing, being his principle. For example, when an Oxford undergraduate comes away from the university church, after listening (as in duty bound) to the university sermon, he proceeds to discuss the doctrines of the preacher, as he would discuss any new views on political economy, on science, or on some novelty of costume. Doctrines, themselves, he knows must be important, because Christianity, as a dispensation, is divine; but the particular opinions *on* doctrines which any preacher may advocate cannot possibly have any authority whatever. A doctrine is one thing, a view is another; and as the preacher can only give his own views, or his own approval of some other preacher's views, but has no authority to teach doctrine infallibly, the undergraduate can give also his views, which are quite as authoritative as were the preacher's. Put the undergraduate in the pulpit, and he would probably teach quite as reasonable a doctrine as the tutor, who is only a somewhat "older hand." But neither the undergraduate nor his tutor can teach Christianity, because neither has any authority but himself. This is not an imputation on the good faith of preachers, since preachers profess only to give their views; and the undergraduate takes the preacher at his own value. The undergraduate is himself proposing to become a clergyman; and he hears the preacher announce, as a postulate of Christianity, that God's true Church cannot teach truth infallibly, and that to believe in infallibility is to degrade human thought to a level with mechanical automata. To degrade God's truth to the level of human opinion is to lift up that human opinion; but to lift up human opinion to infallible truth is to degrade that same human opinion. It is a curious confusion. The undergraduate is perfectly certain that Christian doctrine is divine, because to doubt this would be to abandon Christianity. But he is equally certain that Oxford theology is human, because human opinions can judge it. Here, then, is the Oxford "habit of thinking." It is, as has been said, the conforming habits of thinking to the teaching of a private eclecticism, instead of conforming the habits of thinking to the teaching of infallible authority.

Mr. Bynne says that, if you see an undergraduate absorbed in his prayer-book, during the chapel performance of divine service, the chances are that he is "struggling with that farrago of nonsense, the article on predestination, or mastering the intricacies of the doctrine of original sin." So that our author does not believe much in the devotion of chapel-going, any more than in the authority of the "Thirty-Nine." And yet it is certain that he does believe in Anglicanism, in a sense which may be called "limited

liability." It is this principle of "limited liability" which permeates all Oxford—undergraduate life. Not only as to "faith," but as to all branches of study, the principle is "limited liability." "Oxford has the body of learning, but not the soul," says one of the essayists we are quoting. Another essayist says, when speaking of the vast range of "subjects," "There is one drop of the spirit of learning to cartloads of painfully acquired knowledge." Another says, "It is all industry now, not education." Mr. Bynne remarks that, "Teaching is now the fashion"—for teaching, perhaps, read professional lecturing—physical science, history, philosophy, philology, theology, scholarship, almost every branch of knowledge is taught—but on the principle of a limited liability. As to general literature, Mr. Bynne has an humble estimate of the interest which undergraduates ordinarily take in it. Indeed, he says that they know nothing of general literature. Doubtless this may be true as to the majority; but the explanation is that all their time is wanted for cramming, so that there is no time for the elegances of private reading. As to theology, it must seem absurd to so much as speak of it in connection with a Protestant university. No personal relations existing between the dons and the undergraduates, nor any ecclesiastical or priestly relations; the whole idea of theology being disputations on the groundwork, as well as on all the doctrines of Christianity, it must follow that theology proper can have no more place at Oxford than could wild Protestantism have in the Roman Propaganda. So that the whole idea of modern Oxford, even in the acceptance of accomplished Anglicans, would seem to be failure academically, and failure controversially and spiritually. Yet the dons are only partly to blame, because they are placed in a false position. They cannot teach if they have nothing to teach; and even if they had anything to teach, they have no divine authority to teach it. Tennyson, the poet, seems to have had Oxford dons in mind when he addressed some would-be teachers of great things, "You that do profess to teach, and teach us nothing; feeding not the heart."

III.

When the undergraduate has developed into the graduate, and the graduate into the reverend divine, there naturally comes the question, which it was proposed next to consider, "What is the influence of Oxford life on the religious opinions of those clergymen who have passed three years in preparing for the ministry?" And first, there is the education of Oxford, in the sense of the place, the surroundings. No man can live in a place of supreme beauty, a town full of exquisite ancient colleges, without imbibing some-

thing of the spirit of that beauty, of the lesson of the monuments of a great past. Who that has leaned over Magdalen Bridge, and looked up at Waynflete's witching tower; or visited the Magdalen cloisters, or its grove, or its water-walks,—“delectable as the banks of Eurotas, where Apollo was wont to sing his lays,”—has failed to feel a reverence for those far off ages when architects were Christian poets; when such men as William of Wykeham, and William of Sens, and all those wonderful idealists who built the English cathedrals, derived all their genius of instinct or intuition from the supernatural faith that was in them? Here is education for the soul. If a man cannot appreciate external Oxford, or derive improvement from the faith-lessons of its very stones, he had better retire from all hopes of education, save such as a parochial school may impart. Three years at Oxford mean three years of companionship with the most beautiful creations of Catholic times, and therefore necessarily three years of instruction in devotion, faith, art, and Christian chivalry. And there is something to be said too, even at the risk of a sort of paradox, in favor of the Protestantizing of Oxford. Just as when you enter an old cathedral, and see the barren uses, the barren services, with which poor Protestantism mocks the majesty of the ideal, you *learn* (unless you are incapable of learning) what an “abomination of desolation” Protestantism is; so, when you reside at Oxford, the very contrast of the past and present is a sufficient witness to the divinity of the Catholic Church. A Catholic, when he goes to Oxford, interprets everything he sees around him as witnessing correlatively to two truths, the sublime beauty of the intellect of Catholicism, with the consequent feebleness of all heresy. Nor is it possible for a Protestant to help *feeling* the same two truths, though his prejudices explain away half their force. If he is a man of honest conscience, as well as of a refined intuition, the Protestantizing of Oxford will un-Protestantize *him*, by a process of perhaps unconscious education. If not “converted” at Oxford, he will take away with him into his after-life such deep memories of Catholic fact and fruit of faith as will render him more easy to be converted in the future. Now here we have, perhaps, the chief feature of that “influence” which Oxford life must bring to bear upon the clergy. The mere polemical chat or gossip of Oxford common rooms, or of the rooms of the more “theological” of the undergraduates, may be remembered only as a branch of social amenities, or as indicating the wayward nature of all Protestantism. But what *will* be remembered with profound homage will be the monuments of the Catholic faith, the speaking stones of the wondrous chapels of Catholic times, the meaning of the lady chapels no longer used, of the now empty niches for Catholic saints, of the richly built but neglected

Catholic sanctuaries, and therefore of the desecration by the Reformers.

But more than this; if we pass from the dead to the living there will have been an education, at least negatively (and that is something), in "the theological atmosphere of the University." Heresy must drive every man towards the Church, though it must rest with each man to be driven into it. Now heresy is nowhere to be better studied than at Oxford; its mental compass is nowhere to be better gauged. You have the teaching body—all men of education, and most of them reverend divines of high standing—so completely at issue with one another and with the whole past, that they might just as well be ordained weather-cocks as ordained scholars. The head of a house who leaned his back against a wall and asked in despair, "Can anybody tell me what Christianity *is*?" was a great teacher of truth had he only known it, for he proved the essential absurdity of Protestantism. True, the nonsense of a negative does not prove the truth of an affirmative, but it does prove—as in the case of this doctor of divinity—that *if* Christianity be divine, Protestantism must be necessarily *not* divine. That is something on the pathway to Q. E. D. And it is this "something" which every Oxford man has learned. The clergyman who looks back on his three years' residence, looks back on "a farrago of nonsense," not only as regards the Thirty-Nine Articles (which Mr. Bynne very aptly so designates), but as regards *all* the negative teaching of *all* the dons who have "smashed up Popery" so as to lecture on the débris. Now, a clergyman with this experience, when he comes to minister in Anglican churches, must have two quite living certainties within his memory; the one that the best of Oxford was its Catholicism, the other that the worst of Oxford was its Protestantism. But its Catholicism, he well knows, was confined to its monuments, to its eloquent fabrics,—the more eloquent, in one sense, for their desolation,—to its records, its traditions, its "has been"; in short, to its "death that still speaketh." The clergyman, therefore, knows that the present is to the past what the Protestant Abbey of Westminster, London, is to the Catholic Abbey of Edward the Confessor. True, materially, Protestants possess ancient Oxford, but they possess only the body without the soul, the chapels without their purpose of the adorable sacrifice, the sanctuaries without their confession of the divine presence, the charters without a pretence even of obeying them. All this is present to the clergyman's memory, and what "influence" can such memory have upon him? Just this, that it makes him love the ideal and feel an intellectual contempt for the actual. So much does he love the ideal, that he sets to work to make the actual something like it, dressing up his Angli-

can conventicle in imitation of those Catholic chapels which he knows (Oxford taught him) were real. Hence, Ritualism. The ideal and the real being both Catholic, but actual Anglicanism being the contrary of both, Ritualists have set to work to build up a new actual, *minus* the authority of the real ideal. It was a last despairing effort, and it has failed. It is no more possible to make the Church of England Catholic, than to make Dr. Benson, the Archbishop of Canterbury, go to confession to a Franciscan monk, and receive absolution for intending to *remain* the archbishop of heresy.

Yet how was it, it may be asked, that this modern "influence" of life at Oxford has only so recently been seen to be exercised in the clerical mind? Simply because the shock of the Reformation was so terrific that it took three centuries for the heirs of the Reformers to regain their senses. We have to remember that the Reformers literally smashed Christianity to atoms, leaving nothing but a devil's whirlwind of controversy to take the place of the still small voice of eternal truth. In order to justify such a revolution, it was necessary to represent the Catholic Church as the veriest sink of every abomination of iniquity; and this *was* done in the religious literature of England throughout the Tudor, Stuart and Guelph dynasties, up to 1845. What "influence" could Oxford have on an English mind so long as that mind was taught by every Anglican clergyman, as well as by every Anglican publication, that there was no evil, moral, doctrinal or disciplinary, domestic, social, national or political, which could not be traced to the father of lies, the Catholic Church? Even in these days the "delirium tremens" of rabid Protestantism afflicts some really amiable, excellent Englishmen. What "influence," then, could beautiful structures, reared by Catholics, have on minds so mortally poisoned by fierce traditions except the influence which a beautiful mosque or an Athenian temple would naturally have on every intelligent Protestant traveller? It was not until the Oxford movement suggested, timidly and almost fearfully, that there *might* be something good in the Catholic Church, that men began to look at Oxford colleges as rather seeming to bear out the new suggestion that the real and the ideal *might* be one.

Supposing our newly-ordained Anglican clergyman to have had access to the Oxford College libraries, he will have learned that it was customary, during eight centuries, to refer all academical disputes to the Supreme Pontiff, and this, too, both on secular and religious points. Mr. C. R. L. Fletcher, in his "Collectanea," gives some instances of such references to various pontiffs. Papal bulls were sent to more than one Archbishop of Canterbury, authorizing him to become visitor of the University; just as, on the other hand,

petitions were sent from the University, begging the Popes to provide benefices for poor masters. Envoys, on a variety of doubtful points, were constantly passing to and fro during the Middle Ages; the inter-communication of all universities with Rome being in those times simply a matter of course. Another fact, too, which our newly-ordained Anglican clergyman will have remarked in his study of the existing catalogues of the ancient libraries, is that theologians were never known to be controversial upon such doctrines as had been pronounced to be of faith, but only upon still undefined opinions. This will have struck him as being in contrast with his own time, when theology, so-called, is more combative on matters of faith than it is even on the lighter matters of opinion. And, thirdly, he will have noted, with surprise and with admiration, what exquisite care used to be taken, during the Catholic ages, to multiply perfect copies of the two Testaments; with what splendid industry and conscientiousness men devoted their whole lives to the critical task of making manuscript Bibles; and how carefully they guarded them, how magnificently they illumined them, what proofs they gave of "reverencing the Scriptures."

We need not pursue the subject; we should be led into so many comparisons that it would be difficult to know where to make a pause. Suffice it that we add that, in regard to the five books of which the titles were given in the beginning, Mr. Bynne's "Short Studies" seem to strike the right key—at least, negatively, though, perhaps naturally, not affirmatively. Mr. Andrew Lang's "Oxford" scarcely "catches the point"; it is conscientious, statistically—and, of course, it is well written, for Mr. Andrew Lang always writes well—but his mode of treatment hardly admits of fruitful comment. A great subject demands a big grasp; and it is impossible for any one who is not a Catholic to do justice to the University of Oxford. Still it is something that even the primary fact that Oxford *was* Catholic should be brought before the English mind by good writers. Readers will sometimes be led to draw their own conclusions from premises not insisted on by an author; so that, for example, Mr. Bynne's happy satire on modern Oxford may lead the way to the thinking more about ancient Oxford. That the majority of Anglican clergymen deplore the poverty of Modernism is seen in the fact that they try to imitate antiquity; Ritualism being the homage that Protestantism pays to the Church, not hypocritically but apologetically. Ritualism is the half-way house for such timid Church of England men as find the whole journey too long to be taken without rest. True, the half-way house is fitted up, in regard to furniture, so as to delude the travellers into the idea of being at home; yet a short term of resting in such an extemporized shelter must suffice to convince the

travellers that they must "go on." *Some* travellers, of course, will stop anywhere, asking only to be let alone and make the best of it. For example, the present Anglican Bishop of Salisbury, who must have "left Oxford" some forty years ago, has evidently decided that his official tenure of the episcopal office is preferable to the heritage of the Catholic faith. This bishop has recently told his "Diocesan Church Defence League" that Christian doctrine is only a matter "of fashion." He assured this interesting league that the Church of England had been the National Church, not only since England was a nation, "but, indeed, before England was a nation"; and then he added: "Like other ladies, the Church had been more or less under the influence of fashion; and when any one set of religious opinions was the prevalent fashion throughout the country, it was perfectly inevitable that the Church, as the great bulk of the nation, should more or less partake of those opinions. When the errors of the Church of Rome were dominating the whole civilized world, how could they be surprised that the Church of England was more or less under the influence of Popish corruptions and authority?" We quote these words from a Salisbury newspaper, which is largely circulated throughout the bishop's happy diocese. Here then is an example of a bishop, who was "an Oxford man," settling down in his maturity, both of years and of "views," as one who accepts heresy as "the fashion." He considers that when the founders of the Oxford colleges ordered that masses should be said in perpetuity for the repose of their own souls and of those of all Christians, they were simply "men of fashion," "like other ladies"; looking upon all Christian verities as precisely of the same value as bonnet-ribbons, or other caprices of "*la mode*." Certainly an "Oxford education" was utterly thrown away upon this good bishop. The "influence" of a three years' residence was to convince him that Catholic chivalry—the most beautiful devotion of the natural genius to the work of rearing superb monuments of Catholic charity, for the education of soul, mind, heart and imagination—was all an accident of the passing "fashion" of the supernatural, precisely as was the national custom of delighting in tournaments, in hawking, in cross-bows, or in wrestling. Can we wonder that when Oxford men, who have become Anglican bishops, look on the doctrines of the faith as "ladies' fashions," Oxford men who are only curates retain chiefly a keen memory of Oxford supper parties, "gateing," or "proctorizing?" "Influence!" All influence depends on the nature of the soil on which the culture of great examples is brought to bear. You cannot influence the unwilling, the mundane. Just as the undergraduate who is devoted wholly to his pleasures fails to read the lessons of the Catholic fabrics, so the bishop, who loves his com-

fortable, domestic palace, has no memory of the Catholic charters which were for all time. The general conclusion in regard to the two questions we have considered, the influence on undergraduates and the influence on clergymen of a three years' residence in once-Catholic Oxford, is that for men who look on religion as "the fashion," Paradise itself would be thrown away; but for the majority of Oxford men there is a profound, spiritual education, which bears fruit all their lives in thought and act.

THE IMMORAL TEACHING OF THE JESUITS.

Encyclopædia Britannica. A Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and General Literature. 9th ed. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1881. Vol. xiii., article, "Jesuits," p. 645.

AS far back as the days of St. Paul, men were heard to raise the cry of warning against the immoral teaching of the Church. The enemies of the newly-founded society brought against her the serious charge that she sapped the foundations of morality by teaching that "It is lawful to do evil, that good may result from it." The Apostle, in his Epistle to the Romans, rejects the charge as a calumny, and declares the authors of it to be worthy of just condemnation. "As we are slandered, and as some affirm that we say, 'Let us do evil that there may come good'; whose damnation is just."—Rom. iii., 8.

Well might the Society of Jesus repeat the words of the Apostle. From the time of her foundation to the present day, the same false accusation, either from ignorance or malice, has been brought against her by her enemies. Not, indeed, that her adversaries had made her or her doctrine on morals the sole object of their attack. The Society has always had the proud honor of being able to point to her enemies as the enemies, not of the principle, for it often suited them, but of the faith which she labored to defend.

And so the late Rev. Dr. Littledale, of England, a man foremost among the modern slanderers of the Church, could not fail to single out as a special object of aspersion the immoral teaching of the Jesuits. In his article, entitled "Jesuits," in the "*Encyclopædia Britannica*," and again in his letter of November 18, 1887, to the

Pall Mall Gazette, he assures the world that "the justification of means by ends" is a recognized doctrine of Jesuit theologians. He kindly acknowledges, however, that this charge is very odious in itself, and that it, therefore, needs proof. Still, the only proof which he adduces to convict hundreds of Catholic theologians of immoral teaching, consists of three *garbled* quotations from three *German* Jesuits. Dr. Littledale gives what he asserts to be the words of these writers, but somehow he forgets to give any reference to book or chapter, thus rendering the verification of his charge exceedingly difficult, if not impossible. Fair-minded Protestants are not wanting, who, like the writer in the *Episcopalian Guardian*, protest against the methods used by their English brother, and roundly condemn "his pretentious, prophetic oracularity, his audacity of self-assertion, and the immodesty with which he contemptuously expresses himself," etc.—*The Guardian*, New York, February 19, 1881.

These are hard words, but we may add, they are now in vain, as far as Dr. L. is personally concerned. He has been summoned to give an account of the "means" which he used to reach his "end," and we should be willing to let his record sleep with him in the dust. But "the evil that men do lives after them" in more senses than the one intended by the great dramatist. The Doctor's slanderous article on the Jesuits springs into new life with every new edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica," and in a few days we shall encounter it again in a new and cheap edition just being published in New York. The Doctor's assertion, respecting the teaching of the Society, is used as a kind of sacred text with which certain writers and preachers are wont to drive home their argument. Hardly a month passes, without some one coming forward with the old charge and clinching it with the *quotations* given by Dr. Littledale, and, during the present season, no doubt, some indefatigable pastor will arouse his summer audience from its noon-day dream by again exposing the infamous teaching of that wicked body—the Jesuits.

What, then, is the teaching of the Society of Jesus on the morality of human actions? The Society teaches that the moral character, the lawfulness or unlawfulness of man's deliberate action depends on three principles: the *end* which man proposes to himself, the *object* to which his action of its own nature tends, and the *circumstances* that accompany and qualify it. If any one of these three principles be wrong, the action is not, and cannot be morally good. Hence, it is not the *end alone*, which a man proposes to himself that gives his action its morality. Nor is there a writer of the Society who holds, or ever held, such an absurd opinion. They adopt the common axiom: *Bonum ex integra causa*

malum ex quocumque defectu. An action is morally good when its entire moral cause (the whole plea) is good; it is bad when in that cause there is any defect.

The *object* to which a deliberate action of its own nature tends makes the action intrinsically bad, or good, or indifferent. Thus, blasphemy is intrinsically wrong, because its object—to dishonor God—is morally bad. Almsgiving is intrinsically good, because its object—to relieve one's neighbor in his distress—is morally good. Walking, writing, etc., are *indifferent* actions, because their object in itself is morally neither good nor bad.

An action which is *objectively* wrong is always unlawful; no end can justify it, no circumstance redeem it, nor can any power make it allowable. It is always forbidden because it is always bad. But the same cannot be said with regard to the lawfulness of an action which is intrinsically good. Because a man is never allowed to do what is wrong, it does not follow that he is always allowed to do what is *objectively* right. Thus, he is not allowed to do for an *evil* purpose even a thing which is in itself good. Moreover, there may be circumstances in which a man would be morally wrong in doing from an upright motive what otherwise is objectively good. To give an alms, for instance, in order to promote the glory of, God, is certainly an excellent work in itself, but to do so from another man's pocket is clearly unjustifiable. Again, it is admitted by every one that, for purposes of security or utility, human law may introduce some limitations of personal liberty. In this case, to do what is forbidden by the law is criminal and is morally wrong, simply because it is forbidden. Now, besides actions which in themselves are morally good or bad, there are actions which, by reason of their *object*, are morally neither good nor bad. Such actions as these depend for their moral character on the *circumstances* that qualify them, and on the *end* for which man performs them.

The *end* or *purpose* for which a man acts is some good to be attained; and that this good may be morally such, it must be according to right reason, and in no way opposed to any of the perfections found in God. The *end* is said to be the *chief* source from which the moral character of man's deliberate action is derived; for it is the *end* which immediately affects him as a rational being and directly moves him to act. Hence, in their treatises on "Human Acts," where the sources and fundamental principles of morality are laid down and vindicated, all the theologians of the Society teach that the right way of acting is first to know the *end* for which we act, and then ascertain what are the *lawful* means of reaching it. In this sense it may be properly said that "the end

determines the means," and that it is the end proposed by the agent that gives to his deliberate action its true moral character.

It seems clear, from what has already been stated, that the end or purpose for which one acts is not necessarily identical with the purpose or object *intrinsic* to the action. One man steals in order to pay his debts; another gives a munificent alms in order to gain notoriety. This *end*, which is *extrinsic* to the action, is the *end* of which there is question when it is asked: "Does the end justify the means?" The "end" is supposed to be morally good and the "means" to be morally bad, for they need to be "justified." The meaning of the question, therefore, under discussion is simply this: "Is an action, which is morally bad in itself or in its circumstances, made morally good by the moral goodness of the end which a man may propose to himself in acting?" How do the theologians of the Society answer this question? "They all answer it in the affirmative," replies Dr. Littledale; "this is the recognized doctrine of the Society." If so, the "recognized theologians" of the Society must teach it. No man of sense could call a doctrine "the recognized doctrine" of a Society if the authorized teachers of that body do not teach that doctrine. What, then, if they explicitly and emphatically reject it? Now this is exactly the case. Not to exceed the limits kindly allowed me by the editor, I will quote from only a few of the leading Jesuit theologians, but these few will represent the teaching of the Society in every part of the world.

The first witness will be Suarez, a Spaniard, for many years professor in the universities of Salamanca and Rome. "Although a man," he says, "chooses *evil* means for a *good* end, his choice is *evil* . . . the act of choosing does not receive its moral goodness from the *end* as existing in itself, but from the *choosing* or *ordering of means* to the end. And although the *end* in itself be good, still the employing of *bad* means for a *good* end is not good, nor is it conformable to reason; and on this account the act has no moral goodness."—*De bonitate et malitia actuum humanorum*. Disp. viii., Sec. 2, n. 26.

Cardinal Bellarmine, an Italian, is well known as perhaps the best controversial writer of the Society. In his "Dottrina Cristiana," he asks: Is it lawful to tell a lie for a good end? and answers: "No, for a lie being truly a sin, no reason or motive can justify it."—Dich. 8, Comm. Edit. Naples, 1862, p. 187. The great Belgian professor, Fr. Lessius, is not less explicit on this point. In his famous work "*De Jure et Justitia*," published in 1632, he puts down as a first principle, "What is in itself evil does not become lawful by the fact of its being referred to a good end."—l. ii., c. 9, d. 7.

Gury, a French Jesuit, whose work on moral theology has been for many years the standard text-book of the students of the Society, lays down the principle in almost the same words: "It is never lawful to do evil, no matter how trivial, in order to obtain a good, whatever that good may be. For according to the well-known axiom derived from the Apostle, 'evil is not to be done that there may come good.' Thus it would not be lawful for you to tell a lie in order to save the life of a man."—Comp. Theol. Moral, Gury-Ballerini, vol. i., c. 2, n. 9, Rome, 1874.

Layman, one of "the leading German theologians" of the Society, though quoted by Dr. Littledale as teaching the immoral doctrine, states in clear and express words "the recognized doctrine" of his Order: "The fact of a *good end* does not make good an action which is in itself evil, but leaves it simply and entirely so."—Theol. Moral, B. I., Treatise II., c. 9, n. 7. Before reaching the *fourth* treatise of Book the First, from which, as we shall see, Dr. Littledale quotes, Layman must have forgotten what he had laid down in the *second* treatise of the same book. Somebody blundered, Layman or Littledale? Which of the two it was, we shall see later on.

Lehmkuhl, the last but not the least of the German Jesuit moralists, states the same doctrine with his usual thoroughness and exactness.—Cf. *De Act. Humanis*, ch. iii., sec. 2, n. 4. Fr. Jones, of St. Beuno's College, England, who has spent many years of his life in teaching moral theology, and has a right to be heard for his authority, adds his evidence in the following words: "There is nothing more abhorrent or contrary to Catholic teaching and the opinions of theologians than that the end justifies the means, or that evil may be done for a good end."—Dishonest Criticism, Hodges, London, 1887, p. 51.

Nor is the doctrine of the Society in America in any way at variance with what is taught by the Society in the Old World. Father Sabetti, for the last seventeen years professor of moral theology in the Jesuit Seminary at Woodstock, Md., in his popular and scholarly abridgment of "Gury's Moral Theology," over and over again applies the principle, "It is never allowed to obtain an end, however good, by unlawful means."—Comp. Theol. Moral. Pustet, N. Y. *Editio altera*, pp. 6, 104, 132, etc. Father Hill of the Jesuit University of St. Louis, Missouri, in his "Moral Philosophy," has two very able articles (first and second of chapter iii.) on "the principles of moral goodness," and in both of them he repudiates the immoral maxim "advocated," according to Dr. Littledale, "as the recognized doctrine of the Society."

But if the theologians of the Society in Europe and America reject the odious maxim, perhaps Jesuit writers in far-off countries

consider themselves secure in spreading the baneful doctrine! To the above quotations, then, I may be allowed to add two more. One represents the teaching of the Society in China, the other in India. Fr. A. Sica, professor of moral theology in China, in his very interesting work "*Casus Conscientiæ*," written for the use of Chinese missionaries, and published in Zi-ka-Wei, 1881 (p. 12, Casus iii.), asks, "whether it would be lawful for a missionary to take away a child from its heathen parents in order to baptize it and have it brought up in the Christian faith?" He answers, that "this way of acting is unlawful, for it contains a clear act of injustice, and evil is not to be done for a good cause." He states the same principle again in Appendix II., Casus VI., p. 29.

Fr. T. A. Gallo, an Indian missionary and the author of a work on "Moral Theology," written for the use of his brethren in the Madura mission, solves many questions by applying the same principle, that "the end does *not* justify the means." Thus to the question whether it would be lawful for a man under the influence of sorcery (in which the demon is supposed to play a part), to make use of sorcery as a means to bring about his cure; Fr. Gallo answers in the negative, saying: "It is never allowed to do what is intrinsically bad."—*Suppetitiæ Evangelii Præconibus*, Rome, 1857. vol. ii., p. 142.

We have quoted sufficient authorities to show the rashness and utter falsehood of Dr. Littledale's statement in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," and have made it clear, we think, that the immoral doctrine contained in the maxim—"The end justifies the means," far from being "the recognized doctrine of the Jesuits," is everywhere rejected by the Society through her recognized theologians, and is never mentioned in any of their books except to be refuted.

We are almost forced into the belief that Dr. Littledale based his slanderous charge on no other foundation than the bitter prejudice he entertained against the Society, and doubtless against the Church whose theologians he attacked. However, to excuse him from a wilful violation of the commandment which says: "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor," we are bound to suppose that he had never read "the leading theologians of the Society." Of course he must have read at least Layman, Busembaum and Wagemann, the three theologians from whom he takes his quotations! But let us see how. He quotes Layman as saying: "*Cui concessus est finis concessa sunt media ad finem ordinata*"—"To whom the end is allowed, to him also are allowed the means *sui*ted to that end." After a careful examination of Layman's two volumes in folio, of the Wurzburg edition, 1748, we have found the only passage to which Dr. Littlefield could possibly have referred, and the text is *garbled* in the pretended quotation.

The words of Layman are: "Cui concessus est finis etiam media ad finem *necessaria* concessa sunt"—"To whom the end is allowed, to him also are allowed the means *necessary* for that end."—Treatise IV.; B. I, chap. 15, p. 102. Instead of the all-important word "*necessary*," Dr. Littledale by some slip of the pen has dropped in the word "*suited*." The word must have been "*suited*" to the end which the doctor had in view; and this defender of public morality was not slow to shape his conduct on a moral principle which he had just denounced as infamous. .

Unlawful means may be *suited* to attain a good end, but they are never *necessary* means to that end, and therefore they are never allowed. This is what Layman explicitly teaches in the passage quoted above. "The fact of being directed towards a good end," he says, "does not make good an action which is in itself evil, but leaves it simply and entirely evil . . . and therefore it would be sinful to tell a lie in order to help your neighbor, as it would be likewise wrong to steal from a rich man in order to give an alms to the poor." The principle so explicitly stated by Layman is sanctioned by every law, and taught by every moralist. Its meaning, as Father Jones very well says (l. c. p. 47), is that "each lawful end has assigned means for its attainment, and that these means are shown by right reason to be fitted to the end, and as such are lawful if they are honestly available." Let me give a practical application of this principle. It is allowed by all law, both human and divine, to repel under certain conditions force by force, nay to slay the assassin who unjustly seeks to take away our life. But one of the conditions required is that the killing of the assassin be a *necessary means* for self-preservation. Kent in his "Commentaries on American Law" (Part IV., Lecture 24), teaches that "homicide is justifiable in every case in which *it is rendered necessary* in self-defence against the person who comes to commit a known felony with force against one's person, etc. The right of self-defence in these cases is founded on the law of nature." Would Dr. Littledale or any sensible person charge our American Law, and in fact the law of every nation, nay the law of nature, with teaching that "the end justifies the means?" It is only as embodied in this case, that the principle is held by Layman and the other Jesuit theologians. Are the *necessary* means, which are allowed by nature or rather by the Author of nature for the attainment of a *lawful* end, *lawful* means or not? *A priori* such means must needs be lawful, and right reason shows them to be so. In the case proposed the *necessary* means, or the killing of an unjust aggressor, is not an act of injustice; for the assassin by the injustice of his aggression forfeits his right to immunity from the physical force employed to resist him.

Hence Busenbaum, another "leading theologian of the Society,"

quoted by Dr. Littledale as teaching the immoral doctrine, "*cui licitus est finis licita sunt media*," in the very place where the words quoted by the Doctor are found, is speaking of means which of their own nature are lawful, for he expressly declares that these means must be "free from violence and injustice" ("præcisa vi et injustitia.")—B. iv., c. 3, d. 7, a 2. Dr. Littledale gives only the sentence quoted above, leaving out the words which immediately precede and which explain the nature of the means allowed. Had the Doctor carefully read his Busembaum, he would have found that the Jesuit clearly disowns the immoral maxim, so unjustly imputed to him. Thus, in the explanation of the commandment, "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor," Busembaum proposes the question, "Whether it would be lawful, in order to avoid grievous torments, to accuse another of crime?" and he answers, by saying, "To do so, would be unlawful, if the accusation were false, for in that case your action would be a pernicious lie,"—B. iii., Tract vi., c. 1, or in other words: "It is not allowed to do evil that there may come good."

The words of Wagemann, in his "Synopsis Theol. Moralis," as quoted by the Doctor, "Finis determinat probitatem actus," "The end determines the goodness of an action," taken in their context, simply express the common doctrine of all theologians. Wagemann is speaking of actions which, of themselves, are *indifferent*, and such actions evidently depend for their moral goodness on the moral goodness of the *end* intended by man. In this sense, it may be said that "the end justifies the means." But, taken in this sense, no one ever called the principle in question.—Oeniponti, 1765, Edit. 2d, Pars 1st.

Dr. Littledale's dishonest methods are a fair instance of that nice morality which has characterized the efforts of our adversaries to establish this and similar charges against Catholic teaching. Wholly incapable of imagining, not to say comprehending, the perfect system of arrangement and the rigorous accuracy of language used by the schoolmen, these self-made champions of morality have fabricated charges which have not even the shadow of a basis to stand on. To give their accusations some show of plausibility, they have had to tamper with the text or grossly misrepresent the author's meaning. Sheer ignorance would be a poor palliation of such conduct, and the conviction is forced upon one that writers, like Dr. Littledale, make playthings of the minds of men. They trifle with human weakness and have recourse to the old device: "Cry it loud, my masters, and cry it often; there must always be some who cannot, and some who will not, investigate the truth of your assertions."

THE FORCE OF PRINCIPLES.

A PRINCIPLE may be widely taken to signify "that from which anything proceeds." It may be in the ontological, logical or moral order, speculative or practical. The force of principles, like every other force, is measured by its effects. In his argument with Callicles, Socrates hesitates not to use "*σιδήρεως καὶ ἀδαμαντίνους λόγους*" (iron and adamant words or reasons) to express the force with which his conclusions were bound to his principles. He intimates that not all the adroitness of all the Sophists could remove the conclusions, so long as the principles were allowed to stand.

This is what takes place in every formal syllogism. If the premises are admitted, the conclusion necessarily follows. Hence the importance, in every instance, of making sure of the principles before attempting to reason from them, and the error of those who would limit the domain of logic to mere forms of deduction. For since the end of logic is to direct the mind to the attainment of truth, he that sets out from uncertain or doubtful principles, must not expect to reach certainty in his conclusions. There may possibly be a true conclusion from a false principle, but only at the sacrifice of consistency in the process; just as, by like inconsistency, a person, starting from true principles, may arrive at false conclusions. But, in this case, the conclusion is not derived from the principles or premises. For falsity cannot be derived from truth, nor truth from falsity. "There is no good tree that bringeth forth evil fruit, nor an evil tree that bringeth forth good fruit."

Criteriaology, or that part of logic which treats of the sources and foundations of certainty, is of paramount importance to all who value truth more than the search after it. A less quantity of certain knowledge is worth far more than a large amount of uncertain or doubtful knowledge, if, indeed, this can be called knowledge at all.

Two very common mistakes must be avoided: (1) That of reasoning closely from uncertain data or principles, and then claiming certainty for the conclusion; (2) That of taking certain acknowledged facts, and from them undertaking to prove the existence of a certain principle, on the ground that if the principle were established, the facts would follow.

This latter is the most specious, and withal the most insidious, form that sophistry is wont to assume. If the principle, A, were established, the facts, B, C, D, would follow, or be accounted for.

But these facts are established ; therefore, the principle is also established. If all the different species of animals and vegetables were derived by evolution from one original form, with a constant tendency to improve upward, there would be found a close connection between them, and a very obvious family likeness between any two contiguous species. But there is a wonderful linking together in the whole chain of being from mere earth to the highest form of life, the highest members of a lower species coming very close to the lowest members of the next higher species, in regular gradation throughout the whole scale of created being. The evolutionist takes these facts as evidence of the truth of his system, of the superfluousness of a Creator, and the natural development of all varieties of things. St. Thomas finds in them proof of the magnificence and grandeur of creation, and the consequent surpassing bounty and riches and power and glory of the Creator.

Even if evolution were proved possible, which it is not and can not be, since no man could live thousands of years, to make the experiment, still it would require positive proof that it had done what is claimed for it, before reason could accept it. And this, even if there were no positive proof, as there is, of a direct creation to account for the existence and variety of things, but only of the possibility of a creation. Under this hypothesis we could only say that evolution is possible, but this we cannot actually say.

Another instance. If the metal, A, enters into the composition of the sun, it will give forth the phenomenon, B, as a sign of its presence. But the phenomenon, B, does appear; therefore, the metal, A, is one of the constituents of the sun. Here are two unwarranted assumptions: (1) That, from knowing the phenomenon produced by A, under experiment in our laboratory, we would know it also if A were acting naturally in the sun. For the conditions in the two cases may be very widely different—greater intensity of heat, etc.—which are past our finding out with any degree of accuracy at such an immense distance; (2) Even if we did know that the said phenomenon could be produced by the said metal in the sun, we should first have to know that no other constitution of the sun could produce that metal, ere we could reasonably affirm that B was produced by A. And this we cannot know, without our knowing more than any savant has yet known of the nature and origin and action of light.

The force of principles is not confined to true principles. False ones are just as uncompromising. Both have only to be followed with logical exactness, and the result in one case will as surely be falsity as it will be truth in the other. When Kant laid down the false principle that our ideas are wholly subjective; that they are *a priori* necessary forms of the mind, neither derived from nor rep-

representative of objective realities, he opened the door to all the vagaries of Fichte, Schelling and Hegel. For, having taught that "space is an *a priori* intuition, found in us antecedently to all perception of external objects and as the formal quality of the mind, in virtue of which we are affected by objects, or as to the form of external sensation in general,"¹ he enabled Fichte to reason logically from his master's principles to the conclusion that there is nothing in space but *ego*, who furnished the *ideas* of what *seemed* to be there. For, if Kant was right in maintaining that we must needs have the idea of space, though there is no such objective reality, why may it, must it, not be that we are necessitated to have the ideas of all the objects we think are in space, though, in truth, there are no such objects there? There is only the *ego*; all else are creations of the *ego* by thinking them—baseless fabrics of mental vision.

Hegel could go a step farther, on the strength of the same principles laid down by his teachers. For, if all that exists is the *ego*, and the necessary mental forms (ideas) of the *ego* are in perpetual change, like cloud-shadows chasing one another over hill and dale, how can we predicate the existence even of the *ego*? There is nothing definite; all is in endless flux, in *τὸ fieri*, a *becoming*, a stretching out toward the absolute, and that, too, is *ideal*. Hegel transcends transcendentalism itself when he maintains that being and not being, entity and nonentity, are identical, thus doing away with the principle of contradiction. It is impossible for the same thing to be and not to be at the same time.

Let us, however, give credit to whom credit is due, and award to Fichte and Hegel a heroic disregard of logical consistency, at the personal expense of remaining the ridicule of reasoning generations yet unborn. Kant stopped short in his deductions from his principles, when he turned to the practical or ethical side of life, and, to save an apparent consistency, he invented two reasons for man: one, theoretical; the other, practical, as though different faculties calculated the truth of a mathematical theorem and estimated the moral rectitude of an action! Contradictions are still the outcome of error, no matter how far the process is carried—contradiction with one's self or with the sound common sense of mankind.

Sir William Hamilton affords another instance of contradiction between a man's theorizing and his practice. For surely no one would think of charging him with not worshiping God, however far he was from the true religion; and yet strict adherence to his philosophic principles would preclude the possibility of such wor-

¹ See Ueberweg's *History of Philosophy*, vol. ii., p. 165.

ship. Teaching that the infinite, or unconditioned, as he preferred to call it, is unknowable, he taught that God is unknowable. But we cannot love what we cannot know, and we cannot worship what we cannot love. So that, to be consistent, he ought either to renounce his philosophy or abandon the worship of God.

This latter conclusion is just that which the more logical but atheistical Agnostics have reached, adding their own peculiar tenet (whence or how derived we will not stop to inquire), that this unknowable is a supreme force, an impersonal God. But an impersonal God is no God. Wanting intelligence, God would be less than the lowest of the human race, and to say that such a being could be a supreme anything is an insult to common sense, a mockery of reason. Supreme Force! Force cannot exist without something that has the force. This is atheism pure and simple, and it is unreasonable to look for wisdom or sound, consistent thought in an atheist.

Spinoza laid down for himself a false principle in his definition of substance, which he maintained is "that which is in itself and to be conceived by itself;" in other words it is that the concept of which does not require the concept of anything else. From this principle followed Pantheism, at once. Nor did Spinoza leave to his followers, as Kant and Sir William Hamilton did to theirs, to deduce in full measure the consequences virtually contained in his principle. They could hardly excel him in logical acumen or in courage to apply it to its utmost extent. His reasoning was straightforward with mathematical precision from falsity to falsity. His false definition could apply to only one substance, and that is God, the absolute and infinite Being. There is then no other substance than God. All the rest, all finite beings, all creatures, are but *modes* or *modifications* of the essential attributes of this one divine substance. God, as absolute cause of all being, is *natura naturans*. The two essential attributes of God are infinite extension and infinite thought.

But to speak of infinite extension is like speaking of an infinite finite. For extension belongs only to bodies. And no body can be infinite, since every body is made up of parts, and parts can be numbered, and no number can be infinite, for every number can be increased or diminished by unity.

But it is in religion especially that we see the force of principles. Luther laid down principles the full force of which are seen only in our own day. He was so given to contradictions that he spared not even himself. Inconsistency, one is tempted to exclaim, thy name is Luther! He maintained that "Holy Writ (the Bible) is the sole fountain-head, standard, and judge in matters of faith."¹

¹ "Credimus, confitemur, et docemus, unicam regulam et normam, ex qua omnia

He appealed to inerrable Scripture, and then put his own *private judgment* above the Scripture, admitting no other rule of its interpretation. He taught that each one's own private judgment in interpreting the Scripture is the rule of faith, and still continued to teach with authority, and that too after setting aside the authority established from the beginning of Christianity by the Founder of Christianity. *Faith alone*, he maintained, independently of good works, suffices for salvation; and because the Epistle of St. James contradicts this doctrine of Martin Luther, he called it "an epistle of straw." Woe to the passage of Scripture that does not harmonize with Luther's judgment! When it suited the exigency of his case he added to the Scripture with the same facility that he took from it.

But enough about the conflict of principles. Our object is to show their force. This is manifested by consistently following them to their logical conclusions. When Luther assigned to each one his own private judgment as the court of last appeal in interpreting the Scripture, and made Scripture the sole depository of the revealed word of God, he made all the *variations* set forth by Bossuet not only possible but perfectly legitimate. There was no need of King James's version, nor of the "Revised Edition." Each one had only to interpret the old edition with true Gospel liberty, keep as much as suited him, insert a word or two here and there to give the proper turn to what he chose to retain, and thus find light, and strength, and consolation in all his ways.

Luther himself was the first to demonstrate the force of his principle of *private judgment*, though he left it to his followers to show the ever-increasing intensity of that force. He says, speaking of the Pentateuch:

"We have no wish to see or hear Moses. Let us leave Moses to the Jews, to whom he was given as a *Mirror of Saxony*; he has nothing in common with Pagans and Christians, and we should take no notice of him. . . . Moses is the prince and exemplar of all executioners. In striking terror into the hearts of men, in inflicting torture, and in tyrannizing, he is without a rival."

If the principle of *private judgment* had thus at its birth force enough to throw Moses in the shade, we need not wonder at seeing it annihilate him in our own day and putting Darwin and Spencer in his place, substituting evolution for creation. Even Ingersoll is only a little more daring than Luther, in that he blasphemously attributes to the Creator the tyranny and cruelty attributed by Luther to His accredited representative.

dogmata, omnesque doctores judicare oporteat, nullam omnino aliam esse, quam prophetica, et Apostolica, tum veteris tum novi Testamenti Scripta."—*Solid. Declar.* p. 605.

Luther says of Ecclesiastes: "This book should be more complete; it is mutilated; it is like a cavalier riding without boots or spurs; just as I used to do while I was still a monk." He calls the Book of Judith "a tragedy;" Tobias "a comedy" containing "many amusing and silly stories." He thinks the author of Ecclesiasticus "is not a prophet, and knows simply nothing of Christ;" and in this style judges the Second Macchabees: "I have," says Luther, "so great an aversion to this book and that of Esther, that I almost wish they did not exist; they are full of observances which are characteristically Jewish and Pagan abominations." Of the Gospels he says "that of St. John is the only sympathetic, the only true Gospel." He declares that "the Epistles of St. Peter and St. Paul are superior to the first three Gospels." In the Epistle to the Hebrews he finds "bits of wood, hay, and straw," and in that of St. James "absolutely nothing to remind one of the style of the Gospel." He declares that "there are many things objectionable in this book" (the Apocalypse), that "every one may form his own judgment of this book; as for myself, I feel an aversion to it, and to me this is a sufficient reason for rejecting it." (See "Alzog's Church History," vol. iii., p. 39, Translation.)

Thus far ventured Luther's private judgment in Biblical exegesis. "Friends of Enlightenment" followed, and in the name of philology, historical criticism, and rationalism, demonstrated anew the force of this principle by carrying it to farther conclusions. David Strauss pronounced the historical narrative of the New Testament a collection of *myths*. In his "Christology" he coincides with Philo the Jew in representing Christ and the *Logos* as mankind. A party known as *Young Germany*, following their private judgment, adopted pantheism, rejected the spirituality of Christianity, and advocated the complete emancipation of the passions from all restraint. Another school of the disciples of Hegel, by reason of the same principle, asserted that "the office of the Protestant Church was to destroy faith in the Christianity of the Gospel; that Luther was the forerunner of Hegel, who was immeasurably the superior of the Great Reformer; and that Protestantism, discarding methods of moral discipline and in alliance with *science and culture*, could continue to exist without the Bible, which is, after all, only a bundle of grotesque errors of every sort, sometimes affecting the most vital questions, and should, therefore, be cast aside as antiquated and misleading."¹

Dr. Paulus's private judgment led him to explain away all miracles. All the known rules of hermeneutics were condensed

¹ See Alzog's *Church History*: Translation by Pabisch & Byrne; vol. iii., p. 974.

into Semler's "absolute freedom in the interpretation of Holy Scriptures." Ritter von Bunsen's private judgment had force enough to subordinate the "reinstated higher criticism," and his wealth of philological learning was equal to the herculean task of harmonizing Biblical facts with modern ideas. Ullman's private judgment went in for a *compromise* between the conflicting parties, schools, and sects; a heroic undertaking, indeed. But the private judgment of Schwarz broke down Ullman's exegetics completely, designating his system as "a dishonest super-rationalism," and its advocates eclectics, "destitute alike of ability and courage to form a new school," and, while accepting the general principle of miracles, still getting rid of them one by one in detail.

Neander's private judgment gave birth to his *Pectoral Theology* (*Pectus est quod theologum facit*), to a reply to Strauss, in which he professed to believe while he freely criticised, and to his *History of the Church*, in which supernatural facts are treated as so many anecdotes. Rothe's private judgment gave special prominence to the theory of "Unconscious Christianity." The private judgment of Baur found out that the books of the New Testament were only a part of the popular literature of the 1st and 2d centuries, and that "Christianity is a religion of purely human origin." Schenkel's private judgment "declared that the Protestant Church has no need of *priests*, that the *church of the people*, as at present constituted, recognizes no distinction between clergymen and laymen;" while the private judgment of the Ritualists asserts the distinction at least of splendid vestments and other outward adornments. Explaining the miracle at the wedding of Cana, Schenkel said that "Jesus, by the influence of his presence, changed the water of trivial and ordinary conversation *into the wine of elevated and glowing speech*."

Private judgment went on with irresistible force till Claus Harms could say, "I could write on the nail of my thumb all the positive doctrines that are still believed." He invoked Luther's vengeance on those whose private judgment favored the *alliance* proposed by the *public* judgment of Prussia *between the Lutheran and Reformed Churches*. "Beware," said he, "of consummating this contract over the tomb where repose the bones of Luther. If you do, he may come to life again, and then woe to you." It appears, however that Luther did not reappear.

A new school was now issuing from private judgment, whose aim was stated to be "a return from Rationalism to primitive orthodox theology, a going out from the desert of liberal philosophy into the promised land of the Reformation."¹ The exodus had

¹ *Alzog*, vol. iii., p. 982.

² *Alzog*, "Universal Church History" (translation), vol. iii., p. 985.

hardly begun, however, when another private judgment, Pharaoh-like, started after them an opposition "orthodox" party, known as the *Neo-orthodox* school, which advocated, above and before all, a *State religion and a State theology*. They were rightly called Neo-Lutherans, for their private judgments were renewed with every new ruler. Hengstenberg took a leading part in this school, and branded as a true heretic every one whose private judgment differed from his own, thus disowning the fundamental principle of orthodox Protestantism. To complete the Prussian Evangelical Union, he taught that the "difference between the teachings of Luther and those of Calvin on the Lord's Supper are of no consequence; a confession of faith and theology is always sure to bring its own punishment. . . . What God has joined ought not to be put asunder."¹

Baumgarten's private judgment, in the name of a newer school, demanded that "*modern theology* should be subjected to fewer restraints, and that there should be a more unfettered application of the fundamental Protestant principle of *free inquiry*." Baumgarten had been a disciple of Hengstenberg, but had gone over to Hofmann, of whom Hengstenberg says: "This man, with a hardihood quite unusual among theologians, has dared to raise doubts concerning the authenticity, credibility, and inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, and to assail the Lutheran doctrine of the Trinity and the Last Supper. If one like him, who, smarting under disappointment, has gathered from the refuse of Rationalism what he fancied to be sound doctrine, can make converts *among us*, then is our cause certainly hopeless."²

This summary view of the workings of private judgment in the land of its birth, may serve to show the force of principles in general. We could point to like results, from the same principle, in Denmark, Sweden, Holland, and other countries, producing a Renan in France, a Colenso in England; now a broad church, and then a narrow church; at one time anathematizing the Mass as damnable idolatry, again mimicking all its externals, and, from adopting a certain style of adornment, calling itself "Catholic." But we must look nearer home.

The most truly Protestant of all the private judgments, thus far delivered, is undoubtedly that given in the form of "A Protest against Dogma," by Amos K. Fiske, in the March number of the *Forum*. He is anxious about the temple of religious faith, thinks it "too valuable a thing to the human race to be allowed to get so out of plumb as to be in danger of collapse, and it behooves its guardians to find out whether it rests on rotting piles or on the

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 987.

² *Ibid.*, p. 988.

eternal rock." This is sensible, especially in view of the divine promise, "Seek and you shall find," and the fact that the rock-built Church is luminous with four conspicuous and unmistakable marks—Unity, Catholicity, Sanctity, and Apostolicity.

Speaking of the danger to the Christian Church at the present day, "from the batteries of relentless questioning," Mr. Fiske says: "The assailants of the Church have contended that it rests upon creeds and dogmas as its sole foundation, and when these are battered down it must collapse"; he then asks: "But are not the real foundations deeper and more solid, and as enduring as the qualities and needs of humanity; and have not creeds and dogmas been the embankments and props accumulated for support in ages of imperfect knowledge and prevailing superstition? May not the modern revelations of science and reason show these to be unnecessary, and by clearing away the *débris* of a dark past, leave the fabric of a religion and a Church firmly resting on the original corner-stone, but with foundations broadened and solidified so as to be unassailable, and a superstructure in harmony with the intellectual progress of the race in these times?"

Here surely is a case to test the strength of private judgment. Sampson could shake the massive pillars to their fall, Milo of Crotona, they tell us, held up the roof when the tottering columns gave way, till Pythagoras and his disciples had time to escape; but now private judgment, more powerful than either, intends to uphold the "temple of religious faith" by removing its foundations,— "creeds and dogmas." The protester puts there something "deeper and more solid." What is this something? Private judgment, free opinion, of course. If creeds and dogmas are gone, there can be nothing else. This alone can be "as enduring as the qualities and needs of humanity." For is not one of these qualities freedom? And what is so free as private judgment—every man to think as he likes, and, of course, to speak and to act as he likes. What is so "unassailable?" If there is nothing left to assail but private judgment, it can be assailed by nothing else than private judgment; so that whichever side prevails, victory is sure to be on the side of private judgment. And what again is more "in harmony with the intellectual progress of the race in these times?" For is not private judgment wiser than divine revelation, more infallible than inspiration, more orthodox than the Apostles, more authoritative than all the Fathers, Doctors, Councils and Popes together? If private judgment is greater than all else, and "the race in these times" having emerged from "a dark past," is the greatest in advancement that has yet been, how can these two not be in the greatest harmony? This "Protest against Dogma" is therefore the greatest achievement yet made by Protestantism. Indeed, it

is impossible to surpass it. For there is nothing positive left to protest against. What remains is a blank negation. But a total negation is a total nothing, a nonentity. Therefore, there is nothing left of Protestantism by this protest. It is annihilated. It has completed the suicide long ago begun.

What is a church without dogma? There is nothing in it to teach, and consequently nothing to learn. With nothing to teach there can be no teachers; without teachers there can be no learners. A church without either teachers or learners, neither *docens* nor *discens*, is the newest, and therefore the most progressive thing yet devised; worthy of the "intellectual progress of the race in these times"; and worthy, too, of the principle to which it is due—private judgment. Every one in this church is perfect, for he cannot be taught, there being no dogma to teach him, and of course he has no need to be taught, and therefore is perfect.

What is a church without a creed? No one believes, for there is nothing to believe. If there is nothing to believe, there is no faith. Hence all must be seen, since "Faith is the evidence of things that appear not." If all is seen there is no hereafter, no heaven, no hell, no angel, no devil, no God. If there is only the present, then let the present be enjoyed. Let everybody think as he likes, speak as he likes, act as he likes. What *each one judges best is best*. Who grasps most of present enjoyments and present gratifications is wisest, happiest, best. Behold the *millennium* of private judgment!

Nor is this a vain conceit of the writer of "A Protest Against Dogma"; he seems to think that he has more than sufficient reason for anticipating its immediate advent. "Is it not a noticeable sign," he asks, "that intellectual and educated ministers have almost ceased to preach the doctrines of their theology?" And he subjoins the reason: "That is partly because they have ceased to believe them, and more, perhaps, because they know that intelligent and educated people in the pews do not believe them."

A curious question suggests itself here. Did unbelief in the pulpit produce unbelief in the pews, or did it work its way from pews to pulpit? Or did it originate simultaneously in both? The answer is left to each one's private judgment. Perhaps it is better to "judge not before the time." One thing seems certain, that the preaching of doctrines (dogmas) has ceased, because they are no longer believed either by preachers or hearers that are "intelligent and educated."

Here is another revelation. "We see ministers of the Gospel who cannot resist the influence of modern thought, retaining their places by steering clear of dogmatic avowals, and cherishing views which they dare not announce publicly." Heroic courage! "They

take the safe course of preaching a lofty morality and indulging in fine speculations upon human destiny." Consummate prudence! "But the incubus of creed is upon them and upon their congregations." How opportune this "Protest Against Dogma!" "Intelligent men compromise with conscience by acquiescing, for the sake of the good associations and good influences of the Church, in what they do not believe." How extremely conscientious they are! "Men of strong sense and good consciences admit that they adhere to the Church, not because they accept its dogmas, but for the sake of its good influences upon their families and society."

How can there be conscience, it may be asked, where there is no dogma? If private judgment is always right, and if it be true that "many men are of many minds," there can be no standard, and consequently no conscience. What is right to-day may be wrong to-morrow; nay, may be wrong to-day even. For A's private judgment may make something right, B's may make the same thing wrong, while C's may make it neither right nor wrong, but indifferent. Hence the same thing can be both right and wrong at once, and at the same time neither right nor wrong. This is the logical outcome of private judgment. Behold the *force of principle!*
Q. E. D.

"Does it not cultivate," asks Mr. Fiske, "an insidious hypocrisy in pulpit and pew, which is fatal to a genuine zeal for the elevation of mankind—the great work of any vital religion, and in particular the work to which the Christian Church professes to be dedicated?" Answer. It does. And the sooner Protestantism goes the full length of the "protest against dogma," and professes unbelief or infidelity, the more honest it will be and the more consistent with its principle of private judgment.

A further revelation from this "protester against dogma," is that "Satan and his angels, who were imported from the mythology of Persia, have been banished to the same limbo with Zeus and the lesser Olympian gods. As common sense, armed with the shafts of science and reason, dispels the mists of superstition (creeds and dogmas), the myths and marvels with which it was peopled by the imagination vanish forever." This means that when unbelief and private judgment have taken the place of "creeds and dogmas," the miracles and prophecies on which faith is founded will also disappear.

"Why should the theology of an enlightened age insist upon a belief in them?" Here we may ask: "Why should such impious disbelief be called theology? If there is no dogma, no creed, nothing to be believed, nothing to be taught, it ought to be called *atheology*, or *mythology*, or perhaps better still, *idiosyncrasology*. It was once said: "Do not believe the word of God, disobey Him,

and you shall be enlightened." Then it was: "Be enlightened, and you shall disobey, and shall cease to believe." Now it is (all in the present tense, *progressive* form): "We are enlightened, we are disobeying, disbelieving."

As a proof of this, take the following: "But it may be that Christian dogma in its prevailing forms owes little to the so-called revelations of the Hebrew Scriptures. It owes even less to the marvellous teacher of Nazareth." Mr. Fiske must mean by "prevailing forms" the more advanced of the various Protestant forms; and for anything we know to the contrary, the statement may be correct. But this only shows in a still stronger light the *force of principle*. For as private judgment began by denying the authority of the Vicar of Christ it must, if true to itself, end by denying Christ Himself. If Christ's word is unreliable in one instance, it must be so in every instance. If "He that heareth you heareth me," addressed to the Apostles and their successors, is worth nothing, no word of Christ is worth anything. But denying Christ is denying God; therefore, we have now to deal with *atheology*. If the supernatural is denied, Christ is denied. For Christ is essentially supernatural. His assuming human nature, the hypostatic union, His conception and birth of a Virgin, His curing the sick, raising the dead, are all miraculous, that is, above the power of all created natures. If everything that is miraculous is superstitious, and everything that is old incredible, then, indeed, is the era of atheism already here.

Christian dogma owing little or nothing to Christ? O absurdity! Why call it Christian, then? In the name of common sense, you contradict the common consent of mankind for the last nineteen centuries. And this consent is an evidence of truth, as Seneca says: *Apud nos veritatis argumentum est, aliquid omnibus videri.*" Call it at once by its right name, anti-Christian audacity.

"But the doctrine," we are told, "that what has been called the 'divine record' is inspired, is not of the substance of a genuine religious faith. Belief in the miraculous is by no means necessary to a devout state of mind." Good for private judgment! But if the "divine record" is not inspired, it is not the word of God, not divine, and the last Protestant contradicts the first. For Luther said that all of the divine record that did not contradict him was inspired. And each follower of Luther thus far has held that what his private judgment allowed to remain was certainly inspired. But now we have it from Mr. Fiske that none of it is inspired, or rather that it "is not of the substance of genuine religious faith" to hold that it is inspired. It is a mere accident then, at most. But no; for if religious faith can be genuine while resting on a human record (and it must be human, if not divine),

then would the accident that it was divine, coming to or affecting the genuine religious faith, destroy its substance or essence, by making it at once divine and human, which it cannot be. It is essential to genuine religious faith, therefore, that it rest not on a divine record. God must have nothing to do with it, even if He does exist, which existence private judgment has yet to accord Him.

Just think of it. Human reason to have a religion imposed upon it! one not of its own choosing! As though enlightened and educated men did not know how much and what to believe, or whether they should or should not believe at all? Are we going back to the *dark ages*? A "devout state of mind" has no need to believe in Christianity, for "belief in the miraculous" is by no means necessary to that state, and Christianity is built upon the miraculous. A devout state of mind can exist, then, without Christianity. But Christ says: "He that is not with me is against me." Therefore, an anti-Christian may be a devout man. But there is only one God, and Christ is God; therefore, an atheist may be a devout man.

But this is not all. Private judgment, instinct with progressiveness, becomes at length evolutionist. It says: "Is it not plain that religious development and adjustment have ever been the product of human need, and of human effort to supply that need? Like government and social relations, in which the spiritual instinct has worked its way toward the light?" How far-reaching this wonderful law of evolution is! But the principle of private judgment reaches still farther. It comprehends all things, and is itself comprehended by nothing. Intellectuality and morality being evolved from lower forms of life, and life in turn from inorganic elements, religion must of course come next by necessary development. From far down in mere matter the "spiritual instinct has worked its way toward the light," and, under the influence of necessary progress, has been steadily advancing from light to light, from lesser to greater, till to-day it stands revealed in all the effulgence of noonday brightness.

And now comes the last trumpet-blast to perfect reform. "Has not the time come when that branch of the Christian Church that derived its life from the right to think and to protest, should cast off the shackles of creed?" Certainly it has. No minimizing. Have the courage of your principle, private judgment; carry it to its legitimate conclusion. Separate Protestantism *toto cælo* from the Church of Rome which "is built upon superstition and still finds support in it," that is, in dogma and creed.

Attention! reader. The following is not a quotation from Bossuet; it is the utterance of Mr. Fiske. "Their variety (doctrines

and creeds) and the changes they have undergone are evidence of error, not of truth. Truth is one, and as men approach it they draw together, not apart. The division of the Protestant Church into many sects is conclusive evidence that the inharmonious dogmas that have been wrought into the fabric of theological belief are not of the original and enduring substance of the teaching of Jesus. They are but variations of human error, determined by the state of knowledge and of thought in which they were conceived, by men seeking sincerely and devoutly for the truth."

Magna est veritas et prevalebit! But there are two ways to unity, one by all believing the same revealed truths, the other by all rejecting them. At which of these unities our Protester is aiming can be doubtful to none. He is a true Hegelian. For Hegel taught that to be and not to be, entity and nonentity, are identical, since both are absolutely indeterminate, and things that are equal to the same, are equal to each other. Thus this transcendent genius used one axiom to destroy another, that of Identity against that of Contradiction. But Mr. Fiske is equally clever. All who believe the same revealed truths are so far one, all who believe none of them are also one. But unity is the end to be reached, the *sum-mum bonum*, and the easiest way to the end is the best, and the best means should be adopted. Unbelief is easier than belief; therefore unbelief must be adopted.

Now he waxes eloquent, touching off some rounded sentences with: "But through all this fabric of man-made theologies, strikes the light of scientific and critical research, of knowledge and reason, in these waning days of the nineteenth century; and behind the flaming torch of enlightened thought follows the plain daylight of common sense, dispersing the owls and bats of ancient superstition, the spectres and hobgoblins of a distorted faith."

We cannot look too closely at this, because of its excessive light. It either finds or makes bats and owls wherever it strikes. It is a flaming, two-edged sword. It is more effective than the *sistrum* of Isis. Here is a specimen of his exegetics: "'Believe in me and ye shall be saved' calls for no faith in doctrines of inspiration, of future rewards and punishment, of miraculous birth and death, of vicarious atonement, or in any of the other mystic dogmas that have been erected into an incongruous congeries of ecclesiastical systems."

This means that we are to believe in Jesus Christ, but not to believe His words: "Come ye blessed of My Father, possess the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world"; for that kingdom is a future reward. Nor those other words of his: "Depart from me ye cursed into everlasting fire, which was pre-

pared for the devil and his angels"; for this is a future punishment. "Ye shall be saved" does not imply a future world then, but only has reference to this. But how or from what are believers in Jesus Christ to be saved here in this life? From death? No; all must die. From sickness, infirmity, disappointment, sorrow? No; these are some of the many ills which all flesh is heir to. Surely such a *saving* is not worth doing anything for, let alone believing in; nor with such a faith is "life worth living."

"What, then, is it (the world) to do?" asks Mr. Fiske. He answers: "The changing and revision of creeds is a perplexing task." *Credo*. "But there is no occasion for undertaking it." *Credo*. "The world does not want new creeds devised by fallible men to stem the tide of progress." *Credo*. Let them come into the old infallible Church. "Let the church of universal humanity, built up through the ages with the materials that each age afforded, open wide its doors to all who seek the true and the good, who wish to promote right conduct in themselves and others, and who desire to co-operate for the elevation and improvement of mankind, and let no test for membership be required except the ordinary evidences of good faith." Avaunt! deceiver, impostor, Private Judgment! There is no church of universal humanity, no church of any creature, but only the Church of the living God. "Who seek the true and the good!" There is no true, no good, without the supernatural, and this you have denied. "Promote right conduct in themselves and others!" There is no right conduct away from the eternal standard of all rectitude, the will of the Almighty, whose commands you set aside as a tablet of myths, a fiction. "Co-operate for the elevation and improvement of mankind!" There is no elevation for mankind without the Divine Elevator, who came down to us through His assumed humanity, that He might elevate us to assuming his Divinity. But this union of a divine and a human nature in the one Divine person of Jesus Christ you deny by denying the supernatural and the miraculous. You improve not mankind; you degrade them, you sink them below the level of the brute. Man was created for a supernatural end. If he tends to that end through the supernatural means of grace afforded him, he is far above the level of mere nature. If he refuses to accept the proffered means, he turns his back on his exalted destiny, and through his perversity sinks below the natural level of rational nature, even below the brutes. He is more cruel and vindictive than they, more vicious and depraved in proportion as he is more enlightened and intelligent, if he tends not to his end by virtue.

If one of two contradictory principles is false, the other must be true. Private judgment in matters of religion has been weighed

and found wanting, has scattered destruction all along its course. Authority, therefore, legitimate authority, is the only true and safe rule to guide us in religion. As there is no legitimate power but from God, so there is no authority that does not rest on Him. As He is the first principle of all things by creation, so is He the regulator of all things by His providence. His law is the rule for every free will that He has created. It belongs to the sovereign Lord to say how He is to be served, to the final end to determine the means to come to Him, to God to establish religion. He Himself came on earth to establish it, and built His Church up on the Rock to perpetuate it. He placed rulers over this spiritual kingdom, and one supreme head over all, His own vicar on earth. He gave them His own power, and to His vicar, infallibility. He made it obligatory on all to hear these rulers of His Church and to follow their guidance, saying: "If any man will not hear the Church, let him be unto thee as a heathen and a publican." What more reasonable than to submit reason to Truth Itself, the Author of reason? If He makes use of parents in giving us immortal souls and our present life, may He not make use of men, spiritual fathers, in giving us the life of His life, His grace here and eternal happiness with Himself hereafter? If we believe a truthful man, why shall we not believe the Infinite Truth, Infinite Perfection? We have His word for it, that in believing what the Church teaches, we believe what He teaches; in obeying her, we obey Him: "He that heareth you heareth Me"; and "Without faith it is impossible to please God."

Behold the force of principle! The principle of authority in religion is strong by the strength of God, stronger than heaven and earth; for it rests on the words of the eternal Word, Who said: "Heaven and earth will pass away, but My words shall not pass away." It is stronger than any human power. In the minds and hearts of the early Christians it baffled the whole force of the Roman Empire, put forth in ten bloody persecutions. It triumphed over tortures and death itself thirteen million of times in the holy martyrs. It rendered delicate virgins and tender boyhood superior to the rage of tyrants and the mockeries, threats and wiles of the impious. It towered aloft in the genius of St. Augustine, and brought down his eagle mind to affirm: "I would not believe the Gospel, but for the authority of the Catholic Church." It sounded the depths of philosophy in the Angelic Doctor, and gathered treasures of knowledge from every field of scientific research down through the ages. Those who followed this principle could say: "Credidi, propter quod locutus sum!" In matters of religion, in the supernatural, they held that they should believe in order to know, not know in order to believe. St. Thomas could say to

apparent science: "Science, you are false; for you contradict what is absolutely true, the revealed word of God as interpreted by the infallible Church of God, and no two truths can contradict each other, since truth is that which is, and if it is it is, and cannot not be. I must therefore search for the natural truth of science in another direction. Now I have found what I sought! This contradicts no known truth, and besides approves itself perfectly to reason."

How much unnecessary and fruitless labor is spared to that great intellect by constantly following the principle of authority! Only he who has tried to read understandingly the works of St. Thomas can appreciate the force of his guiding principle, which enabled him to accomplish such prodigies within the very moderate span of life allotted him, forty-eight years.

THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

IN the October number of the *QUARTERLY* a brief sketch was given of the recent persecutions of the Uniat Greek Catholics of Lithuania. It is now proposed to say a few words respecting the condition of the Latin Catholics in the Russian dominions, who are still officially recognized as Catholics. They form a large body, numbering from eight to nine millions, and including the most highly civilized portion of the subjects of the empire. Nominally they are guaranteed the free exercise of their religion, but in practice the rule to which they are subject is very much like the English penal code of the last century in Ireland. The government removes their bishops and priests at its will, and in the same manner forbids the appointment of successors to vacancies among the clergy. It closes churches, suppresses convents, and even in certain cases forbids the administration of the sacraments without police permission. The comparative isolation of Russia from the other nations of the civilized world keeps the condition of its Catholic subjects almost unknown abroad. What the toleration really is which Russian absolutism grants to the Catholic Church we shall endeavor to convey to our readers.

The great bulk of the Catholic population in Russia is Polish,

or of Polish origin. Poland holds in the Russian Empire, in a religious aspect, a place similar to that which Ireland holds in the British. In each case a conquered nation has retained its religion, while its conquerors have allowed their original Christianity to be made subservient to the commands of their rulers. In Russia the divergence of the State Church from its Catholic original is much less than in England. It bears a close resemblance to the English schism as set up by Henry VIII. The most important Catholic doctrines and rites have been retained. The sacrifice of the Mass, the administration of the Sacraments, the invocation of the Blessed Virgin and the saints, prayers for the dead, the practice of fasting, and most other Catholic practices are retained in the Russian schismatic Church to-day. In one point it is in agreement with the Anglican Established Church, and that is in acknowledging the sovereign as the supreme religious guide and teacher of his subjects. The State religion is what it pleases the Czar to make it by law. Under it individual freedom of conscience finds no place. Indeed, the rejection of the supreme headship of the Church in the Sovereign Pontiff is the chief distinctive doctrine of the Russian schism. A large number of practices, indifferent in themselves, have been given an extravagant importance in the schismatic Church to make a distinction in the eyes of the common people between the religion of the Czar and that of the Catholic Church. Thus the use of organs or of statues in the churches is prohibited, though pictures, enclosed in copper raised outlines, are everywhere used. The Russians pray standing, and only prostrate themselves on the ground at intervals during the celebration of the Mass and public prayers. Any deviation from these established usages is regarded as little, if at all, short of heresy. Thus the Czar, Ivan the Terrible, who was contemporary with the English Elizabeth, proclaimed it a mortal sin to shave the beard as a disfigurement of God's image in man. His successor, Peter, the Great, on the other hand, ordered all his lay subjects to shave their beards under the penalty of high treason. In general, the ruling principle of the schism in Russia is that the monarch has the sole right to prescribe what his subjects shall believe and how they shall act. It is regarded as treason for a Russian subject to abandon the State Church, or to receive the sacraments otherwise than as prescribed by law. The Russians who have become Catholics, like Madame Swetchine or our own Prince Galitzin, have had to abandon their country at once. Residents in Russia, whether foreigners or subjects, who have never belonged to the State Church, are allowed by law to practice their own religion, but no liberty of conscience whatever is allowed to the old Russians. The Catholics in Russia are, therefore, entirely made up of the inhabitants of provinces

conquered by or annexed to the Empire during the last century, or of colonists who have settled within its limits. The German colonies, which were founded in the rich prairies of Southern Russia after the conquest of the Crimean Tartars by Catherine II., are the largest body of these Catholic immigrants, and a diocese has been founded for them at Saratof in that country. Foreign settlers have also been long established in the great cities, and some of them have occupied high administrative offices and positions at Court. Thus the Governor of Poland, in 1862, was a Catholic of French descent, General Lambert, and a son of Prince Beauharnais, the stepson of Napoleon I., was married to a Russian archduchess, and held a high rank at the Imperial Court. The great mass of the Catholic population is, however, made up of the Poles and Lithuanians, who have steadily retained their faith since the conquest of their native land and its incorporation into the Russian Empire.

The original Polish State, or Republic of Poland as it was styled by its people, consisted of two great divisions—Poland proper, to the west, and Lithuania, with its dependent provinces of Podolia, Volhynia, and the Ukraine, on the east—reaching from the Baltic Sea to the borders of Turkey. Originally distinct, Poland and Lithuania had been united under one government by the marriage in the 14th century of the Polish Queen Hedwig with the Lithuanian Grand Prince Jagellon, who became sovereign of the united countries, and the real founder of modern Poland. The Lithuanians, who were less civilized, adopted Polish manners and language, and the union of the two countries became as close as that of Castile and Aragon in the Spain of our own time. At the time of the partitions of Poland between Russia, Prussia and Austria, the Lithuanian territory was first seized by Catharine. Warsaw itself, at first fell to the share of Prussia, from whose king it was taken by Napoleon after the battle of Jena. The territory thus taken was erected by Napoleon into an independent state, under the title of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, the sovereignty of which was conferred on the king of Saxony, but which had its own national administration and army. On the downfall of Napoleon the Congress of Vienna regulated Europe according to its own will. The Grand Duchy was transferred to Alexander of Russia as a separate and constitutional state, under the name of Kingdom of Poland, while the Lithuanian provinces were incorporated into the Russian empire under the name of Polish provinces. They were also guaranteed a separate administration within the empire, but with no constitution like that given to the kingdom. Nicholas, in 1832, swept away the constitution of Poland, and, though its separate existence is still recognized, its government has

since been ever more and more assimilated to that of the Russian provinces. It still retains, however, the superiority which its old civilization gives it among the half-barbarous populations of the empire. The literature of the kingdom of Poland, with its seven millions of people, is to-day greater than that of the whole of Russia besides. In manufactures it also leads the way, and under the ordinary course of events its population would seem to be called at no distant date to an important part in the direction of the Russian empire.

The Catholics of Polish race, however, are not confined to the former Polish territory. There is a considerable movement always going on among the population of the Russian empire, something analogous to that which has filled up our own Western States during the last half century. The rich plains of southern Russia, which were only annexed to the empire by Catharine the Second, offered, and still offer, strong temptations to immigrants from all parts of the empire. Among these many Polish families have removed to the new settlements and founded villages, while others have passed into Asia and are scattered all over the frontiers of the empire, much in the same way as Irish Catholics are in India and the British colonies. The Polish nation, in spite of its misfortunes, is growing in numbers and permeating the empire, and, like the Irish, it carries its religion with it. The Russian government puts every obstacle in its way, as the English did in the case of the Irish emigrants before Catholic Emancipation, but still the Polish element continues to increase. It is a significant fact that, some time ago, several of the most violent Russian leaders urged that the Polish provinces should be separated from Russia by a line of custom houses, as their competition was ruining Russian manufacturers. The proposition was not adopted, but it indicates the growth of Poland even under the restrictions imposed on it by a hostile and despotic government.

To understand the attitude of the Imperial Government towards its Catholic subjects is difficult for any one not familiar with Russian life and ideas. The Czar and his ministers make no pretence to special religious zeal against Catholic doctrines. They do not declare them "damnable and idolatrous," as English statesmen were used to do; nor do they regard the Pope as Antichrist, or refuse to hold any communication with the Roman See. In words, the Russian Government is respectful towards the Catholic Church and its head. With occasional interruptions, diplomatic relations are maintained with the Holy See, and different Czars have testified a high personal respect for the reigning Pontiffs. At the same time, no scruple is made of closing Catholic churches, of suppressing seminaries and convents, of banishing bishops from

their dioceses, of forbidding communication on religious matters between its Catholic subjects and the Head of their Church, of intruding nominees of the Czar into the place of Catholic bishops and priests, and of prohibiting the administration of the sacraments, and even of religious instruction, by the clergy at the will of the Czar. The emperor claims the right of deciding who are Catholics and who are not, irrespective of the convictions and free will of his subjects. He proclaims the fullest toleration for all creeds, subject to the laws of the empire, but he reserves to himself absolutely the making of the laws. Are Catholic churches open in St. Petersburg and Warsaw; are Catholic bishops treated as important personages by the governors of provinces; are Catholics employed in high offices of the army, the administration, and the court; the government declares that its tolerance is universal and known to all the world. Is a Catholic population driven by soldiers to a schismatic church, or a Catholic banished for confessing to a Catholic priest, or having his child baptized by one,—that is declared to be a purely political act of the administration. Genuine freedom of conscience is, in fact, impossible under the existing form of government in Russia. The monarch claims absolute dominion over his subjects, in both civil and religious matters. Obedience to his commands in everything is the cardinal dogma of the Russian despotic monarchy. The Czar is head of the Church as well as of the State, and the State Church is merely a board of his administration, subject to the same "general regulation" as the Naval Office or the Ministry of Agriculture. That Catholics should recognize such a power on the part of any human authority is impossible while they continue Catholics. Does the government forbid Catholic priests to hear the confessions of penitents, or command them to reveal the secrets of the confessional to the police,—as is the actual law of the schismatic church—the priests must disobey the law or place themselves outside the Church's pale. Does it prohibit a Catholic parent from having his child baptized, or himself from receiving the sacraments in a Catholic church, he too must disobey, or incur the guilt of mortal sin. The government, however, pretends to look on such orders as part of its civil powers, and describes disobedience to them as an offence against the ordinary laws of the empire. The Catholic Church, the divinely established teacher of supernatural truth, has ever refused to accept such a doctrine, and hence its condition in Russia is a constant struggle for existence against the hostility of the government.

The condition of the Catholic subjects of the Czar, however, varies greatly in different parts of the empire. In the great cities like St. Petersburg, Odessa or Riga, the government makes compara-

tively little interference with the exercise of religion. Since the time of Peter the Great, the policy of the Czars has been to attract immigration from more civilized nations, and to attain that object, freedom of religion has been conceded to immigrants. French or German Catholics, and their descendants, are allowed to practice their religion almost without State interference, except in the matter of mixed marriages or of any attempt at conversion of schismatics. In Poland, where the Catholics form the bulk of the population, much severer restrictions are placed on the Church. The administration constantly interferes in religious affairs, and endeavors to make the clergy entirely subordinate to its own authority. The building or repairing of churches, the establishment of convents or hospitals, and still more of schools, are illegal, except by special permission from the authorities, which is frequently refused. The bishops and priests are very often exiled or imprisoned without any form of trial by administrative process or a simple command of the minister, and churches are thus left without pastors for many years. The late Archbishop of Warsaw, Mgr. Felinski, spent twenty years in exile in a remote part of Russia, where he was kept from all communication with his diocese, and under police supervision like an ordinary criminal. The catechism taught to the children, and even the Sunday sermons of the clergy, are subjected to the police censorship. The appointment of priests to parishes, and the admission of students to the seminaries, are arbitrarily controlled by the government. From time to time, as after the insurrection of 1830, and again in 1863 and the following years, there are fierce outbursts of persecution, in which the public exercise of worship is almost practically suspended.

The condition of the Catholic population in Lithuania and the old Polish provinces is still worse. The Catholic churches are there frequently seized by the authorities and handed over to the State Church, while the Catholic population are not permitted to replace them by others at their own expense. In the Archdiocese of Mohilef, the Primatial Catholic See of Russia and the largest diocese in the world, which includes a territory twice the extent of the United States, the diocesan seminary was arbitrarily suppressed by the Emperor Nicholas some years ago. The so-called Roman Catholic College, a board of ecclesiastics appointed by the government and controlled by it, has supreme power over the internal administration of the dioceses, and deprives the bishops of most of their jurisdiction over their clergy. A disobedient or immoral priest is often maintained in his parish in spite of his bishop's suspension, and any attempt to give him a successor exposes the bishop to banishment. The very right to be considered Catholics is only allowed at the discretion of the government. It

has frequently happened that large bodies of Catholics were officially declared to be members of the State Church, because the police authorities had decided that their grandfathers were once schismatics. In such cases the profession of the Catholic faith becomes an act of treason, and the administration of any sacrament to them by a Catholic priest involves him in the same charge. To hear the confession of a Catholic who has been pronounced a schismatic by the police, is a crime of the highest magnitude in Russia for a Catholic priest. For all Russians belonging to the State Church no religious freedom whatever exists. The government, composed as it is in a large part of infidels and partly of Protestants, prescribes what its orthodox subjects shall believe, how often they shall communicate, how they shall pray, and, above all, what are their duties towards the emperor. The schismatic priests must make their sacred functions a part of the policy of the empire. A law requires them, under the severest penalties, to reveal to the police the secrets intrusted to them in confession whenever they have a bearing on political matters. Another law prescribes the exact number who may enter the schismatic convents or monasteries, and regulates the age and other conditions of their admission to a religious life. The Russian Church admits, like the Catholic, the divine origin of the Christian hierarchy, and that the bishops, under their lawful head, are the sole guardians of revealed truth. For centuries it recognized the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople as its head by divine right. At the end of the sixteenth century the Czar Fedor obtained for a pecuniary consideration from the Greek Patriarch of the time, Jeremias, himself appointed by the Sultan, the appointment of a Patriarch of Moscow as supreme head of the Russian Church. About a century later, Peter the Great, on the death of the patriarch, Nikon, decided to leave the post vacant, and substituted in his place a body of bishops, priests and government officials as the supreme authority in religious affairs. The Holy Synod, as this body is named, is still the only head of the Russian State Church, and as the emperor names and removes all members of the synod at will, his ukases are virtually the only rule of faith and morals among his subjects.

Could the Catholic Church be rendered equally subservient to the emperor's will, the government would care little for its abstract dogmas. A schismatic Latin Church, or one which practically accepted the government as its guide in everything, would be as useful an instrument of rule as the Greek schism. From the first seizure of Polish territory in 1772 down to the present, the policy of Russia has been to reduce the Catholic Church in its dominions to that condition. Catharine the Second had no sooner seized on the province of White Russia, than she guaranteed full freedom

of conscience to its Catholic people, but at the same time, of her own imperial power, she proceeded to establish a new Catholic diocese in her dominions, without any authority from the Sovereign Pontiff. The Catholic dioceses in the north of Europe are, for the most part, very extensive, and in Poland especially it is usual to have one or more suffragan bishops in each, without any jurisdiction of their own. The Catholic diocese of Wilna, of which White Russia formed a part, was administered by Mgr. Massalski, who procured the consecration of a suffragan, to reside in the Russian territory, in the person of Mgr. Siestrenczewicz. The latter was a courtier by nature, and he devoted himself to the interests of the Russian Court, without reserve. Though only a simple delegate of his bishop, Catharine at once recognized him as the head of the Church in her dominions, and gave to him the control of the College of Justice in St. Petersburg in all matters of ecclesiastical discipline. To prevent worse, the Holy See erected the diocese of Mohilef in the newly-conquered territory. This was subsequently raised to an archdiocese in 1784, and made the Metropolitan See of the Catholic Church in Russia. The whole of the old Russian Empire is included in the jurisdiction of its archbishop, which thus extends from the Dnieper to the Arctic Ocean and Behring's Straits, from the borders of Sweden to those of China. This immense diocese Archbishop Siestrenczewicz continued to administer for more than half a century. He was consecrated in 1773 and took up his residence as Bishop of Mohilef in the following year, and his death only occurred in 1826, at the age of ninety-five. It was a period of unexampled confusion, both in the world and in the Church. The latter was attacked on every side. The emperor Joseph in Germany interfered with the jurisdiction of the Holy See and tried to change the relations of Church and State. The ancient German Empire was swept away by Napoleon, and its territory remodelled. The French Church was overthrown by the revolution, and only restored with a diminished episcopate by the Concordat of 1802. Two Popes in succession were carried away prisoners from Rome, and for several years all direct communication with the Holy See was impossible to the Catholic world. The occasion was then peculiarly favorable for Catharine's project of reducing the Catholic Church in Russia to a condition like that of the existing body known as Old Catholics in Germany and Switzerland. Russia had bought from the patriarch of Constantinople, a hundred years before, all his jurisdiction over the schismatic church. Her rulers flattered themselves that they could repeat the same policy with regard to the Latin Church and the Holy See. Siestrenczewicz was an excellent instrument for such a policy. As a Catholic bishop, appointed by the Holy See,

and professing himself subject to its authority, he had religious jurisdiction over the consciences of the Catholic population. Whenever he exceeded his powers or chose to change the discipline or government of the Church, he could count on the government to prevent any complaints being addressed to the Sovereign Pontiff, or any communication being received from him. For a time Siestrenciewicz was virtually independent of the Holy See, though professing to respect its authority. He changed the courses of Catholic instruction in the schools and seminaries, and ordered Canon Law to be taught to his clergy "within the limits prescribed by the Empress," and made a Jansenist catechism, condemned by the Holy See, the basis of Catholic teaching. He even went so far as to become a member of the Protestant Bible Society established in England, and attempted to introduce it among the Catholics of Russia. When ordered by a Brief of Pius VII. to retract the circular in which he recommended this society, the government forbade its publication in Russia, and Siestrenciewicz continued in his course, without regard to the communications of the Holy See. The members of the Religious Orders of both sexes were also forbidden to communicate with their Generals outside Russia, and were made subject in everything absolutely to the will of the archbishop. All appeals in matters of Catholic discipline were ordered to be decided by the Roman Catholic College of St. Petersburg, consisting of one ecclesiastic from each diocese, approved of by the government, and two others appointed by it absolutely. The Archbishop of Mohilef was at the head of this body, but, at the discretion of the government, he might be replaced by any other bishop. The college itself is subject to the senate of the empire, and can only publish its decrees on Catholic discipline or doctrine by the permission of that body. Communications with the Holy See may only be made through the Russian Ministry, which publishes or withholds the answers at its own discretion. On the death of a bishop, the government presents what names it pleases for his successor to the Sovereign Pontiff, and, if he refuses to accept them, the sees are left vacant, or administrators are appointed by the government itself. When the Holy See addresses inquiries as to the fitness of the candidates thus presented to it, to the clergy of Poland, the latter are forbidden under the severest penalties to answer unless through the government, and in accordance with its wishes. Such is the actual state of the Catholic Church in Russia to-day, and it is only little short of miraculous that it has still preserved the Faith untarnished during the long century of its oppression.

During the reign of Alexander the First, the rival of Napoleon, the attitude of the government was much more favorable to the

Church than it had been under Catharine. Alexander himself had leanings towards Catholicity, and it is even said that he was received into the Church on his death-bed. However this may be, he allowed Catholics comparative liberty during his reign, though he rigorously prohibited the conversion of schismatics, or even of the Uniat Catholics who had been enrolled in the State Church by force. On the death of Alexander active persecution began under Nicholas. In 1828 an imperial ukase was issued which would virtually have left the Church without clergy in a couple of generations. All candidates for the priesthood were required, before they could be received into a seminary, to present titles of nobility, and, besides, to have finished the course of studies of some Russian university, and to be twenty-five years of age. Each candidate had further to provide a substitute in the army, to pay one hundred and fifty rubles towards the support of the schismatic church, and finally to obtain permission from the Minister of Public Worship at St. Petersburg. This decree, could it have been enforced, would have virtually prevented any supply of priests to replace the existing clergy, but its violence defeated itself, and it has remained practically unexecuted. It is, however, a striking instance of the methods of Russian despotism in its pretended policy of toleration.

The convents were the next object of attack. In the Lithuanian provinces, at the accession of Nicholas, the convents and monasteries of the Latin Rite numbered three hundred, exclusive of those of the Uniat Catholics. In 1832 two hundred were suppressed, their property seized, and their inmates either turned out or sent to the convents not yet suppressed. The plot for forcing the Uniats of Lithuania away from the Church was now at work, and to prevent the Latin Catholics from interfering with its success the government undertook to regulate the administration of the Sacraments by the Latin Catholic clergy. In 1837 an imperial ukase forbade Catholic priests to admit to the Sacraments "unknown persons," that is, those not belonging to their parishes. This was intended to prevent the persecuted Uniats from receiving any religious assistance, and it was subsequently re-enacted in 1859 by Alexander the Second. In that year Count Linskoi, the Imperial Minister, issued a rescript, in which he stated:

"His Majesty the Emperor has learned that some Roman Catholic ecclesiastics have admitted members of the Orthodox Church to confession and communion. Accordingly his Majesty the Emperor has deigned to command that such act be forbidden once more to all the Catholic clergy, under penalty of immediate expulsion from the country. . . . His Majesty the Emperor orders at the same time that all ecclesiastics residing in the Government of Witebsk shall engage by a written promise not to

admit any but their own parishioners, *and persons furnished with authentic documents showing that they belong to the Catholic Church*, to confession, communion, or any religious act." In Russia to-day an imperial passport is necessary for a Catholic before he can approach the Sacraments. Such is the law of toleration for religious conscience so loudly proclaimed by the Russian Government.

Another order of 1842, which is still, we believe, in force, ordered every Catholic parish priest in Lithuania to present to the schismatic priest the list of his own parishioners, and obtain the signature of the latter to its truth. The liberty of being a Catholic thus depends on the good will of the schismatic clergy who, if so disposed, may claim, under different pretexts, Catholics as Russians. In such cases the State wholly ignores any right to freedom of belief. The Catholic has to choose between apostasy or banishment. His children, if he have any, will be brought up by force in the schismatic Church. In its system of perverting Catholic children the Russian Government seems to have closely copied the Irish penal code of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The ministry is empowered to take such measures as it thinks fit to secure the orthodoxy of children whose parents are suspected of Catholicity. At times this policy is pushed to extremes. After the storming of Warsaw and the overthrow of the Polish nation in 1830 an Imperial rescript that all the male orphans in the Kingdom of Poland between the ages of six and seventeen should be sought out for transportation to Minsk (in Lithuania), and sent in due succession to the companies of the military colonies. Those who have read the papers recently published in the *Century* magazine can form an idea of what the transportation to the military colonies meant for those unfortunate children who were, if they survived, to be brought up in the schismatic worship. It reminds one vividly of Richard Cromwell's letter, in which he offers to ship a thousand or more Irish orphans to the West Indies, as "the means of making them English," or as he naively puts it, "at least Christians."

Liberty of speech on religious matters is also denied by law to the Catholics of Russia and Poland. An edict of Nicholas, published in 1847, proscribes all public discussion of the differences between the Catholic Church and the Schism. The ukase enacts, amongst other provisions:

"The loss of all civil rights, and from six to ten years' imprisonment at hard labor, for whoever in a public place shall venture to find fault with religion, or the Christian church (*i.e.*, the Russian schism). For whoever hears such words and does not lodge information with the police, six months' to a year's imprisonment.

"For the same offence in writing or print, if spread in any way, banishment to the remotest districts of Siberia.

"For whoever induces a person to pass from the orthodox religion to another, exile to Tomsk or Tobolsk (Siberia).

"For having, by sermon or writing, attempted to induce an orthodox person to join any other religion, the first offence imprisonment for one to two years; the second, imprisonment from four to six years; the third, transportation to Tomsk or Tobolsk."

It is hard to say what this law cannot be made to apply to against Catholics. It is true that its general application is impossible. The Russian prisons would not suffice to hold the number of offenders were it put into execution strictly. At the same time, it is a powerful engine of oppression in the hands of hostile magistrates or police officers, and under its provisions obnoxious individuals only hold their personal freedom at the mercy of the officials even of low grade. This ukase was issued at almost the very time when Nicholas was signing a new Concordat with Pius the Ninth as a pledge of his protection to the Catholic Church in his empire.

This last fact is significant of the value which must be given to the promises made from time to time by the Russian Government to the Holy See. The Catholic world occasionally learns that arrangements have been made with the Holy Father for the appointment of Catholic bishops and the relaxation of the persecution of Catholics in Russia, and many are ready to believe that peace has thus been really restored to the Catholic Church there. Unfortunately, such is the reverse of the fact, The Czars and their ministers often find it expedient to relax the policy of destruction for a time, but it has never been yet abandoned, however fair the promises made by the Imperial Government. Catherine, in the Treaty of Partition in 1793, "promised irrevocably for herself, her heirs and successors, to maintain forever the Roman Catholics of both rites in the possession of their privileges, churches and property, and the free exercise of their worship and discipline." This solemn stipulation did not prevent the suppression of four thousand parishes and the forcible separation of nearly eight millions of Catholics from the Church within the following three years. Nicholas, in February, 1839, wrote, himself, to Gregory XVI.: "My son has exactly reported to me the affectionate words which your Holiness has deigned to charge him with for me. I am happy to reply by the renewed assurance, that I will never cease to count among the first of my duties that of protecting the welfare of my Catholic subjects, of respecting their convictions and assuring their peace." The very same month, the entire Uniat Catholic Church of Lithuania was officially proclaimed a part of

the State Church. A few years before, when the nomination of Monsignor Pawlowski to the Archdiocese of Mohileff was asked by the Russian Government, the Russian minister to Rome, Fuhrman, solemnly pledged his word to the Holy Father that the ukase which forbade Catholic priests to administer the sacraments to the Uniat Catholics, had been revoked. This, the Holy Father himself published in a subsequent allocution, but it did not prevent the ukase from continuing in full force, nor its emphatic republication by Alexander the Second, after the close of the Crimean War. A concordat was signed by Nicholas in 1847, when the revolutions in France and Germany had suggested even to his despotic temper the necessity of temporizing with his Polish subjects. As soon as the political danger had passed, the concordat was simply disregarded. The Uniat Diocese of Chelm in Poland itself was suppressed by Alexander in exactly the same way as those of Lithuania had been by his father, before the concordat. In 1863, the time of the last Polish insurrection, when the churches of Warsaw had been closed for four months, and the administrator of the Archdiocese kept in close imprisonment, the Russian Government presented the name of Monsignor Felinski as an acceptable candidate for the vacant See. Within a few months he, too, was sent into exile to the remotest province of European Russia without a trial, and had to spend no less than twenty years away from his diocese. With such a series of facts before us, we can attach little faith to the result of any negotiations between the Russian Government and the Holy See. The whole policy of the empire, in religious matters at least, must be radically changed before any sensible improvement can be expected in the external conditions of the Catholic Church in Russia. The fundamental law, which declares that "once a schismatic, always a schismatic," must be swept away, and the imperial despot must recognize that conscience at least is above his control, before persecutions will really cease for the Catholic Church in Russia.

That it will have an end sooner or later, there is no room for doubt. The autocratic system of government is already rotten; and the enormous accessions of territory which Russia has received, and is still receiving in Asia, will but hasten its fall. The State Church exercises almost no influence over the educated classes of the empire, and yet religion is felt to be an absolute necessity by the whole Russian people. The Catholic Church alone can fulfil its wants in this respect, and now, as in the days of Diocletian, it well may be that the darkest hour of persecution is only the precursor of the glorious dawn of religious liberty in the Russian Empire.

LOYALTY TO ROME AND COUNTRY.

AMERICAN literature has been enriched of late with various publications going to prove that Catholics cannot be loyal citizens of the republic. It is not a new thesis. It has done service ever since Celsus and Porphyry used it against the nascent Church and their readers shouted "*Christiani ad leones!*" Nor is there usually anything very original or striking in these new presentations of the subject. Most of the arguments have been in stock since controversy began. True, they have been refuted hundreds of times; but they serve their purpose just as well. One is not apt to be very scrupulous about his verifications when assailing a cause against which the prejudices of the bulk of his hearers are already enlisted.

Among these attacks upon Catholic loyalty, perhaps the most respectable for show of erudition and fair-play is the article of Mr. Henry Charles Lea, "Key-Notes from Rome," in the *Forum* of last February. In the belief that a reply to these charges is due to the American public, the above-named article is here selected for review, as the best of its class.

Mr. Lea opens with a quotation from the speech of Mr. Daniel Dougherty at our recent Catholic Congress, in which he protests against the prejudice which has, from time immemorial, "denied to Catholics the highest honors of the republic, sought to deprive us of our constitutional rights, and branded us as tools of a foreign potentate, unworthy to enjoy the name of Americans." On this he comments thus:

"Perhaps the eloquent orator may obtain an inkling of the cause of this apparent injustice, if he will weigh the words of a speaker who followed him, Father Nugent, of Liverpool, who stated that the idea of the Congress had originated with the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster and the Archbishop of St. Paul. Herein lies the trouble. The Catholic Church is not American or independent; it looks abroad and not at home for its guidance."

This is a most singular use of facts. Archbishop Ireland, of St. Paul, Minnesota, whom every one knows to be one of the most thorough-going of Americans, conferred with Cardinal Manning about the organizing of a congress of all English-speaking Catholics. There was for some time question of its being held in London. But the English were slow, and our American centenary got ahead of them, and so we held the congress by ourselves. These are the facts stated by Father Nugent. And in

these Mr. Lea finds "an inkling of the cause" of the injustice done to Catholics, by the charge that "the Catholic Church looks abroad and not at home for its guidance." The logic of this opening argument is not over-happy.

As further proofs that the Church is "not American or independent," he goes on to state that the Pope authorizes the holding of our councils and sanctions their decrees, that he appoints our Bishops, and that "even so trivial a matter as the introduction of electric lighting in the churches, we are told, has to be referred to the decision of the Propaganda." This last bit of newspaper gossip is so silly and groundless that we may dismiss it at once. On his other arguments we comment as follows:

Assuredly the Catholic Church in this country is not "American and independent," in the sense of its being a separate national Church. It is a member of the world-wide, universal Church, closely associated with all its other members in all other parts of the world, and equally with them acknowledging the jurisdiction over the entire flock which Christ gave to St. Peter. The Church in America is in the same situation as the Church in France, in England, in Belgium, in Spain, in Germany or at the ends of the earth. Everywhere the bishops receive their mission from the chief pastor; everywhere councils are held under his supreme direction, everywhere, through the influence of that divinely appointed centre of unity, the whole Church grows together, as its divine author said it should, like one vine, acts together like one body.

But, because the Church in America is thus an integral member of the Church universal, does it thence follow that it is not American, that Catholics do not deserve the name of Americans? The question answers itself to every mind not blinded by prejudice. The Church in America, while living with the life of the Church universal, lives also its own life, has its own character, is composed of American citizens and those who aim at becoming such, and has for its mission the spiritual welfare of the American people. History declares the part that Catholics have everywhere taken in advancing the prosperity and glory of their various nations. Gibbon acknowledges that the bishops made France; it has been said that the monks made England: and whoever studies the causes of the prosperity of the United States will hardly fail to recognize the share of credit due to Catholics and their clergy.

Nor can it be justly said that the Church in America is governed with a view to interests which are not American, or that in regard to our great social problems her authorities are guided by principles which are not American. The fact which especially distinguishes and ennobles America among the other nations of the earth is that

her spirit and her principles are not narrow and exclusive, but cosmopolitan, international, universal. One of the greatest obstacles to the advancement of civilization throughout the world has been the diversities, the alienations, the antagonisms, of races and tongues and countries. The spirit of Christ and of the Church, which is essentially cosmopolitan and universal, while respecting all national rights, aims at uniting all nations in fraternity. Is not this evidently for the welfare of mankind? Is not this eminently in sympathy with the spirit and the principles of America? Of old, Tertullian said: "*Unam omnium rempublicam agnoscimus, mundum.* (Apol. 39.) St. Augustine, still more clearly: "*Ec-clesia cives civibus, gentes gentibus, et omnes prorsus homines, primorum parentum recordatione, non societate tantum sed quadam fraternitate conjungit.*" (De mor. Eccl., Cath., c. 30, n. 65.) This is the spirit and aim of the Catholic Church. Who will say that it is contrary to the spirit of our country?

It is precisely in view of this cosmopolitan spirit and aim of the Church that Divine Providence placed its chief pastor in an international and cosmopolitan position, by guaranteeing his territorial independence. American Catholics very naturally desire that this cosmopolitan character of the Holy See should be maintained, that its spirit and influence should not be narrowed by being nationalized. Just as the rest of the world would not wish that the chief pastor of the universal Church should be distinctively an American bishop, so we do not wish that he should be distinctively a French or an Italian bishop, or a bishop of any other special nationality whatsoever. He must be the world bishop, and therefore he must be independent of nationalities. As such, he can nowhere be called "a foreign potentate." The Pope is no more a foreigner to the Catholics of any nation in the world than our President is a foreigner to any of the States composing the Union. Mr. Lea's assertion: "If they (Catholics) are 'branded as tools of a foreign potentate,' the brand is self-inflicted," is a mere impertinence.

"And if," he continues, "they are denied the highest honors of the republic, it is not through an unreasoning prejudice, but through the instinctive popular perception that they own obedience to a higher law than that which binds their fellow-citizens."

Now here we must be allowed to protest against a manner of speech which Mr. Lea, in common with others of his school, uses throughout. They seem to assume that Catholics do not form a part of the nation. They oppose to the Catholic Church "the instinctive popular perceptions," the "popular jealousy," of Americans, as if Catholics were not an integral part of the American people, as if her ten millions and more of Catholics did not form a very considerable proportion of the American people. He should say, rather,

"the instinctive perceptions," and "the jealousy" of a certain fraction of the American people, more or less imbued with sectarian prejudices against their fellow-citizens. We have always admired the art with which certain parties magnify themselves into the nation, the people, and arrogate to themselves the right of speaking in its name, just as certain writers identify themselves with progress, with science, with humanity. A little modesty is never out of place.

Mr. Lea is right if, in the above lines, he means to state that Catholics "own obedience to a higher law" than civil laws by whomsoever made. But surely he forgets himself if he wishes to intimate that in this they differ from their fellow-citizens. Every Christian, every religious man, nay, every honest man, regards the law of conscience as above all human laws. How identical this is with the duty of Catholics in regard to the law of the Church will be shown a little further on.

Our critic continues :

"In this no question of religious intolerance is involved. Not the least of the great political innovations reduced to practice by the fathers of the republic, was the severance of state and church. Prior to their time it had been an accepted maxim of statecraft that religion and politics were so inextricably intermingled that the state must recognize some form of faith, must render it dominant, and must enter into alliance with it to control the souls as well as the bodies and purses of its subjects. The framers of the Constitution wisely disregarded all precedent. They assumed that the state had nothing to do with the faith of the citizen. Abstaining from all formulas, they reverted to the natural law which guarantees to every human being the enjoyment of his creed, whether Buddhist or Confucian, Islamite or Jewish, Catholic or Protestant, Spiritualist or Agnostic. Even this did not satisfy the scruples of the people, and, to prevent all future misunderstanding, by the First Amendment the power was expressly denied to Congress to establish or prohibit any religion."

Mr. Lea affirms that the question of the political rights of American Catholics is not a question of tolerance or intolerance. Before examining his reasons for so affirming, we must first remark that this rather *naïve* paradox is a souvenir of Rousseau. The author of the *Contrat Social* would have a state religion; whoever would not accept the state religion should, he says, be banished, not for impiety, indeed, but for "unsociableness," for being out of harmony with the social system, for being incapable of sincerely loving the law of the land and of heartily laying down his life for it. "Happy distinction!" exclaims M. Saint-Marc Gerardin, "which puts the conscience of Rousseau at ease! In the convert to any other religion than that of the State, he does not punish the apostate, but the rebel; he respects the proselyte, he smites the bad citizen. The author of the *Contrat*, in fact, pushes his distinction to *naïveté* when he boldly condemns what he calls 'theological intolerance.'"

The distinction between Church and State, between temporal and spiritual authority, between divine and human things, is not an innovation dating from the birth of the American republic. It is a principle essentially Christian, proclaimed by our Lord Jesus Christ: "Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's," and inflexibly applied by the Apostles: "We must obey God rather than men." (Acts v., 29.) It is also a principle essentially Catholic, which the Catholic Church, and she alone, has always maintained. The Church and the Popes maintained it against the efforts to confound the two orders made by the successors of Constantine, by the emperors of Byzantium, by the German emperors in the Middle Ages, by the kings of France and others. "To the emperor," exclaims St. Ambrose, "belong the palaces; to the priesthood the churches. To thee is entrusted the charge of civil affairs, not of things sacred." (Ep. xx., n. 19.) Pope St. Gelasius I. writes to the Emperor Anastasius: "If in matters of public order even the prelates of the Church obey thy laws, how fitting is it that, in what concerns religion, thou shouldst obey those to whom the dispensation of the sacred mysteries has been entrusted." And Pope St. Gregory II. thus addresses the Emperor Leo the Isaurian: "The affairs of the Church are administered by prelates who refrain from the business of the State; let the emperors in like manner refrain from ecclesiastical matters, and attend to the things committed to them." The same principle is admirably developed by Hugh of St. Victor in the Middle Ages. (De Sac., lib. II., p. 2, c. 4.) And Leo XIII. thus propounds it in his encyclical, "Immortale Dei": "God has divided the government of the human race between two powers, the ecclesiastical and the civil; the former being placed over things divine, the latter over things human. Each is supreme in its own sphere. Each has limits by which it is bounded, limits marked by the special nature and end of each, each having its own orbit, in which it moves and acts by its own right."

Not only do we affirm that the Catholic Church has always maintained this principle; we add that she alone has done so. The world knows how it has fared with the separated Christians of Russia and the East; they have fallen into subjection to the State even in all things spiritual. It is well known that, among the followers of the "Reformation," the civil power gradually took control of religious matters, that Henry VIII. forced from his subjects an oath acknowledging the royal supremacy in things spiritual, and that the Protestant princes of Germany held to the axiom: "*cujus est regio, illius est religio*." Such was likewise the doctrine of the self-styled philosophers of the last century. Rousseau, in the last chapter of his "Contrat Social," develops his theory of lay

religion. He regards as the source of all social evils the establishment by our Lord of a spiritual kingdom on earth. According to him, the separation of the theological system from the political system broke up the unity of the State, and caused the intestine divisions ever since agitating Christian nations. "Among all writers," says he, "the philosopher Hobbes is the only one who has clearly seen the evil and its remedy, who has made bold to propose that the two heads of the eagle should be reunited and all things brought into political unity, without which no State and no government can be solidly established." (L. iv., c. 8.) It is, therefore, manifest that to assert the distinction of Church and State, and to assign to each its rightful place and powers, is to recognize a principle essentially and even exclusively Catholic.

But though Church and State are essentially distinct, though their qualities and ends and modes of action are different, it by no means follows that they are to be strangers to each other. Quite the contrary, and that for a very evident reason. Both reason and revelation declare that man lives a two-fold life, a life temporal and earthly, and a life spiritual and looking to eternity. He seeks the goods of time and the goods that are everlasting. To acquire temporal goods and advantages he has the assistance of the State, of civil society; to gain spiritual goods and perfection he has the aid of the Church, of the religious society. The Church and the State are, therefore, composed of the same members. Hence, as in his individual life, man may not seek after temporal goods to the neglect of his spiritual duty, but must keep harmony between the two sets of duties, so likewise in the social life, man while associated with his fellow-beings for the acquisition of earthly advantages, cannot forget that he is also associated with them for the attainment of spiritual goods. Therefore, to attempt to make the Church and the State strangers to each other is to attempt to divide up man himself. If, indeed, the Church were composed of men who did not belong to the State, and the State of men who did not belong to the Church, then there might well be but little question of the relations between the two. But such is not the case. Our Lord sends the message and the invitation of His Church to all nations and to every creature, and all are at the same time citizens of some State. Where all the citizens of a State are of the same religious communion, then the blending of Church and State naturally approaches the completeness of the blending of temporal and spiritual duties in the life of a good man. But where the citizens of a State differ in faith and, therefore, belong to different religious communions, there the blending of Church and State becomes impossible; their relations are necessarily limited; all must work together for what is for the common tem-

poral weal, but all must "agree to disagree" in what concerns spiritual duties and religious association.

Such is the condition of things in the United States; hence the system of almost total separation of Church and State, which is the natural and necessary consequence of the condition of the people, is in no way opposed to the principles of Catholic theology. Here again, therefore, the Constitution of the United States has innovated nothing, differs in nothing from the principles ever held by the Catholic Church.

Is it, then, true to say, as Mr. Lea does, that before the establishment of our Constitution it was a governmental maxim universally received, "that the State must recognize some form of faith, must render it dominant, and must enter into alliance with it to control the souls as well as the bodies and purses of its subjects?" We have but to recall the teachings of St. Ambrose, St. Gelasius, St. Gregory, and Leo XIII., quoted above, to see that the Catholic Church has never admitted such a relationship between Church and State as the one here pictured. But how near it comes to truly representing the principles and the practice of States that have separated from her may be concluded also from the historical facts already cited, which could easily be multiplied and even brought home to our own country. According to Catholic principles, it is the duty of the State, as a moral person, to render to God the homage due Him, as our country does, for example, on our annual Thanksgiving Day. It is the duty of the State to protect religion and the Church, as far as it may be needful and practicable. It is the right and the duty of the State to repress practices contrary to the natural law, even though exercised in the name of religion; the early Christian emperors used this power in regard to heathenism, the English for the suppression of monstrous practices in India, the French and others in Africa, and the United States government has done the same in the case of the Mormons. Again, the State seems to have the right to require certain religious acts considered necessary to civil life, such as the oath; and the United States, like all other countries, uses this power. But the State has no right to impose upon any one a form of religion. Faith is essentially a free act. The State has no right "to control the souls of its subjects."

But does it thence follow that "the natural law guarantees to every human being the enjoyment of his creed, whether Buddhist or Confucian, Islamite or Jewish, Catholic or Protestant, Spiritualist or Agnostic?" Here we must again make the distinction indicated above. It would be absurd to suppose that man has the natural right to form a creed for himself, according to his good pleasure. On the contrary, he is under a natural obligation to fol-

low only the truth. But this is an obligation between his conscience and God. It is unquestionably true that man has a natural right not to be forced by any human power to accept a creed; and the Church has always proclaimed this right in the words of St. Augustine: "*Nemo credit nisi volens.*" But, on the other hand, has man a natural right to regulate his life, and especially his exterior acts, according to the creed which he has freely embraced? Yes, if it be true; no, if it be false. In the latter case, if the individual be in good faith, he is excusable before God and his conscience; but even then, no matter how perfect his good faith, the civil authority has the right, as seen above, to hinder him from practices contrary to the natural law and to public good order. One may be in perfect good faith in practicing polygamy or human sacrifices; nevertheless, the law forbids them, and rightly. This principle is admitted in the United States, as elsewhere. It is manifest, therefore, that the right to enjoy one's creed is not as broad as some writers seem to suppose.

In fact, Mr. Lea immediately proceeds to dwell upon this class of facts as proving his very reasonable assertion that "no church can claim exemption from the law of self-preservation, which is supreme in all social and political organizations." This, he says, is the principle justifying all the "popular jealousy" against the Catholic Church, of which Mr. Dougherty complained. He details the action of the Government in regard to the Mormons as "a case in point," and alludes, in the same connection, to "the stern and sanguinary measures requisite in India for the suppression of the Thuggee, whose victims were immolated in honor of the awful goddess Kali."

Now it can hardly be supposed that even Mr. Lea's "jealousy" of the Catholic Church can go so far as to make him believe that these comparisons are just. And if they are unjust, as well as deeply hurtful to the proper susceptibilities of those against whom he is arguing, ought not the rules of decency in controversy to have restrained him from employing them?

He asserts that the Catholic Church resembles Mormonism in being "a theocracy" and "an *imperium in imperio.*" Let us see.

Theocracy is a word of vague and confused meaning in most minds, which many writers use as a bugbear. Once they hurl this awful word, the case is decided; reasons are unnecessary. Mr. Lea ought not to have used the term without defining it. Since he has failed to do this, we will do it for him. Etymologically, theocracy is the government of a state by God, as democracy is the government of a state by the people and aristocracy the government of a state by the nobles. It is evidently not a question of the general government of the universe by Divine Providence, but of

the special government of a given nation. Again, that the government of a nation may be said to be theocratic, it is not enough that the authority of the government should come from God, for that is true of the authority of all legitimate governments, and thus every legitimate government would be a theocracy. Nor does it suffice that the laws governing a society should have been given by God; Christ gave the laws of His Church, but He did not make it a theocracy, for it is not a state, but a world-wide spiritual society. Still less does it suffice that the state recognizes a form of religion and that its ministers take part in the government—as in England the bishops form part of the House of Lords; as in France, under her old constitution, the order of the clergy sat in the Parliament with the orders of the nobility and of the *tiers-état*. A government is theocratic when the nation is governed directly by God himself, who himself chooses his vicegerents, gives the laws and provides their sanction by a special providence. In all history there has been but one example of a true theocracy, that of the Hebrew people. The Catholic Church is not a theocracy because it is not a nation, because it is not a society organized for temporal ends, because, though it has received its authority and constitution directly from God, its government is not administered by Him, because it does not pretend to regulate the temporal affairs and political life of any nation in the world.

Is it then “an *imperium in imperio*?” There is an *imperium in imperio*—a state within the state—where there exists in the midst of a nation a political organization independent of the government. Thus in France, under Henry IV. and Louis XIII., the Huguenots, holding their own cities and fortresses, were said to form a state within the state. Thus the Jews, who are everywhere ethnographically and religiously distinct from the Christians, were they to form themselves into a political organization, would be an *imperium in imperio*. But the Catholic Church is not a state within the state, because, although it is a perfect society, yet it is not a society with temporal ends, but with spiritual and supernatural ends, to be attained by spiritual and supernatural means. A political society, a state within the state, it is not, and never can be.

“But,” it is objected, “does not the Church meddle with political matters, and do you not in such cases hold that you are to obey the Pope first and the government in the second place?”

Catholics, we repeat, are the first to assert that religion and politics are quite distinct, that their authorized representatives have no right to transcend their respective limits and encroach upon the other domain. But the following points are to be carefully noted: It may well happen—it has happened a thousand times in history—that political measures may encroach on the domain of religion,

may attempt to regulate sacred things, may go counter to the religious convictions of the people. Ought religion and the Church then to keep silence? Will any reasonable man assert that a citizen ought to promise, or may in conscience promise, absolute obedience to any laws that his country may make, whatsoever in the light of conscience they may be? For that it would be necessary to hold that whatever the state may command is just; that the state is the source of all rights and its decrees the supreme rule of duty and of morals. But these are enormities not asserted, we are sure, by any one for whose judgment the country has any respect. If, then, in such cases, we hold that God and religion should be obeyed rather than political powers, and if, in fact, we hold that in all cases, whether of private or of public life, duty to conscience and to God must be the supreme rule of judgment and of action, we have no fear that in this we differ from our non-Catholic fellow-citizens. And beyond this the teaching of the Catholic Church does not and cannot go.

"But," insists Mr. Lea, "these instances (Mormons, Thuggee, etc.) illustrate the difficulty of drawing a hard and fast line of demarcation between secular and spiritual affairs. There is a vast field of human activity which may be classed with either group, according to custom or faith. We in the United States have reached a tolerably clear perception of what shall be held to be on either side of the line, and we manage, without much friction, to preserve the distinction between matters concerning earth and those concerning heaven. Yet our definition is very different from that of Rome."

Mr. Lea does not tell us according to what principle "we in the United States" have made this important distinction. He affirms, however, that it is different from that of Rome. So learned a writer ought, at least, to have stated clearly what is the American principle, and what the Roman. Then we could have seen whether there exists the alleged disparity between them. This much is surely called for by the serious discussion of matters of supreme importance. Since he has failed to do it, we will try to supply his deficiency, at least as far as the principles of Rome are concerned.

He who has the best right to speak in the name of the Catholic Church, Leo XIII., has clearly enunciated her principles in his encyclical, *Immortale Dei*. In the first place, as to spiritual affairs: "Whatsoever in human things is in any manner sacred, whatsoever belongs to the salvation of souls and the worship of God, is under the authority and rule of the Church." Let us analyze this principle, and we find that sacred things are limited to these five categories: (1) The foundation of the spiritual life is *faith*; it belongs therefore to the spiritual authority, and not to the state, to regulate what concerns the preaching and teaching of the Christian faith. (2). The sources of the supernatural life are the *sacraments*;

it belongs, therefore, to the Church, and not to the state, to regulate what concerns the administration and reception of baptism, the eucharist, etc. (3). The religious life manifests itself by the practice of good works, by acts of virtue, by the worship of God; it belongs, therefore, to the Church, and not to the state, to direct Christian charity, public devotions, the sacred liturgy, religious festivals, etc. (4). Preaching, administering the sacraments, public worship, require a sacred ministry; it belongs to the Church, and not to the state, to regulate the choice, the preparation, and the discipline of the clergy. (5). Finally, public worship needs church edifices and church funds; it belongs to the Church, and not to the state, to superintend their administration, this, of course, being done in conformity with the general laws of the country. These, then, are the matters considered spiritual and religious by the Catholic Church; who will say that they are not considered such by the American people?

Leo XIII. continues: "But all things else, being included within the civil and political order, are rightly subject to the civil authority." Let us, in like manner, analyze this principle, and see what the Church understands by temporal goods: (1). First, there are the goods of wealth; and it belongs to the state to regulate what concerns the acquisition and transmission of property, the management of commerce, industries, etc. (2). There are the goods of bodily health; the civil authority has the right to regulate the public hygiene, to erect and manage hospitals, etc. (3). There are the temporal goods of virtue, of public morality; and the civil authority has the right to take necessary measures for the preservation of morals, and for the suppression of crimes, not only those which attack persons, but also those which, like obscenity and blasphemy, shock decency, corrupt virtue, or assail religion. (4). There are, also, the temporal goods of intelligence; and the civil authority has the right to establish and direct schools,¹ to

¹ In Cap. XV., of the *Schema Constitutionis Dogmaticæ de Ecclesia Christi*, prepared for the Vatican Council, protest is made against the attempt to entirely secularize education, and exclude from it the influence of religion. The official annotation on this point of the *Schema* is as follows:

"Igitur tum in expositione errorum tum in affirmatione veritatis: 1. Non negatur jus potestatis laicæ providendi institutioni in litteris ac scientiis ad suum legitimum finem, et ad bonum sociale; ac proinde etiam non negatur eidem potestati laicæ jus ad directionem scholarum, quantum legitimus ille finis postulat. 2. Non asseritur potestati ecclesiasticæ velut ex divina constitutione consequens auctoritas ad positivam directionem scholarum, quatenus in iis litteræ et scientiæ naturales traduntur. Sed 3. Vindicatur Ecclesiæ auctoritas ad directionem scholarum, quantum ipse finis Ecclesiæ postulat, adeoque asseritur jus et officium prospiciendi fidei et christianis moribus juventutis catholice, hocque ipso cavendi, ne pretiosa hæc bona per ipsam institutionem in scholis corrumpantur. 4. Hoc jus Ecclesiæ in se spectatum non minus ad superiores quam ad inferiores scholas extenditur; unde hic,

promote the cultivation of the arts and sciences. (5). Besides all this, every nation has the right, within the limits of justice, to choose its form of government, to adopt the system of revenue which it thinks best, to recruit its army as it deems necessary, to conclude the treaties of alliance which it considers useful and proper. Again, this is the Roman view of the matter; is there anything in it that does not satisfy the most exacting American?

In these various classes of temporal and of spiritual interests, the points at which the two authorities touch most closely and are most apt to come in conflict are, obviously, matrimony and education. The divorce laws of the land are not in accord with the teachings and practice of the Church. But serious-minded lovers of the country are everywhere bewailing the laxity of the marriage tie, which, they say, imperils the very foundations of domestic and social life. The desire, therefore, that our laws concerning marriage were more in accord with those of the Church is not only loyalty to Rome, but loyalty also to our country's best interests. Our present system of school laws is also at variance with what the Church teaches concerning the system of education which ought to prevail in a Christian country. Not that the Church is opposed, as her adversaries constantly allege, to a State system of public schools. In this persistently repeated charge there is not a particle of truth. The quotation given above from the official documents of the Vatican Council proves the contrary. But the Church holds that the educational system of a Christian State ought to be Christian, ought to have Christianity in it as a pervading element. Not that she would ignore the rights or override the prejudices of Jews or of unbelievers. These are a very small minority, who could be dealt with in all fairness by exceptional

ubi de generali principio agitur, non videbatur distinctione opus esse inter diversas scholas. Ceterum per se clarum est, exercitium huius juris in applicatione ad diversos terminos necessario debere esse diversum."

(*Translation of same.*)

"Whether, therefore, in the statement of the errors or in the affirmation of the truth: 1. There is not denied to the civil authority the right of providing for instruction in letters and science, as required by its own legitimate end and the welfare of society; and accordingly there is not denied to the civil authority the right of directing schools, as far as its legitimate end demands. 2. There is not claimed for the ecclesiastical authority, as of divine institution, a right to the *positive* direction of schools, as far as letters and natural sciences are taught in them. 3. But, there is claimed for the Church the right of directing schools as far as the very end of the Church demands; hence, the right and duty is asserted of watching over the faith and morals of Catholic youth, and therefore of seeing that these precious qualities be not corrupted in them by the very sort of teaching used. 4. This right of the Church, considered *in se*, extends no less to superior than to elementary schools; hence, as to the general principle, no distinction had to be made as to different sorts of schools. But it is self-evident that the exercise of this right must necessarily differ according to the different limits within which it is applied."

provisions, but whose presence in the country ought not to debar it from being considered as a Christian country. Everywhere throughout the land, reflective minds who are able to catch a glimpse of the true state of the case through the mists of prejudice and the dust of political scramble, acknowledge that the only hope for America's future is in a deeper, more widespread, more practical influence of the Christian religion on the life of the American people, and that the only efficient way to attain to this is more Christianity in education, that is, in the schools. Just how to put this in shape, with a population divided like ours in Christian belief, is a problem of no little difficulty; but since the good sense of Canada, of England, of Belgium, of Prussia, has found the solution both advisable and practicable, there can be but little reason to fear that American good sense will find it impracticable. Meantime, Catholics are compelled by their conscientious convictions to support separate schools—not that they desire to hold aloof from the State schools, but because they feel bound in conscience to give their children a Christian education, which the present system renders it impossible for them to have in the public schools. Here again, therefore, the desire to make popular education Christian is not only loyalty to Rome but also loyalty to our country's best interests. In all these things we do not think and speak and write the less as Americans, because we think and speak and write as Catholics.

Mr. Lea next gives his views as to the origin and nature of the power of the papacy. His statements may be summarized as follows:

"It grew up in rude and uncivilized times; it then unquestionably rendered great service to civilization; it claimed and obtained universal control of human life, and overrode all merely human laws; the Pope was sole judge of his own authority; the bull *Unam Sanctam* defined it to be an article of faith that every human being is subjected to the Roman pontiff; thus all distinction was virtually lost between the secular and the spiritual spheres; the papacy had grown into a theocracy equally absolute over both; the exercise of this vast and undefined power was further complicated by the position of the Popes as Italian princes."

It would seem incredible that a man of Mr. Lea's pretensions as a scholar could be capable of putting this forth as serious history, had we not grown familiar with the warping power of prejudice. It is needless to tell intelligent readers that the power of the papacy over faith and morals and human life—the power given it by Christ, and which is alone essential to it, and to which all other prerogatives were but accidental and unessential additions—was fully recognized and fully exercised when the Roman empire still shone with the lustre of the Augustan age, long before the incursions of the barbarians brought rude and uncivilized times upon Europe. When those troublous times came, and the Church had

to be the civilizer of Europe, and peoples and princes everywhere gladly looked to her, and especially to her chief pastor, as the arbiter of their disputes and their guide in the paths of peace, neither the Pope nor the people ever lost sight of the distinction between the essential spiritual authority of the papacy and this temporal direction which circumstances accidentally demanded of it and imposed upon it. When the Popes did their duty to their times and to Christendom by asserting against tyrannical princes this directive authority with which Christendom had invested them for the public good, they never thought of obliterating the distinction between the secular and the spiritual spheres and of turning the papacy into a theocracy. The learned Cardinal Her-genrœther says, in his "Catholic Church and Christian State" (Essay I., part II.): "The Church has never declared it to be an article of faith that temporal princes, as such, are in temporal matters subject to the Pope. . . . Great efforts, indeed, have been made to discover such a decision, and the Bull *unam sanctam* of Boniface VIII. has been brought forward as such. But in this bull it is only defined that all must give the due religious obedience to the Pope, not obedience in purely temporal matters." Again, if the sovereign spiritual authority is sole judge of its own limits, is not the same true of every sovereign authority? But it by no means follows that the Pope has any power to exaggerate his authority at will or to add to it even one iota. The limits of his authority are defined by the limits of sacred things, and further it has no power to go as by divine institution.

Nor is our critic any happier in what he says about the Popes as Italian princes. Their little temporal principality was meant by Providence simply as a guarantee of their spiritual independence, of the cosmopolitan freedom and impartiality of their spiritual jurisdiction; it had nothing to do with their spiritual authority in itself; and the struggles in which, for its maintenance, they too often had to engage with the restless petty princes around them had absolutely nothing to do with the great world-wide question now under consideration.

Having drawn his mistaken conclusions from his incorrect premises, Mr. Lea goes on to argue that they hold good now as in times past, and must continue to hold good for all time. His two reasons are the old, familiar, threadbare ones that the infallible Church can of course confess no errors and give up no claims, and that the syllabus of Pius IX. has put the Church hopelessly in conflict with modern civilization.

Can it be that a man of Mr. Lea's intellectual respectability should be so utterly ignorant of the Church's clear pronouncements on the nature and limits of infallibility? If he has not acquainted

himself with the subject, why should he write of it? and if he has acquainted himself with it, why does he so misrepresent it? The Church is infallible only in her official, definitive, *ex cathedra* teaching; she is infallible, that is to say, when she formally defines that such or such a theoretical or practical truth belongs to Divine Revelation. She is not infallible, that is to say, not impeccable, in her government. Hence, what the Church defines to be her right is infallibly such, and in this she has no errors to confess. But what this or that Pope may have asserted about his temporal rights is not infallible. Such assertions unquestionably have a strong presumption in their favor, but error in them is not impossible. Surely it is high time for writers to know the difference between infallibility and impeccability, and what the object of infallibility is.

Proposition 23 (not 22) of the syllabus is as follows: "The Roman Pontiffs and the General Councils have transgressed the limits of their authority, have usurped the rights of princes and have erred even in defining matters of faith and morals." From the condemnation of a complex and general proposition like this, what man at all acquainted with the laws of reasoning will infer the assertion that no Pope has in any case exceeded the limits of his authority or in any case infringed on the rights of civil rulers?

As a matter of course, Mr. Lea does not fail to mention proposition 80 of the syllabus, and he assails Cardinal Gibbons for having given echo to the Papal utterance on the subject. The words of the proposition are: "The Roman Pontiff can and ought to reconcile himself with progress, liberalism and recent (*recenti*) civilization." Now what is the meaning of the condemnation of this proposition? Does it mean that all that constitutes modern civilization is condemned by the Pope? God forbid? As Leo XIII. himself, while still Archbishop of Perugia, so well wrote, we must remark the expression "*reconcile himself*." Under that vaguely indefinite term, "recent or modern civilization," there are included very many things—good, bad and indifferent. With what is good or indifferent in modern civilization the Pope has no need to reconcile himself; to say so would be an impertinence and an affront, just as it would be to say to an upright man, reconcile yourself with justice. With what is bad in modern civilization the Pope neither can nor ought to reconcile himself; so to assert would be a monstrosity. This is the very simple meaning of the condemnation of proposition 80. What reason is there for astonishment or complaint if our Cardinal, so devoted to his faith and so friendly to everything good in his age and his country, has given it echo?

Mr. Lea, quite unconscious of the sorry figure presented by his premises and conclusions, sums them up in the emphatic assertion that—

"The papacy of to-day is not simply a spiritual power, but possesses, according to the received doctrines of the Church, an indefinite jurisdiction over temporal affairs throughout Christendom, which can be enforced at pleasure. It is a political force. . . . All citizens owe to him obedience in whatever he may command."

He goes on to include under this mythical despotism all baptized persons, whether Catholics or not, since St. Alphonsus teaches that they are all bound by the laws of the Church. Assuredly it is the teaching of the Church that all baptized persons are members of the body of Christ, which is His Church. Our Protestant brethren would have reason to think very unkindly of us if we taught otherwise. Naturally enough, we hold that every member of the Church is bound by the laws of the Church; though we also hold that ignorance and good faith in those who are separated from us as to external communion excuse them in the sight of God. And, in fine, we again utterly repudiate, whether for Catholics or for non-Catholics, the caricature of the Church's doctrines and laws presented by our good critic.

In support of his arraignment of the papacy, Mr. Lea takes us back to the days of Elizabeth and James, and finds a convincing proof of his case in the question of the "oath of allegiance" then agitated. He is a bold man, surely, to venture on such ground! For if ever in human history there has been an outrageous ignoring of the distinction between the temporal and the spiritual, a tyrannical trampling on rights of conscience, it was then and there. The oath of allegiance in no way set aside the oath of the royal supremacy in things spiritual, for the refusal of which Fisher and More and multitudes of others were put to death. Nor was the new oath meant as a test of Catholic loyalty. That had been proved not only by Howard of Effingham, but by the uniform conduct of the millions of English Catholics, and could not be seriously called in question. Its purpose was indicated by its title, "*Ad detegendos papistas*—for the detection of papists." Again, consider its phraseology and meaning. The Middle Ages were just drawing to a close. During all those centuries of turbulence, when usurpation and tyranny seemed to be almost everywhere the instinct of rulers, and when, as Mr. Lea acknowledges, the power of the Church was the chief source and conservator of civilization, it was universally considered that the deposing power, recognized by public law, was the main bulwark of popular rights against despotism. That it was, as a rule, used as such no impartial historian can deny. Now Catholics were called upon to denounce it, under the sacred sanction of an oath, as "impious, heretical and damnable." But that it was such, not only no Catholic, but no lover of the truth of history could swear. Mr. Lea is certainly unfortunate in the selection of his evidence, and more than unfor-

tunate in adducing this state of things as a parallel to what is or may be in our country or in our times. Again, let us hear the great historian, Cardinal Hergenrœther, on this point: "Pius IX. declared in plain and precise words, on the 21st of July, 1871, that of the various misrepresentations of the doctrine of papal infallibility the most malicious was the assertion that in the doctrine was included the right of deposing sovereigns and releasing nations from the duty of obedience. This right, his Holiness went on to say, had at times been exercised by the Popes in extreme cases, but had nothing to do with Papal Infallibility. Its source was not in the infallibility belonging to the teaching office, but in the judicial authority of the Popes. This latter, according to the public law then in force, and by the agreement of the Christian nations, who revered in the Pope the supreme judge of Christendom, extended to passing judgment, even *civilliter*, on princes and on individual States. Altogether different is the present condition of affairs, and only malice can confound things and times so different." (Css. I., p. III., n. 5.) Why cannot our good critics take note of such authoritative Catholic teachings, and thus spare themselves and their readers the trouble of wrestling with historical bugbears?

The next testimonies brought forward by Mr. Lea are those of the *exequatur* or *placet regium* and the *appel comme d'abus*. These are limitations put upon papal action by the civil powers; and since, in any disagreement between the two, the papal authority is beforehand presumed by Mr. Lea to be the guilty party, he naturally presents these acts of the civil power as measures of necessary precaution against papal aggression. The facts of the case are these:

The *exequatur* and *placet regium* had for their object to hinder the publication of papal documents and the execution of papal decrees till they had been examined and approved by the government. They had reference not only to measures which might have some semblance of encroachment on the civil domain, but also and even especially to matters purely ecclesiastical and spiritual, having only indirectly, if at all, a bearing on civil life, such as appointments to bishoprics, to parishes and other ecclesiastical benefices or offices, the publication of indulgences, ecclesiastical censures, disciplinary regulations, sometimes even dogmatic definitions.

For this interference with ecclesiastical administration various pretexts were alleged; but the real cause was, that tendency to absolutism, to Cæsarism, which characterized civil rulers more or less during the Middle Ages, but which especially asserted itself in the latter part of the fifteenth century, and throughout the sixteenth and part of the seventeenth. Let any one study the character and acts of a Henry VIII., an Elizabeth, a James I., a Louis

XIV., not to mention others, and the nature of this absolutism will be easily understood. They claimed that their regal authority came directly from God, without any mediation or participation or control. All representation of the nation in the government, towards which there had been a steady tendency under the influence of the Church, was gradually set aside, till there remained only the king and his council, and the monarch could say *l'état c'est moi!* They protested bitterly against the Catholic theologians who, like Bellarmine and Suarez, taught after St. Thomas, that civil power, coming from God, resided in the nation, and thence passed to the sovereign; and that, as it went from the nation to the sovereign, so, in case of tyranny, it could be taken from him. To these absolutists, the Church's teaching and the Church's spiritual authority were equally distasteful, and the tendency was everywhere manifested by them to take all ecclesiastical jurisdiction into their own hands. Even when they did not go so far as to decree themselves "Head of the Church by law established," they strove to make the action of the Church and her chief pastor entirely subject to the civil power. This is the true cause and explanation of the whole wretched business, no matter what the hypocritical pretences alleged by the despots. All this can easily be verified by any student of history, broad and fair-minded enough not to pin his judgment to the assertions of the prejudiced and unreliable Friedberg.

To-day, this odious invention of absolutism has been abandoned in most countries as both unnecessary and unjust. Belgium, Holland, Prussia and Austria abolished it. Italy abolished it in part. France kept it through the dishonest "organic articles" of Napoleon, but it is virtually a dead letter. Spain and Bavaria alone keep it in vigor. The government of the United States alone has never been disgraced by this meddling with ecclesiastical affairs, this confounding of the spiritual with the temporal order. Is it not, then, pitiful, that to-day, and in our country, an American should write the apology of this encroachment upon liberty of worship and rights of conscience, when its very authors show themselves ashamed of it?

He again warns us that "all this is not merely a matter of historical interest." And the reason, forsooth, why we need stand in fear of the same is the Bull *Apostolicæ Sedis*, in which Pius IX. inflicts excommunication on all who shall impede, directly or indirectly, ecclesiastical jurisdiction in either the *forum internum*, or the *forum externum*, or shall procure an appeal to the secular courts, or in any way aid or abet in such an attempt!

We may well ask, in wonder, what it can be that Mr. Lea finds to his purpose in the above-mentioned papal document. It contains only spiritual penalties, meant only for the protection of strictly

ecclesiastical functions, in the *forum internum*, that is in the sacrament of penance, and in the *forum externum*, that is in the ordinary government of a parish by its pastor, of a diocese by its bishop, etc. The prohibition of appeal to the civil tribunals has reference solely to matters entirely ecclesiastical and spiritual. The only visible reason for Mr. Lea's reference to such testimony as this, is that he must have been misled by the term *forum externum*, which he probably misunderstood to mean the realm of civil affairs, as distinguished from ecclesiastical to which alone it pertains.

He finds his next reason for dread of the intentions of the papacy in the old-time claim of immunity of the clergy from certain civil requirements, and especially from trial before civil tribunals. From the earliest days of Christendom it was universally recognized as proper and obligatory that clerics should be exempted from military service, and from any other civil requirements that would necessarily interfere with their sacred calling. It was considered eminently proper that, through respect for the sacred ministry, if a priest were guilty of any misdemeanor, this should not, to the dishonor of religion, be dragged before the public tribunals, but should receive equal justice before tribunals of a more private character, recognized by both Church and State. In proportion as Church and State have drifted apart, this privilege granted to the sacred ministry has been more and more set aside. That the army should have its own courts is most fitting, doubtless, in Mr. Lea's eyes; but that anything of the sort should be thought of for the honor of religion has for him but one meaning—disloyalty to the State. His assertion: "In Catholic eyes . . . the ecclesiastic is a privileged being, under no obligation to obey the laws of the land (!!) and not amenable to them," is so utterly false and so utterly unwarranted, that it can only astonish and disgust.

He goes on to tell of several countries whose laws have been declared by the Holy See to be unjust, and in so far not binding. To him, of course, there is but one side to these cases, and the Pope is uniformly the aggressor. He does not mention that it was only certain special laws that were thus condemned, first because of their being, in their letter and especially in their animus, direct attacks upon the Christian religion, and, secondly, because they were violations of *concordats*, that is to say, of positive contracts, thus contemptuously set aside. All this might have had some importance and weight with an impartial critic. With Mr. Lea it is all null.

He warns the American people that Catholic priests must not be allowed to interfere with elections. Is the minister of God, then, less a citizen of the state because of his position in the

Church? Or, is it allowable for all our gatherings of the various Protestant denominations to interfere, as they constantly do, with civil matters and political questions which they think in any way connected with morality and religion, but altogether wrong for Catholic divines to do the same? The fact, that in questions of morality and religion the Church throughout the world acknowledges a chief central teacher belonging equally to every tribe and tongue that God's providence brings into the one fold, has been sufficiently treated above. To connect the Pope with our American elections is worthy of a backwards Puritan, but ought not to be expected in intelligent and serious men.

His misunderstanding also of the reason why the nations of the earth have had diplomatic relations with the Vatican, and his entire misconception of the meaning of a nuncio's office, cannot but fill one with astonishment. We are convinced that the bulk of the American people will not agree with him that the religious interests of the millions of Catholics in this country, or in any other country, are of so small account that the aims which the representatives of the Pope have in view must be political.

As to Mr. Lea's closing sentiment, we can confidently assure him that if "Old Catholicism," that is, the principle of *nationalism*, failed so dismally in Germany, where nationalism has ever had its stronghold, assuredly it has no chance of succeeding in our country, whose blessed privilege it is to wipe out all narrowness of nationalism, and to blend all nationalities in a national unity, like to the world wide unity of the true Church of Christ.

ST. BERNARD AND HIS APPROACHING CENTENARY.

I.

IN the year of grace 1091, was born in the village of Fontaines, near Dijon, in Burgundy, a man who filled the first half of the twelfth century, up to his death in 1153, with the marvellous activity of a life all devoted to God, to the heroic pursuit of sanctity, to bringing about unity in the Church torn with schism, to effecting peace and concord between Christian princes, to the arduous labor of combating heresies within the bosom of Christendom, and to the still more difficult task of checking the progress of the Mohammedan power.

Appointed abbot in his twenty-fifth year, creating a great monastic establishment in the very bosom of the most frightful wilderness in his native land, and making it a nursery of such austerity and holiness, that its heavenly fragrance filled the whole earth, and induced all Christian peoples to possess one or more of its blessed offshoots, we find Bernard of Clairvaux even at twenty-five, and ever afterward until his dying day, so worn by his unappeasable thirst for penitential mortification, that people wondered how he lived at all. But the great and perpetual miracle was, that this feeble-bodied, emaciated monk was sustained by a spirit which enabled him to attempt and to achieve works so mighty and so various for the welfare of the Holy See and the universal Church, for the peace of Christendom and the revival of supernatural life in the cloister, among the clergy and throughout the population of Continental Europe—that nothing like the godlike deeds of this great saint has been recorded in the annals of the first twelve centuries since the Christian Era.

Nothing like his career, in very truth, can be found in the eight centuries which have elapsed since his great figure disappeared from the scene of his unparalleled influence and miracle-working power. The ten or twelve years which fill up, in the middle of the sixteenth century, the astonishing career of St. Francis Xavier's conquests and miracles, may alone furnish a point of comparison with the gigantic race which St. Bernard ran in the twelfth. These two, like St. Francis of Assisi and St. Dominick in the thirteenth, were glorious instances of the way which the Spirit of God, ever immanent in the Church, selects and governs His own instruments for the mighty purposes required by the special need of souls and the pressing dangers of Christian society at successive periods.

But to St. Bernard belongs the singular destiny, in the divine counsels, of having been all through his public life the poorest and most mortified of monks; the father of a numerous progeny of men resembling himself in self-sacrificing fervor and sanctity of life, the chosen counselor of popes, emperors, kings, and princes; the arbiter in every international quarrel in his time; the man at whose voice inveterate schisms were healed, and the Roman Pontiffs secured in the allegiance of all nations; the divinely eloquent man whose words could arrest and quench the spread of the most baneful heresies, as the descending rain from the heavens extinguishes the fires on our western plains, or stops short the devastating conflagrations in our forests; whose sole appearance, even where the people understood not his language, could arouse all classes to enthusiasm, to repentance, to godliness of life, to heroic deeds and sacrifices—so potent, so irresistible was the divine virtue which went forth from that feeble body, from the very hem of the poor white Cistercian robes; so electric the fire which shot from those mild blue eyes and that pallid face all illumined by a light from heaven; so instantaneous was the effect of his words, even when addressing in his own native idiom, the citizens of Pisa, or Genoa, or Milan, the Germans of Strasburg, or Mayence, or Frankfort. It was the miracle wrought by the Holy Ghost when Peter addressed on the Day of Pentecost the multitudes assembled in Jerusalem from all lands in the Roman Empire. The Galilean fisherman spoke in his provincial dialect, but every listener among the thousands present understood him. Even so was Bernard understood when summoned from his cell at Clairvaux and what seemed his death-bed, to every realm or city in Christendom where triumphant schism, or some mighty local scandal, or spreading heresy, or the necessity of firing princes and peoples with ardor to save Palestine and the tomb of Christ from the Moslem, demanded the spell of his presence, his voice, his sanctity, and the never failing miracles which marked his passage.

What is there in the history of Christian Europe to be compared to this man, whose figure towers above prelates, princes, sovereigns, pontiffs and peoples, all of whom look up to the white robed, gentle and humble monk, as to one in whom dwelt, spoke and wrought the Spirit of Christ?

And now that the eighth centenary of St. Bernard's birth is near at hand in 1891, let us gladden the hearts of American readers by briefly recounting the phases of his most wonderful existence.

II.

Under God, whose providence directs the life of every man destined to fulfil a great and salutary mission, it is to the mother

of St. Bernard, the Blessed Alèthe de Montbard, that our Saint owed the early training which made him prize the heroism of sanctity above that of arms, which was the profession of his noble father, Tescelin-le-Rous (the red-haired), of his two elder brothers, Guy and Gerard, and of two of his younger brothers, Andrew and Bartholomew.

Tescelin was a scion of the Counts of Chatillon-sur-Seine, "an ancient knightly stock," says one of the Saint's biographers, "on which no stain of low extraction or *mésalliance* had ever fallen in its various branches from time immemorial." His wife, Alèthe de Montbard, was of a no less illustrious descent, the Counts de Montbard being nearly connected with the sovereign house of Burgundy. In their court, Count Tescelin held a high rank, and was distinguished by his wit, his brilliant valor and his wisdom in council.

Let us say it at once; not the least extraordinary circumstance in the life of St. Bernard is the fact that, after losing his saintly mother in his early youth, he won to the life of the cloister, and to the heroic pursuit of self-sacrifice and Christian perfection, not only his four brothers and his only sister, Humbeline, but his father, Tescelin, on whom the popular veneration, with the acquiescence of the Church, conferred, as it did on Alèthe and their daughter Humbeline, the title of "Blessed." We shall see in the course of our narrative what were the virtues and qualities of Bernard's five brothers, every one of whom, in due course of time, was led, by the fascination of Bernard's example and exhortations, to become his companion or disciple; Tescelin, at length, following his sons, and walking in their footsteps, and under Bernard's guidance, up the narrow way first trodden by Christ.

Such were the men who founded Clairvaux and who reposed in its lowly cemetery, mixing their dust with more than one generation of saints, when the great revolution of 1789-93 came to destroy the holy and beautiful places of France, and to cast out from their tombs the relics of God's saints.

The centenary of 1891, however, will find what remains of the Monastery of Clairvaux transformed into a prison for criminals, and a house of detention for political prisoners.¹ God is patient, because He is eternal, and will restore, in His own good time, Clairvaux to the Church of France, and will bless the surrounding vale with a spiritual springtide as fair in its promise as that which gladdened the souls of Tescelin and his children.

A glance now at the castle of Fontaines-lez-Dijon, the ancient

¹ The young Duke of Orleans, our readers will remember, was for some time imprisoned there, and he showed a Christian spirit worthy of a son of St. Louis, and a chivalrous courage and firmness befitting this sainted Crusader.

manor-house of Tescelin, and the birth-place of that Bernard, whose glorious name and surpassing merits are going to be celebrated in the Old World and the New during the whole of the next year.

For it is to Fontaines in particular that the Catholics of France and the surrounding countries are already preparing to go in pilgrimage a twelvemonth hence, during the month of August especially. Nor, we make no rash prediction in saying it, will travellers of Irish descent, from whatever land they come to France next year, fail to visit, not only Clairvaux, hallowed as the spot where their own St. Malachy died in the arms of the great abbot, his twin soul, where Bernard breathed his last, clad with the poor tunic of Malachy, and where both reposed in death, side by side, during so many ages, but Fontaines, where France in her present bitter trial is reviving in men's minds the memory of the sainted dead, and enkindling in the hearts of the rising generations the faith and piety which shall one day emulate the godlike deeds of eight hundred years ago.

"About a mile and a half to the northwest of Dijon," says the historian of St. Bernard,¹ "a traveller coming to the city from Langres beholds in the midst of a plain covered with fruitful grapevines as with a rich carpet, rising up from this wealth of vegetation, the slender and graceful form of the hill which bears the ancient vilage of Fontaines. Along the slopes of this hill the houses cling, row above row, to the irregularities of the surface, while here and there trees and shrubbery diversify the prospect and lend to the whole both beauty and picturesqueness. Further up, the old parish church lifts its spire above the village; and higher still, on the very summit of the hill, shines forth, as a diadem, a structure of imposing dimensions, the architectural lines of which are those of a feudal castle. Under the modern additions made to these walls, as a jewel within a splendid casket, is the room in which St. Bernard was born."

One of the buttresses of the summit, on the southern side, plunges into a pond, which is formed by a spring of living water. This gave its name to the village of *Fontaines*.

From the esplanade in front of the parish church extends, on every side, one of the most magnificent prospects in France, in all Europe, indeed. A vine-carpeted plain spreads out like a sea to the Jura and the Alps, the snowy summits of which are illumined by the first rays of the morning sun and the last splendors of evening. Dijon, with its antique towers and its steeples, seems, in the early dawn or the late twilight, like a fleet at anchor in that sea at the very foot of the hill.²

¹ Chevallier, i, p. 2.

² *Le Sanctuaire de Saint Bernard à Fontaine-les-Dijon.*

At some distance from the church are grouped various buildings and remains of buildings of apparently different styles and ages. One would think, and think rightly, that the group formed, all in one, a fortress, a chapel, and a monastery, for there is the ancient feudal castle of Tescelin, with what time and the vandalism of the Revolution left standing of the seventeenth century¹ church of Reformed Cistercians (*Feuillants*) with their monastery, under the immediate protection of Louis XIII. The chamber in which St. Bernard was born had been converted into a chapel and become a place of pious pilgrimage before the foundation of the monastery. Thither St. Francis of Sales, and his heroic disciple, St. Francis de Chantal, loved to come and pray and refresh their souls.

The protection and generous patronage bestowed on Fontaines, its church and monastery, by Louis XIII., and his son and successor, were not withdrawn in the succeeding reigns. But the favor with which the establishment was treated was anything but a recommendation to the Jacobins of 1793. The monks were expelled, the church with the chapel of St. Bernard was stripped of every valuable they possessed, the monastery was torn down, the tower of the old feudal castle was half levelled, but the solid mediæval mason-work would only yield to powder, and the revolutionists had none to spend on the work of demolition.

A blacksmith put up a forge in one part of the church, the other was changed into a stable; and thus it fared with the buildings, till, in 1821, a pious lawyer of Dijon purchased the property, and covered in the church to save it from further ruin.

In 1840, the Abbé Renault, Vicar-General of the diocese, obtained possession of the buildings, and then began the period of restoration. Bishop after bishop helped on the blessed work. At present the establishment is the abode of a zealous body of diocesan missionaries, among whom is numbered Mgr. Henry Leneuf, formerly Vicar-General of New Orleans, and well known in New York.

The castle of the knightly Tescelin has been repaired and enlarged; the blessed room in which Alèthe de Montbard gave birth to her privileged babe has been purified, hallowed anew, and adorned as befits so precious a sanctuary, while the monastery church of the Feuillants is arising, like the Phœnix from the cinders and ashes left behind by the Revolution, more beautiful and more stately than before.

The heart of Catholic Burgundy and that of all Catholic France, exhaustless in its charities, will not cease to pour out their trea-

¹ The *Feuillants*, or Reformed Cistercians, built a monastery at Fontaines in 1617. On January 6, 1619, the corner-stone of the monastery church was blessed with extraordinary solemnity.

tures until the native home of the greatest saint, and the most extraordinary man, ever born within her borders, shall be made worthy of his incomparable fame and of their undying gratitude.

Such, then, is the spot, in the very heart of the fairest portion of the kingdom of St. Louis, which is sure to be the chief centre of attraction all through next year's centennial solemnities.

Of the Cathedral of Troyes, which possesses in a magnificent monstrance the heads of St. Bernard and our own St. Malachy, and of the parish church of Ville-sous-La Ferté, which contains, enclosed in a modern shrine still more magnificent, the blended and well authenticated remains of the two sainted friends, we shall speak further on.

Let us now give our whole thought to the chief phases of the marvellous career filled by the first Abbot of Clairvaux.

III.

The blessed Alèthe superintended herself the education of her favorite son until he was between eight and nine years old. Then she placed him with the canons of St. Vorles at Chatillon, her husband's native city. The school directed by these canons then enjoyed a great reputation, and they were themselves widely famed not only for the learning, but for the edifying regularity of their lives. Chatillon was near enough to Fontaines to permit Alèthe to spend a great part of her time at her husband's castle in the former, and thus to watch over the progress made by her boy in knowledge as well as in virtue.

And, sooth to say, this twofold progress was extraordinary. The difficulties which delayed the intellectual advancement of learners of his age did not exist for Bernard. He soon mastered the Latin tongue, and delighted in reading the masterpieces bequeathed to us by the great writers of Rome, his teachers taking care meanwhile to keep away from him such works and such passages as might sully the mind and heart of one whose purity of soul had been so well guarded by his holy mother.

The piety of the boy was also a bright example for his school-mates. It is related of him about this time, by his earliest biographers, that while watching in the canon's choir, on Christmas eve, for the solemn midnight Mass, Bernard was overcome with sleep and favored with a vision in which he beheld the Mother of God and her newly-born babe. This filled him with such love for both that he was regarded through all succeeding ages as the type of devotion to the Incarnate God and His Virgin Mother.

From this early age also dates the love of the Saint for the sacred Scriptures, the very soul of which is Christ, promised in Eden and given to us in Bethlehem.

About the age of eighteen the young scholar returned to Fontaines to fulfil all the dearest hopes of his fond mother. She had long set her heart on seeing him devoted exclusively to the Divine service—on seeing him, indeed, a true follower of Christ in the arduous paths of self-sacrifice and crucifixion. Her own life, in so far as her duties as the mother of a large family and the mistress of a noble and numerous household permitted, was, in truth, one of perpetual abnegation. Inside her home she was worshipped by her husband, children and servants, and outside all regarded her as the mirror of all Christian virtues.

She did not, however, long enjoy the companionship of her best-beloved child. She suddenly sickened, and, forewarned of her approaching end, she summoned all her dear ones around her. It was at the very time when she was wont to celebrate with great solemnity the feast of St. Ambrosian, August 31st, the patron of the manorial chapel, and to it were invited all the clergy of the surrounding country. The Lady Alèthe, though aware of her impending death, would have no change made in the festivities or in the hospitalities which accompanied them. She rejoiced rather that so many of God's priests were providentially assembled beneath her roof to help her with their prayers as she was passing out of this world.

So when the feast was over, at her bidding her guests, with her family and household, assembled around her deathbed. Tescelin, at the first warning given of her mortal danger by the wife who was the light of his life, would not believe that death was so near. Nor could her children, as she addressed to them her last motherly advice and bade them join in the prayers for the dying, bring themselves to think that she was about to be taken from them. Nevertheless, the last Sacraments were administered, the sublime prayers for the soul departing were recited by the assembled priests, while Tescelin and his children wept in consternation, grief and bewilderment. She, meanwhile, divinely informed of the nearness of her last moment, retained the fulness of her self-possession. Her right hand was raised in the act of forming the sign of the cross over her weeping dear ones, when the heroic spirit passed away. Hand and arm retained their posture in death, as a sign that all was supernatural in the light which had been given to Alèthe and in the prophetic announcement of her sudden but most saintly end.

This loss deeply affected Bernard. His two oldest brothers, Guy and Gerard, had embraced the military career, on which their father's valor and virtues shed so glorious a lustre; two of his younger brothers, Andrew and Bartholomew, were already candidates for knighthood. Nivard, the sixth and youngest of Tesce-

lin's sons, was but a child. Bernard, whose careful literary training and cultivated tastes disposed him to the pursuit of the highest knowledge and whom the examples and exhortations of his saintly mother inclined powerfully to renounce the world, was, after the death of Alèthe, like one suddenly forsaken by his guide, in a strange country and uncertain which road to choose among those opening out before him.

There were those among his friends who advised him to go to the most famous universities and there complete the circle of various knowledge he had acquired and contend for the palm of eminence in sacred and profane science. But others warned him that in the great European schools there were fearful dangers for such as he, reared in all innocence and the practice of all goodness beneath the watchful eyes of a mother like Alèthe de Montbard. Tescelin and his sons would fain have fired his soul with the military ardor and the noble ambition which filled their own. Guy was most happily married, and in his oldest brother Bernard thus beheld the Christian soldier and the Christian husband and father crowned in early youth with worldly honor and domestic bliss, while looking forward to a career of the loftiest distinction.

And so there arose before the young noble's eyes visions which dazzled, fascinated and shut out from view the arid heights among which lay the paths leading to self-renouncement and sanctity.

It is on record that one day while thus pursued by dreams of wedded bliss like that of his brother Guy, Bernard suddenly left the castle, and, coming to the half-frozen pond half way down the Hill of Fontaines, plunged into it and there remained till he had completely recovered the mastery over his senses and restored to his soul the peace it had lost.

This first effort toward victory over self was only the first step on that road which was to lead by degrees the youth of twenty to embrace what was most heroic in monastic life—the practice of perpetual self-crucifixion.

He only reached by degrees, by most painful and heroic efforts, the determination to do what the grace of God solicited him continually to do—to take up his cross and tread closely and unfalteringly in the footsteps of the MASTER.

He was impelled by a secret inspiration to visit the crypt of the Church of St. Benignus, in Dijon, where his beloved mother was buried. With his head laid on the tombstone which covers her remains, the young man wept and prayed, beseeching her help before God and beseeching God's light and guidance in the dreadful perplexities which troubled his soul. As the tears fell and the fervent prayers ascended, a voice seemed to come forth from the tomb warning him away from the world and its seductions.

At once he makes up his mind to choose "the better part." A few days after this visit to his mother's grave, Bernard is bidden to the fortress of Grancey, where his father and brothers, under the command of the Duke of Burgundy, are engaged in the operations of a siege. On his way, the youth enters a chapel by the roadside and kneels before a crucifix, beseeching from Christ enthroned on high, light and strength to follow Him. As he looks upon the image of the God of Calvary, the words uttered to the crowds in Galilee come to the suppliant's mind with overwhelming force: "Come to Me all you that labor and are burdened, and I will refresh you. Take up My yoke upon you and learn of Me, because I am meek and humble of heart, and you shall find rest to your souls. For My yoke is sweet and My burden light."¹

From that hour Bernard took the cross and the Crucified to his heart. Never thereafter, until his dying day, did he seek his pleasure or his joy in anything else than the bitter-sweet of total crucifixion.

And what a spectacle to the Christendom of the twelfth century was the life which the blessed son of Alèthe thenceforward led! And with what wondrous power the Crucified invested this passionate lover of His cross!

It was to his mother's own brother that Bernard first addressed himself to win a first companion in the heroic spiritual warfare which he contemplated. This was Gaudry de Montbard, Lord of Touillon, a man still in the prime of life, wealthy, happily married, widely honored for his chivalrous character, and the austere purity of his private conduct. The nephew at first only consulted his favorite uncle on the determination to which he had come. But the eloquence of this youth of twenty, describing his own interior struggle and unearthly ambition which had lately taken possession of his soul, touched Gaudry deeply.

With all its feudal vices and social shortcomings, the twelfth century, like the eleventh, was an age of deep faith, when men had the courage of acting up to their convictions, and dared to realize in their own lives, at the cost of every sacrifice, the ideals of spiritual perfection revealed to them.

Gaudry felt himself irresistibly called to follow his young nephew and disclosed his purpose to his wife. It was the age, also, when wives armed their husbands for the crusades, and thus gave to the soldiers of Christ a double share of heroism. So the Lady of Touillon bade her husband go forth to the new crusade which Bernard was about to begin within the sacred recesses of the cloister itself.

¹ St. Matthew, xi., 30.

Bartholomew, who came in the order of age, second after Bernard, and whom their mother had impregnated with her own spirit of heavenly generosity, was the first of Tescelin's household to yield to the eloquence of the future Abbot of Clairvaux. Andrew, who was next in years to Bernard himself, and who had received the honor of knighthood, opposed a stout resistance to all the arguments of the latter. Not till Alèthe had appeared to him in a vision did the young knight, "from being a candidate for worldly fame, become a soldier of Christ."¹

By something which much resembles a miracle, the two oldest brothers, Guy and Gerard, were won over. Guy, like his uncle Gauldry, was married and the father of two children. Everything which could fill the heart of man, in the present and in the prospects of a most brilliant future, induced the proud young noble to close his ears to his brother's arguments. Still Guy and his wife yielded to what must have been the call of God, he renouncing home and family to join his brothers, and she betaking herself with her young children to a convent. The eminent virtues which afterward distinguished both, proved that the hand of God had wrought the mighty change in their lives. Gerard, destined to be at Clairvaux his brother's most trusted counsellor and helpmate, was not so easily won as Guy, although Gerard was not bound by matrimonial ties and the claims of parental duty. It was only when stricken down in battle, by what seemed a mortal wound, that Gerard, lying at death's door, saw the vanity of all earthly glory and ambition, and vowed, if he lived, to join Bernard and his associates.

Humbeline and little Nivard were alone left to the widowed Tescelin in the Castle of Fontaines, which Alèthe and her seven children had filled, like a deep cup overflowing, with a happiness all the more intoxicating, that it had in it a foretaste of the joys of heaven.

He had not himself yet reached the age of fifty when this double bereavement fell upon his heart and his home. It will give us some idea of the magnanimity of the man, who, like his wife, deserved the title of blessed, that he at once yielded to Bernard's solicitation, and allowed him and his brothers, with their uncle Gauldry, to take possession of the ancestral halls at Chatillon, and there, undisturbed, give themselves up to the ascetic exercises which were the prelude of a monastic life.

Other chosen souls from their kinsfolk, their friends and acquaintances among the neighboring gentry, joined them in quick

¹ Guillaume de Saint Thierry, *Vita S. Bern. Et de Tirone Saeculi Factus est Miles Christi*, c. 3, n. 10.

succession, among these new recruits being Milo de Montbard, another brother of the Blessed Alèthe.

When the recluses at Chatillon had thus numbered thirty, Bernard, instead of founding with them a new monastic order, resolved to join the monks of Cîteaux, a reformed branch of the Benedictines of France, founded not many years before by St. Robert of Molesmes, who was a blood relation both of Tescelin and Alèthe. The forest of Cîteaux, in which Robert had planted the monastery, giving its name to the Cistercian reform, was plainly visible from the Castle of Fontaines.

In the early springtide of 1113, when Bernard was only in his 22d year, he quitted Chatillon with his companions, and came to pay a farewell visit to Tescelin at Fontaines.

Then was enacted a memorable scene. The widowed and noble soldier, in whose heart the love of earthly glory and the hallowed home-affections struggled with a secret yearning for the supernatural heroism practiced by his sons, received them and their associates with a stately courtesy. Were these pale-faced and poorly clad wayfarers the brilliant knights who so lately had stood by his side in the Court of Burgundy, or who had shared with him the perils of the foremost front of battle?

And were they to leave him and his home forever on the morrow? So if joy were mixed with his greeting of them, and with their conversation at table and throughout the evening, the parting on the morrow was unspeakably sad.

As they stood near the door of their paternal castle, Bernard was the first to kneel at his father's feet and to ask for a blessing on them all. The stout heart of the warrior was too full. He spoke no word. But while the tears coursed down his cheeks—an unwonted thing—he pressed to his heart in succession his sons, his brothers, and the remainder of the devoted band.

Humbeline clung to Bernard. She had been the confidant of his earliest struggles and temptations. But she was too young or too thoughtless to set a just value on the sacrifice he was then making. The little Nivard was clasped in Guy's strong arms. "My little brother," said the latter, "we are leaving you this castle and all our father's estates and honors. This is a great fortune for you." "Yes," answered the boy, "but they say that you are choosing Heaven where our mother is, and leaving me but earth. It is not a fair exchange."¹

Tescelin amid the mist which dimmed his eyes saw the noble band of thirty—his own dearest on earth among them—turning their backs on Fontaines, descending the hill, and taking the road

¹ Guillaume de Saint-Thierry, *Vita S. Bern.*, c. iii., n. 17.

which led to Citeaux. His little son and daughter clung, sobbing, to him, while he, in this great bereavement, half envied his sons and kinsmen who had chosen the better way. Did the great heart of the widowed husband and father then feel, in this parting, the first promptings of the grace which later drew him also to cast his lot with Bernard and his companions? We may well believe that he did.

IV.

Citeaux and its saintly abbot were then in a desperate plight. A fearful epidemic was raging in the monastery, and had carried off more than one-half of the monks. Besides, the outside world which had loudly censured the extreme austerity of St. Stephen and his religious family, had little or no sympathy to bestow on their sufferings. And, moreover, Providence permitted that, for a considerable lapse of time, no novices presented themselves to recruit this first Cistercian community wasted by the preternatural rigor of their lives and decimated by a cruel epidemic.

Something like despair or at least discouragement, hung over St. Stephen and his monastery, when the Abbot was suddenly called to meet the thirty strangers knocking for admission at his gates. Stephen, during the bitter days which he had passed of late, had been favored with a vision in which he beheld one of the most exemplary of the monks cut off by the prevailing distemper.

"Father, put away all fear from your mind," the dead monk had said. "The life you lead here is pleasing to God. You who now weep over the few children left you, shall hear with your own ears these words of benediction: 'Our abode is too narrow for its inmates. Build for us a more spacious dwelling able to contain our increasing multitude.' Lo! novices are coming to you, and among their numerous bands are men of birth and genius. They will make of your monastery a hive sending forth its swarms on every side."¹

For an entire twelve-month Bernard and his companions wore the secular dress they had brought with them to Citeaux. St. Stephen deemed that interval short enough to try their generosity in submitting to the life of crucifixion the rule required. But the austerities of Citeaux did not satisfy the soul of Bernard and his followers in their hunger and thirst for self-immolation.

Stephen Harding who united in his own person all the heroic and saint-like qualities to be found in the ancient monasteries of Great Britain and Ireland, was struck with wonder at seeing the progress in sanctity of Bernard and his brethren. Bernard, in particular, ran like a giant in the path of spiritual perfection.

¹ Chevallier, *Hist. de St. Bernard*, i, 54.

"Come to the cloister," says his historian, "to offer himself to God as a whole burnt-offering, he never made any reserve in his sacrifice of self, being ever impatient to advance higher, ever more and more given to complete the work begun, and forgetful of the road over which he had travelled to reach higher summits and wider horizons."¹

Then, his bodily strength wasted by the penitential rigors which the young man of twenty-two practiced with such unearthly fervor, began for Bernard the bodily weakness which was to last as long as his life, filling all who saw him with wonder that he could work or live at all. "His stomach refused all food; his intense bodily pains made sleep impossible; the habit of standing erect or kneeling so long in prayer, had fearfully swollen the lower limbs. The folly of the cross (the passion for bodily austerities) had imprinted, here and there on the flesh of the novice, stigmata which became great wounds."²

His sole ambition is to make himself worthy of Christ crucified; and to deserve a closer personal union with the Lord of his love, he was constantly asking himself, when bodily strength gave way, or lassitude stole over his spirit: *Bernarde, ad quid venisti?* "Bernard, what brought thee here?"

In the impossibility of joining his brother-monks in the field-labor and other manual occupations, which filled so much of the time of the Cistercian recluses, he was allowed to devote himself to the study and meditation of the Scriptures. He so penetrated himself with the divine spirit they breathe and with the very diction of the sacred penman, that his beautiful style is made up of the Scriptural language. So that his perfect knowledge of the Revealed Writings, his intense love of the Word Incarnate and his Virgin-Mother, as well as his extraordinary gift of eloquence, have, in this unique diction of his, a ready and most effective instrument of instruction and persuasion.

In 1114 Bernard and his companions were admitted to make their solemn monastic vows. Perhaps it was about this time that the saint was ordained priest. Certain it is that in the beginning of 1115 the fame of Cîteaux, thanks to the attention concentrated on it by the sons of Tescelin, their kinsfolk and friends, had drawn such numbers of the nobly-born and the generous of soul to the monastery, that the bees in the hive had perforce to swarm. The first swarm settled in the forest of Bragne, on the river Grosne, and was called La Ferté (*Firmitas*), because the wonderful increase at Cîteaux was a confirmation of the reforms begun there and a promise of perpetuity. A second swarm settled between the

¹ *Ibidem.*, pp. 60-61.

² *Ibid.*, p. 64.

Seine and the Loire, under the leadership of Hugh de Macon, the schoolmate and beloved friend of Bernard: They founded the Monastery of Pontigny, so well known in English and mediæval history.

The third swarm, guided by Bernard himself, settled far to the north of Fontaines and Citeaux, on the left bank of the Aube, in a central position between Langres, Troyes and Chatillon. It was a densely wooded valley, walled in all round by lofty and precipitous mountains. The people far and near called it the Vail of Absinth (or Bitterness), "less on account of the bitter herbs that grew there, than because of the bitter sufferings and cries of the wretched travellers there surprised by bandits."¹

The valley was a gift of Hugh, Count of Champagne. It was soon to be called *Clairvallée*, or *Clairvaux*, "The Vale of Brightness," because of the physical transformation wrought by Bernard and his monks, and especially by the splendor shed on the whole country by the extraordinary sanctity of their lives.

It was, then, a wild forest wilderness to which Bernard was sent to found an offshoot of Citeaux. Building or habitation of any kind there was none. With him came to the Valley of Absinth, his uncle Gauldry, his four brothers, Guy, Gerard, Andrew and Bartholomew; his relatives, Godefry de la Roche, Robert and Ebold.

The new abbot's first care, on arriving in the valley, and after selecting the site for the monastery, is to mark out the cemetery, the site for the chapel and that of their dwelling. A shed or tent covered with branches shelters the newcomers from the inclemency of the weather, while they fell the forest trees and build as they may the walls of oratory and convent. They have no fear of the wild beasts that infest the surrounding mountains, nor of the wilder men who have hitherto made of this solitude a place of dread.

The historian does not say how the new community found means of subsisting while they cleared away the forest, reared the monastic structures and prepared the first fields for culture. But from the first day and night spent there by them, the echoes of the enclosing hills and the depths of the gloomy forest wilderness resounded to the voice of Psalmody. The Spirit of God was exorcising from the place the spirit of evil which had so long dwelt there.

The first winter spent there was appalling. The monks were compelled to seek among the nearest hamlets wherewith to keep off starvation. More than once they were left without the bare

¹ Guillaume de Thierry, *Life of St. Bernard*, c. 5, n. 25.

necessaries of life. Their sole clothing was a tunic of coarse white cloth with a cowl of the same color and material. The common dormitory was only covered over with rushes, through which the rain poured.

One day Gerard complained bitterly that they were come to the direst extremity. Bernard endeavored to calm his just apprehensions, and then went straight to the chapel to pray. While the abbot was still pleading at the mercy-seat, Gerard, who had charge of the temporalities of the monastery, was summoned to the gate, and there received an abundant alms which relieved their present need.

But it needed more than bread, or wine, or the warmth and creature-comforts of a home in the inhospitable wilderness to sustain these nobly-born recluses amid such desperate trials and privations. But the sublime spirit of self-sacrifice which animated Bernard, his examples more eloquent than his words, and his words glowing with the spirit of heavenly persuasion—all this, as every morning rose to try the perseverance of his companions, and as evening came only to bring fresh trials, made the young abbot of twenty-five like the Angel of God in the eyes of his brethren, treading before them the dizzy heights and beckoning them, with words of fire, to follow to where Christ awaited them.

In the midst of this suffering Bernard was careful not to let a day pass without feeding his dear companions with the word of God. Not satisfied with the sublime instruction contained in the Psalms and Scripture-lessons of the Divine Office which they chanted together with the most edifying regularity and fervor at the prescribed hours of both day and night, the Abbot of Clairvaux made it a sacred duty to give, every evening, one of those beautiful and soul-stirring homilies—a few only, comparatively, of which have been preserved to us. These were intended for the benefit of all, but more especially for that of the lay-brothers, who might not be able to read, and who had not had the advantage of any kind of literary culture. It was impossible to sit long at the feet of Bernard of Clairvaux and to listen to his sermons on the Feasts of the Church and his commentaries on the Books of Scripture, without being flooded with intellectual light and impelled upward to the highest sanctity. He was, most truly, the lamp of the sanctuary lighting up and warming all its recesses.

This marvellous eloquence of word and example was soon echoed beyond the limits of the valley. The illustrious scholar and prelate, William de Champeaux, Bishop of Châlons, heard of it, was drawn to Clairvaux, and there everything he beheld filled him with astonishment and admiration. But the wonder which most struck him was the young abbot, who, scarcely entered on

the springtide of manhood, was adorned with the learning, the wisdom and the virtues of a ripe old age—a saintly youth, who, in a wasted frame and with health seemingly ruined, displayed an energy all divine.

William de Champeaux at once conceived for Bernard a veneration and a friendship which only grew with each succeeding year. He prevailed on him to come to Châlons and preach in the cathedral there. The young abbot did not feel himself at liberty to refuse. The bishop's anticipations were more than fulfilled. The very sight of Bernard in the streets, his very appearance in the pulpit above the heads of the great audience, moved men's souls to their depths, even before the preacher had uttered a single word. It has been one of the mighty phenomena, accounting for the conversion of the pagan world to Christianity, that there is in the very presence of God's saints a spell so potent that it moves the masses with a resistless power. A virtue went forth from Christ which healed the sick and converted sinners, reaching, in its Divine energy, the very seat of physical and moral disease in body and soul. Peter, the chief of the Apostles, the leader of the sacred band entrusted with continuing Christ's mission, was, like his fellow-Apostles, clothed with that same virtue from on high. A word from his lips--the spellword "Jesus of Nazareth"—instantly cured the cripple at the beautiful gate of the Temple. The very touch of his garments, like those of the Master, had healing power. Nay, as in the miracles performed by Christ, so in those wrought by His Apostles and Disciples, the healing of the spirit, the entire change of the sinful heart, accompanied the healing of the body. More wonderful even than the spoken word or the touch of hand or garment were the miracles performed by St. Peter in Jerusalem, where they brought from all sides the sick and the afflicted, that the shadow of the Apostle might fall on them as he passed and restore them to perfect health.

St. Bernard, when he exercised his first Apostleship at Châlons-sur-Marne, was only at the beginning of a career filled year after year with prodigies wrought by the Spirit of God through this chosen instrument of His.

The popular multitude was moved by the eloquence of his evident holiness of life much more than by his words of electric fire, to give up their evil habits and thoroughly change their lives. To the extraordinary change wrought among the people corresponded that which took place among the ranks of the clergy, among the young nobility and the most distinguished professors and students in the surrounding university schools.

Clairvaux was too narrow to contain the numbers of recruits

who followed Bernard as he bade farewell to Châlons and its grateful bishop.

It was only the beginning of that apostleship which was soon to embrace the entire field of the Church.

But the saintly abbot, on his return to his monastery, instead of repairing his strength after the uncommon fatigues of his mission, was bent only on increasing the excessive austerities suspended somewhat during his labors in Châlons. His friend, the bishop, hearing that the abbot was lying at death's door, hastened to save a life so precious. For a brief space the sick man was forced to change his manner of living, and relieved from the government of his monastery. Only for a brief time, however; for the monks of Clairvaux yearned for the meek and gentle presence of their abbot, and could not be reconciled to a further privation of his inspired teaching and his heroic examples. So Bernard was once more left free to tread as closely as he wished in the footsteps of the Master up the road to Calvary.

In 1117 Bernard had the supreme consolation of welcoming successively to Clairvaux his young brother Nivard, and his father, Tescelin. The latter, who had just given his daughter Humbeline in marriage to the noble Guy de Marey, could not resist the prayers of Nivard, who asked to join his brothers in the Bitter Vale. Then Bernard went to his beloved parent, left all alone in the Castle of Fontaines, and prevailed on him also to give up the world for the cloister. Thus the six brothers were unspeakably comforted by having their father among them. And Tescelin soon proved that he was as generous in following his Crucified Lord as he had been in serving his royal master, the Duke of Burgundy. No one in all the great community now assembled at Clairvaux outstripped Tescelin in all the virtues which make monastic life the glory of the Church and the admiration of heaven itself.

We men of the nineteenth century look back with a half-incredulous, half-yearning wonder at this great home of sanctity in the blooming and blissful solitude of Clairvaux and feel ourselves fascinated by the spectacle of that multitude of white-robed monks, the great majority of whom are the noblest in the land, by birth and culture, and at whose head stand the gray-haired Tescelin and his six sons.

But the twelfth century was an age of feudal violence, pride, and corruption, which sorely needed in the cloister and in the Church the supernatural examples of Christian meekness, humility, poverty, and self-sacrifice, to bring back over men's lives the reign of God and His Christ.

Most blessed, in every sense of the word, was this Tescelin, the parent of an offspring as heroic as the Machabees, and destined to

restore the Kingdom of God throughout Christendom, to purify the Temple, to restore sacrifice in the Holy of Holies, and to drive the enemies of Christ beyond the boundaries of every European country save Spain.

Now admire how one poor monk, bearing in his person and his life the image of Christ crowned with thorns and crucified, can lift up the world around him, the peoples of an entire continent, to a higher spiritual life, to a knowledge and an imitation of the divine ideals which are the light and the life of a truly Christian society.

V.

No one who reads the life of St. Bernard of Clairvaux, and who is also well acquainted with the history of mediæval Christendom, but must know that the chief evils which were the bane of the religious and civil societies of these ages, were caused by the dominating and irresistible power of feudalism. Every one of the barbarian tribes which from the north of Europe or from Asia, conquered successively the provinces of the Roman Empire, imposed on the populations subject to them a well-ordered and uniform system of slavery or of serfdom. There were, at the origin, but two castes in each of the conquered countries—the warrior or free caste, and the serfs or slaves. The military caste elected the king, and he, once freely chosen, was the lord paramount of the entire territory won by himself and his followers. Under him the chief nobles and warriors of various degrees, held their *fiefs* or landed possessions together with the serfs who cultivated the soil.

It took a long time to bring the conquerors—from the third and fourth centuries of our era—within the influence of the Church, which, even at this early period, had widely disseminated her belief, her morality, her lofty spirit of the equality and liberty of all Christian men as children of God. In the British Islands, as well as in the countries of Continental Europe, history attests how ruthlessly the barbarian invaders enforced their rule after having swept away the popular and religious institutions created by the Church before their coming.

Just in proportion as the civilizing and refining action of the Church was felt by converting, winning over, and enlightening these rude warriors, was the feudal pride toned down, the feudal yoke lightened for the oppressed, and the Christian notions of equality and liberty substituted for that monstrous hierarchy of tyranny and servitude—FEUDALISM.

This system was firmly established in the France of the eleventh and twelfth centuries to which St. Bernard belongs. Long before then the German emperors who succeeded Charlemagne, and the kings who ruled all Catholic Europe, claimed the right to nominate

to church dignities, because bishops owed the temporalities of their sees to royal gift, and were, as vassals of the suzerain bound to do him homage for the lands possessed by their church, and to receive at his hands the investiture of the fiefs thus held. The great nobles who built churches, founded rich chapters, endowed monasteries, or gave their lands for any ecclesiastical establishment, maintained their claims to nominate to the benefices thus created, and this claim became hereditary.

Thus it happened at the time when St. Bernard was born, and when he began to exercise on the public affairs of Christendom the unprecedented influence we are about to sketch, that there was not one great position or office in the Church of Christ which the reigning sovereigns of Europe and the great feudal families, did not endeavor by main and might to obtain for scions of their own, or for their own favorites and instruments.

The German emperors, who swore at their coronation to protect the Popes in the free and untrammelled exercise of their supreme pastoral authority, claimed, and were long allowed, a vote in the election to the vacant papal chair. When, at a later period, the right of electing the pope was restricted to the college of cardinals, then every crowned head or petty sovereign in Christendom sought to have as many cardinals as possible in the conclave.

We have said above, how sovereigns claimed, as an inherent right, to nominate to all ecclesiastical dignities and benefices. Bismarck claimed it for Prussia, and one of the hard conditions imposed on Leo XIII., by the then all powerful Chancellor, in exchange for a relaxation of the May Laws, was to give the government the right to veto the nomination of parish priests. This right with regard to all dignities and benefices is, and always has been, claimed in Italy by the usurping and persecuting Piedmontese government.

It is still exercised by the radical revolutionary government at present omnipotent in France. Nay, the British government has never ceased to claim it even in Ireland, and, as we know, until within the present pontificate, has managed in a great measure to exercise it.

Even in monasteries founded in the most frightful solitudes by St. Benedict, or by his glorious son, St. Bernard, the very wilderness which was abandoned to them by some great feudal lord, was, when generations of monks had made it as fertile and lovely as the garden of God, claimed as a feudal possession with the right of feudal patronage.

We are witnessing the growth of Clairvaux, and the transformation wrought in the Valley of Absinth by the toil of the heroic men who had followed Bernard thither. But long before Bernard's

time, Columbanus and his Irish monks had effected a like transformation in other portions of what is now France; they had been protected and favored awhile by kings and queens, and then, when the courageous old patriarch dared to lift his voice and rebuke royal cruelty and immorality, he and his were cast forth and driven from kingdom to kingdom till they settled in peace near the summit of the Ligurian Alps above the territory of Genoa.

Far otherwise fared it with one of the great Benedictine monasteries which had come after Columbanus. Cluny had been founded by a saint—Saint Mayeul. Its first and second generation of monks had also made of Cluny a spiritual paradise, and a garden of delight to the eye. It had sent its offshoots all over the land, till the abbot of Cluny came to be called "the Abbot of Abbots." The house itself grew, favored by the kings and their feudal nobles, till the monastery surpassed in size and splendor the palaces of sovereigns, and the church was, without comparison, the largest and most magnificent temple in Europe.

But with all these honors and this greatness, the spirit of feudalism entered into it, settled in it, and wrapped it round and round as with a double shroud, which shut out from the living corpse the vital air and heavenly light in which St Benedict and his companions were wont to revel.

The Abbot of Cluny became a great feudal lord, and then, Christ crucified and His spirit departed from this abode of worldly wealth and pride.

The reaction against this open departure from the heroic life of early monasticism, sent St. Robert of Molesenes and St. Stephen Harding to found Citeaux, and St. Bernard and his brothers to plant the Cross in the Vale of Bitterness.

The Cistercians, the better to distinguish themselves from the degenerate monks of Cluny, had adopted a white vesture, while the latter continued to wear the black robes of the Benedictines.

In 1125, William, Abbot of St. Thierry,¹ a monastery of the Cluny observance, prevailed on the Abbot of Clairvaux to write a defence of the Cistercian Reform against the slanderous rumors set on foot against it by the Cluny people. The decadence of the religious spirit in this great monastery and its dependencies was easily accounted for. "In 1109, on the death of St. Hugh, Abbot of Cluny, his pastoral staff passed into the hands of Pons de Melgueil, whose habits of worldly pomp and extravagance soon undermined the traditions of humility, laboriousness, and austerity which had been the life of the past monastic generations. Pons was deposed in 1122 by Pope Calistus II. (who was himself a

¹ This William of St. Thierry has left us one of the most authentic biographies of St. Bernard.

monk of Cluny), because Pons had, all of a sudden, left his monastery, and was leading a vagabond life in the world. Thirteen years of this bad man's baneful rule, had sufficed to relax all the springs of religious discipline, and to pave the way for a still greater moral ruin.

"Peter the Venerable, called to succeed Pons in 1122, had restored all the traditions of regularity and piety, which had raised Cluny to such a height of moral grandeur."¹

It takes but a comparatively short time to make a breach in a dam, which for ages has kept in check the devastating course of a mountain torrent, while it will require long and combined efforts to repair the ruin in face of the raging, headlong flood. Peter the Venerable did much by his energetic rule and saintly examples to stop the downward course of religious life in his monastery. But the teaching and example of St. Bernard and his companions did far more. The ruin, however, was too deep and wide-spread to admit of any save a temporary restoration.

The "Apology" of St. Bernard appeared. It was a noble defence of the rule of St. Benedict. It reproved indignantly the rash spiritual pride and uncharitableness of such of the Cistercians as ventured to censure openly the faults of the Clunyites. More efficacious than all were the eloquent pictures the "Apology" drew of monastic life as contemplated and practised by St. Benedict, by the early Egyptian solitaires, and by the first generations of Benedictines, as contrasted with the splendor and luxuriousness of Cluny under such men as Pons de Melgueil.

In the mirror thus held up to them by one whose life was so Christ-like in every respect, the degenerate monks beheld with anger their own too-faithful portraiture. All were not angry, however; for all had not fallen away in idea or practice from the saintliness of their profession. If the stern denunciations of the Abbot of Clairvaux somewhat pained Peter the Venerable and the Benedictines who stood by him in his efforts to restore to their houses the beauty of holiness, the "Apology" greatly strengthened their hands in the work of restoration.

But others, besides monks, read the "Apology," and beheld in its pages not only the mirror of a true monastic life, but that of all the high and divine virtues which should adorn the secular clergy as well. There were great and salutary changes thus wrought among the most eminent ecclesiastics in France. The celebrated Suger, Abbot of St. Denis, near Paris, and the counselor most trusted by the King of France, read the "Apology," and was so impressed by its inspired eloquence that he totally changed

¹ Chevallier, *Hist. de S. Bernard*, i., p. 143 and following.

the course of his life. He, too, like so many others, had allowed the spirit of feudalism to possess him and regulate his public and private conduct. Enjoying the rank and state of prime minister, Suger's household in the abbey was modeled on that of the king and his great vassals. The abbey was filled with armed retainers, crowds of nobles, and little room was left for the solitude, the privacy, the prayerful austerities of the cloister. Suger was wont to ride to the court of the king, arrayed in splendid ecclesiastical vesture, and surrounded by a numerous retinue of lords and armed knights. This, he thought, was only due to his rank and station.

After reading the "Apology," the Abbot of St. Denis, though retaining his position in the royal councils, became quite another man. He set to his monks the example of austerity of life, of scrupulous regularity in all things, and was thus enabled to bring them back to the full observance of monastic discipline. The armed retainers disappeared from the monastery, and with them the crowds of nobles and wordlings, the sumptuous entertainments, and the costly extravagance of worldly vesture and pomp.

The change had an extraordinary effect on other ecclesiastical dignitaries. More than one bishop read the glowing pages which had converted the Chancellor Suger, and followed his example.

And thus the movement of reform, extending itself beyond the walls of the cloister, reached the court itself, and the palaces of archbishops and bishops, the residences of rich beneficed clergymen, and spread downwards to all the ranks of the priesthood.

Kings, courtiers, prelates, councils, the popes themselves, and every great interest which drew the attention or stirred the heart of Christendom, demanded, thenceforward, from 1123 till 1153, that Bernard of Clairvaux should be the foremost personage on every great occasion, in every mighty difficulty or danger.

And the marvel is that this great man, whose wisdom, voice, and resistless influence controlled the policy of States and the deliberations of the most solemn ecclesiastical councils during all these years, was the same unchanged and unchangeable poor monk whom we have left in Clairvaux. Sick unto death apparently, so humble that he deemed himself always the greatest of sinners, so mortified in every sense that he never lifted his eyes to the low ceiling of his own poor cell, or knew not when they brought him a white horse, magnificently comparisoned, to enable him to reach the mountain solitudes of La Grande Chartreuse. Nothing could divert the eyes of his soul from the contemplation of that Divine Master and Model who ever hung before him on the cross.

Where is there in all history such an example of the way in which the cross, expressed in the life of one man, can lift a century and the civilized world up to God?

FRAY JUAN DE PADILLA, THE FIRST CATHOLIC-
MISSIONARY AND MARTYR IN EASTERN
KANSAS. 1542.

WHEN Coronado made his unsuccessful attempt to colonize New Mexico in 1540, he was accompanied by four Franciscans: Fray Marcos, surnamed "of Nizza," then Provincial of the Order in Mexico; Fray Juan de la Cruz; Fray Juan de Padilla; Fray Luis, a lay-brother. The latter is called Fray Luis Descalona by Castañeda; de Ubeda, by Mota-Padilla.¹

Fray Marcos did not remain long. He accompanied the expedition to Zuñe-Cibola only, and returned thence in the fall of 1540. Castañeda attributed his speedy return to fear, caused by the hostile attitude of the soldiery toward the priest, who, he claims, had deceived them by his exaggerated reports of the wealth and beauties of New Mexico. We have disposed of the calumnies of Castañeda elsewhere. The obvious reason of the friar's return was his feeble health. Hardships and physical suffering had nearly paralyzed the body of the already aged man. He never recovered his vigor, and died at Mexico, after having in vain sought relief in the delightful climate of Jalapa, in the year 1558.²

Fray Juan de la Cruz was already of advanced age when he joined the expedition. He was a Frenchman by birth, of the province of Gascony (Aquitania), and had worked as missionary in the district of Jalisco. Of him it is said that Coronado held him in such high esteem as to give orders that every soldier should touch his hat or helmet whenever his name was mentioned.³

¹ Fray Geronimo Mendieta, *Historia Ecclesiastica Indiana*, p. 742, says there were five "Los Religiosos eran cinco." This is true, but only four reached New Mexico. The fifth, Fray Antonio Victoria, broke his thigh at three days' march from Culiacan, which he had left with Coronado. See Pedro de Castañeda, *Relation du Voyage de Cibola*, p. 39.

² Compare our "The Discovery of New Mexico, by Fray Marcos, of Nizza," in the *Magazine of Western History*. Also, "La dé Couverte du Nouveau Mexique par le Frère Marcos de Nice," in the *Revue d'Ethnographie*. For the death of Father Marcos, etc., the sources of information are numerous. Mendieta, who knew him personally, says of him, *Hist. Ecclesiastica*, p. 541, "y de los grandes frios que pasó, lo hallé yo cuando vine de España, morador en Jalapa, ga fo ó tollido de pies y manos."

³ It is again Mendieta who conveys this information. *Historia*, p. 378, "Otro Francés hubo de Aquitania, llamado Fr. Juan de la Cruz, gran siervo de Dios y buen obrero de su viña;" p. 745, "Era religioso muy observante y de aprobada vida, y por ello muy respetado de todos; tanto que el capitan Francisco Vazquez Coronado tenia mendado á sus soldados se destocasen cuando oyesen el nombre de Fr. Juan de la Cruz." Torquemada, *Monarchia Indiana*, edition of 1723, copies Mendieta.

When Coronado evacuated New Mexico in the spring of 1542, Fra Juan de la Cruz asked to be left behind, among the Tiguas of the present site of Bernalillo, on the Rio Grande. His request was granted, although everybody felt that sure death awaited the old man as soon as the Spanish arms would withdraw. The Tiguas had, after the protracted hostilities with the Spaniards in the winter of 1540-41, maintained a hostile attitude. The monk still hoped to succeed as soon as the military would have left the country. So he remained alone on the banks of the great water-artery which divides New Mexico into a western and an eastern half. He disappeared there. It is quite likely that the Indians murdered him, but as yet no positive statement in regard to his fate has been discovered. From the martyrologies we should conclude that his death occurred on the 25th of November, 1542. Gonzaga, who has written a short notice of Fray Juan de la Cruz, calls him an old man and a chorister.¹

Fray Luis Descalona, probably a native of Ubeda, in Spain, also remained in New Mexico after Coronado's departure. Although loaded with years, he was but a lay-brother. He selected for his abode the great village or pueblo of Tshi-Quite, or Pecos (the Ciquique or Cicuye of Coronado's chroniclers). Thither he went, taking with him the remnant of the sheep which the Spaniards had brought to New Mexico and which Coronado had presented to him. Fray Luis built himself a little hut outside of the great pueblo and was living there shortly before the departure of Coronado. He told the Spaniards who came to bid him good-bye that the Pecos Indians were usually kind to him, but that, nevertheless, he expected to be killed by them. For, though the bulk of the tribe liked him, the wizards were bitterly opposed to his stay, and they would certainly put him out of the way sooner or later. Nothing was heard of him or of Fray Juan de la Cruz thereafter.²

¹ He is not mentioned by Castañeda, neither by Jaramillo, but Mendieta is very positive, p. 745: "Del siervo de Dios no se supo otra cosa mas de que quedó solo en aquel Pueblo de Tiguex (como que da di cho) para enseñar á los indios las cosas de nuestra fé y vida cristiana, de que ellos holgaron mucho, y en señal de regocijo lo tomaron en brazos y hicieron otras demostraciones de contento. Entiéndese moriria martir." Matias de la Mota-Padilla, *Historia de la Nueva Galicia, 1742*, p. 112, mentions him. On page 167 he says: "Dejando, como prelado, lleno de bendiciones, á Fr. Juan de la Cruz;" p. 168: "Del padre Fr. Juan de la Cruz la noticia que se tiene es. Que despues de haber trabado en la instruccion de los indios en Tiguex y en Coquite murió flechado de indios, por que no todos abrasaron su doctrina y conbejos, con los que trataba detestasen sus bárbaras costumbres, aunque por lo general era muy estimado de los caciques y demas naturales. Que habian visto la veneracion con qué el general. Capitanes y soldados le trataban." See also Vetuncurt, *Menologia Franciscano*.

² Fray Luis is called Descalona by Castañeda-Cibola, and also by Jaramillo: "*Relation*." Mota-Padilla calls him Fray Luis de Ubeda. As there is a place called Ubeda

Nor have we, as yet, been able to secure any tradition from the Indians touching their fate. Judging by subsequent events, it appears more than likely that they suffered martyrdom at the places which they had selected for their field of work. Of the sheep which Fray Luis brought to Pecos, all traces had disappeared when Espejo passed near the place forty years later. The Pueblo Indian, abandoned to himself, is careless with animals and cruel to them through neglect. This was still more the case in the sixteenth century than it is to-day. It is likely that the Pecos ate the sheep after killing the lay-brother.¹

As yet no relics of any kind have been discovered in New Mexico that might be safely attributed to any of the missionaries here mentioned. Nor do the official ecclesiastic or other sources from the seventeenth century make mention of any such discovery. Of all the Pueblos, the Zuñis and the Pecos have probably the most definite recollections of what they call the "First Conquest." Still, in regard to the latter, it remains undecided as yet whether their traditions apply to the time of Coronado or whether they concern events of the permanent occupation of New Mexico by Jnan de Oñate in 1593.²

Fray Juan de Padilla was a native of Andalusia, in Spain, and comparatively a young and vigorous man when he joined Coronado's corps, or rather his Provincial Fray Marcos of Nizza. Yet he had already occupied important positions in Mexico. Thus he was the first guardian of Tullant Zinco, whence he passed over to the province of Michuacan, where he became Guardian of the Convent of Tzapotlan, in Jalisco.³ He gave up that honorable position to become a missionary in the unknown north. How many of his brethren have made similar and even greater sacrifices! How many of them have refused important and influential offices in order to seek and find death among savages! No sacrifice was too great for the missionaries, no danger too imminent. When the duty of converting and educating the aborigines called for them, they were always ready and glad to undertake the humblest mission, the most trying task.

It would appear that Fray Padilla was as strict as he was full of energy. In Coronado's camp he watched the conduct of the

in Spain, we infer that, as was frequently the case, the name of his place of origin was substituted. Of his disappearance at Pecos, all sources at our command treat.

¹ This was plainly shown by the action of the Pueblos after they had driven out the Spaniards from New Mexico in 1680. Three years later there was hardly a cow left, in the territory.—*Declaracion de un Indio Pecuri Que Dijo LLamarse Juan*, MSS., 1683.

² It is positive among the Zuñi, less so at Pecos, Jemez and Ibleta.

³ Mendieta, *Hist. Ecclesiastica*, p. 742; Torquemada, *Monarchia*, vol. iii., p. 606 to 611; Vetancurt, *Menologia*, edition of 1871, p. 386.

men, and used to reprehend and punish severely all evil-doers.¹ A vigorous constitution admirably assisted a fiery, nay, an impetuous soul. It is known that Coronado preceded the bulk of his army to Cibola-Zuñi, and that all the ecclesiastics accompanied him. As soon as he was established among the Zuñis he sent an exploring party to the Moquis, at Tusayan.² Father Padilla accompanied the detachment of twenty men which Don Pedro de Tobar commanded. The Moquis (probably of the now ruined village of Ahuatuyba) refused to receive the foreigners, and met them in arms. Seeing that all endeavors to pacify the indians were unavailing and only increased their hostile demonstrations, also that retreat was practically impossible, Fray Padilla remarked to the commander, "Verily, I do not know what we have come here for." The soldiers heard this remark and immediately charged, dispersing the Indians. This opened the way to the Moqui Pueblos, who thereafter showed the most cordial dispositions.³ Upon the return of this party Coronado sent another body of twenty men under the orders of Hernando de Alvarado to the east and F. Padilla accompanied it. It was on this journey that the Spaniards saw Acoma, the famous rock (Acuco), the Rio Grande at Bernalillo (Tiguex), Pecos (Cicuye, or Ciquique), and that they heard for the first time of Quivira.⁴ Whether Fra Juan returned to Zuñi from Tiguex, or whether he remained with Alvarada at Bernalillo, we are unable to determine. After the whole of the little army had been gathered in winter quarters on the Rio Grande, and when the unjust and bloody war with the Tiguas was over, preparations began for the memorable journey to Quivira, in which Father Padilla, of course, participated.

We need hardly recall here that the incentive to that adventurous enterprise was furnished by the statements of a captive Indian, a prisoner among those of Pecos, and who claimed to have been born on the eastern confines of the great plains. He gave the Spaniards to understand that far away in the East there was a country or tribe called Quivira, which was rich in gold, silver, and other elements of wealth. This individual was surnamed by the

¹ Mendieta, p. 742.

² Tusayan is a corruption of Usaya, a name given formerly by the Zuñis to some of the principal Moqui Pueblos. Usayan is the possessive. Refrain from quoting on the deeds of Coronado, they being too well known.

³ Castañeda, Cibola, p. 60.

⁴ In the third volume of the *Documentos de Indias*, there is a report remitted jointly by Alvarado and Fray Padillo on the expedition to Pecos. It is incorrectly indexed. "Relacion del Viaje que Hernando de Soto y Fray Joan de Padilla Hicieron en Demanda de la mar del sur." It should be Alvarado. The document is very important, although Muñoz states he placed no faith in it. Muñoz had not been in New Mexico himself.

Spaniards the "Turk," on account of the manner in which he carried his head closely shaven with only a tuft of hair growing on the top of the skull.¹ This kind of head-dress is neither Pueblo nor Apache, nor Navajo. It would rather indicate that the Turk belonged to some branch of the Pawnees. However this may be, it is certain that the representations of the Turk made a great impression upon the minds of officers and men, and that they finally believed them. Everything seems to indicate that in the intercourse between the Spaniards and the Indian captive there was considerable mutual misunderstanding at the outset, but that also—after the latter saw that the white men placed upon his statements and signs an importance which to himself must have been a matter of surprise—he improved the opportunity to obtain a way of returning to his native tribe, and lastly, that there grew out of it a connivance between him and the Pueblo Indians for the purpose of getting rid of the Spaniards by sending them on a wild goose chase into the steppes where they were expected to perish. In short, Coronado was grossly betrayed. That the representations of the Turk about gold and silver rested on misconceptions is evident, for he could not judge of the chemical properties of metals; he had no idea of the difference between gold, brass or yellow mica-particles giving a glistening appearance to rocks, except from external appearance. No tribe north of Mexico, was ever found in possession of gold, with any definite conception of its value as a metal, still less as a medium of exchange. But neither were the Spaniards prepared to guard against such a misunderstanding. They had found gold in use at Mexico as an ornament. They were still under the impression of the reports from Peru and New Granada.¹ When therefore the Turk pointed to gold as a substance which he seemed to recognize they could not suspect that he was mistaken himself. So both parties were honestly deceived at first. But, after the Turk saw the importance placed by his white interlocutors upon the yellow stuff which they showed him and about which they inquired, he came to the conclusion that the opportunity was really a golden one for him to escape from a country where he had rendered himself unpopular, or which was unsympathetic to his tastes. He fomented troubles with the natives. When he saw that the Spaniards remained masters of the situation, he further exaggerated the wealth of Quivira; and when the Pueblos noticed that the unwelcome guests made preparations to leave, they naturally sought to induce the Turk (whose importance had grown

¹ Castaneda, *Cibola*, p. 72.

in their eyes) to favor them also by misguiding the strangers as much as possible and leading them to destruction.¹

We have already mentioned that the Tiguas of Bernalillo had not become reconciled with the Spaniards. The Pecos also had some trouble caused by the slanders of the Turk. But these had been adjusted, and when Coronado left Tiguex on the 3d of May 1541, he marched directly upon Pecos, where he was received with open arms. Nine days after his departure from the Rio Grande he reached the great plains northeast of Pecos.²

The particulars of this eventful expedition need be but briefly stated here. Coronado had not a single hostile meeting with the Indians. He lost one or two men, but through accident, not at the hands of the natives, who, everywhere received him well and whom he in return treated fairly. He left the main body at the eastern edge of the great plains and went to Quivira with only twenty-nine horsemen, and probably Father Padilla. The main body returned to Bernalillo on the Rio Grande in advance of him. He reached there safely in August, but with empty hands. The march had resulted in a disappointment. Only a fertile country, much more fertile than any part of New Mexico, but thinly inhabited by roaming Indians, had been found. Discouragement followed upon disappointment. A severe contusion, resulting from a fall from his horse, gave to the commander a welcome pretext for abandoning New Mexico in the following year.³

For the purpose of this paper a careful examination of the route taken by the Spaniards on their trip to and from Quivira, and identifications of the localities and of the tribes met, are indispensable. Quivira was the place where, subsequently, Father Padilla sacrificed his life as a missionary. We must therefore ascertain where Quivira was, what it was, and what people were its inhabitants. The data at our command, while comparatively meagre, yet are still, perhaps, more complete than any yet brought to bear upon the subject, and we therefore don't hesitate in undertaking the task. Should subsequent investigations alter our conclusions or confirm them, we shall feel only too happy.

It is unimportant to determine the route followed by Coronado from Bernalillo to Pecos. From Pecos he marched to the northeast, and, after crossing a deep river, found himself on the plains on the 12th of May. The deep river was the Canadian. Between it and the Pecos village he had, according to the eye-witness, Jaramillo, crossed two creeks; one of these was the Rio Pecos, the

¹ Coronado. *Lettre A. L'Empereur Charles V.*, Tiguex, October 20-30 of 1541, p. 361.

² *Idem*, p. 355.

³ It is superfluous to quote, since the events are too well known.

other the Gallinas. To cross the Canadian it was necessary to build a bridge. No other river, four days march northeast of Pecos, is wide and deep enough to require such preparations for its crossing."¹

Beyond the Canadian the plains were reached, and ten days after the crossing had been effected the first Indians of the plains, the Querechos or Apaches (subsequently called Vaqueros), were met. Here the Spaniards changed their course from northeast to towards the rising sun, that is, almost due east. Very soon they met enormous herds of American bisons or buffalos.²

It is well to note this change in direction; it is also well to observe that soon the Spaniards found out that their Indian guides had lost their reckoning. It is a constant fact, that any one lost on the plains inclines to the right, and finally describes a circle. After thirty-seven days of march the Spanish army halted on the banks of a stream which flowed at the bottom of a broad and deep ravine. For several days past the appearance of the country had begun to change; a more exuberant vegetation had made its appearance, and Indian villages were met with whose inhabitants were clothed. There was in the Spanish troop one man especially charged with counting the steps in order to approximate the distances. According to his reckoning they were then, at the end of thirty-seven days, two hundred and fifty leagues or six hundred and seventy-five miles from Bernalillo. But this distance cannot be taken as an air-line. Coronado had marched to the northeast for seventeen days, thence first east, afterwards slightly south of east. We must also note that no other river had been met with since the crossing of the Canadian, except a small one at the bottom of a deep ravine, and which had been struck a few days previous. Owing to the direction and manner in which Coronado advanced, after crossing the Canadian, the only watercourse which he could have met at that distance was the Canadian again. The first stream was probably the north fork of that river, and the second, where the army came to a halt, was the main branch below the junction in the eastern part of the Indian Territory.³

¹ We hold that the crossing was effected south (or east) of the junction of the Canadian with the Rio de Mora. The Pecos river flows at a distance of three miles from the old Pueblo, and they had to cross it at all events.

² For the facts we refer in general to the numerous original sources. That the Querechos were the Apaches of the plains or Vaqueros, who afterwards became known under the different names of Carlanes, Natajees, Lipanes, Cuartelejos, etc., is established by Espejo: *Relacion Del Viaje*. See our *Report on Studies Among the Indians of the Southwest*. 1890.

³ The change in direction of the route is mentioned by various writers. Going first northeast from the Canadian below its junction with the Mora, carried the Spaniards into Colfax County, New Mexico, thence east with inclination to the southeast,

The place was occupied or roamed over by an Indian tribe which is called the Teyas. Who these Indians were we cannot attempt to decide. They tattooed themselves, either with paint or by incisions. This custom would tell in favor of their being the Jumanos, a semi-sedentary tribe shifting to and fro across the eastern part of New Mexico at the time. Leaving this matter undecided we must remark, that the Teyas signified to Coronado that his guides had led him completely astray, the Quiviras being far to the north of the place. Castañeda adds that those guides had led Coronado in too southerly a direction: "Too near to Florida." This is a further confirmation of what we have said, namely, that the Spaniards marched like people losing their reckoning on the plains, in a circle or arc of a circle, first northeast, then east, afterwards even south of east.¹

At this place Coronado left the main body, and with twenty-nine horsemen, and probably Father Padilla, struck out for Quivira. He moved northward, and at the end of about forty days (the number is variously given) a large river was reached, which he crossed to its north bank and followed its course to the northeast for upwards of twenty days. Finally turning to the north inland, he reached, after sixty-seven days of short marches and occasional delays, the region called Quivira. The great river north of the Canadian can only have been the Arkansas, and they struck it at some point below Fort Dodge, whence the river flows to the northeast. It is noteworthy also that Jaramillo states, while going in that direction, they descended the course of the stream.²

It is, therefore, in northeastern Kansas, perhaps not far from the boundary of Nebraska, that we must look for the homes of the Quiviras in the years 1541 to 1543. The descriptions of the country furnished by Coronado himself, by his Lieutenant, Jaramillo, and (from hearsay) by Castañeda, agree very well with the appearance of that country. As long as they remained south of the Arkansas the land was one great plain without timber and very little water;³ north of the Arkansas its aspect changed. Coronado says: "The province of Quivira is situated nine hundred

to the north fork of the Canadian. Crossing it, they naturally travelled to the banks of the main river near the central portion of the Indian Territory.

¹ The Teyas were found too far to the east to be the Jumanos. Still there is a possibility at the present day that the Jumanos (reduced to a mere fraction) live in northeastern Texas and the Indian Territory. They are mostly confounded with the Comanches. That the Jumanos lived on the eastern plains is abundantly proven.

² For the short marches we refer to Jaramillo, *Relation*. That the Arkansas must have been the stream in question is manifest. There is no great river between the Canadian and the Arkansas. The latter makes a sharp turn to the northeast east of Fort George at Great Bend, and continues to flow in that direction for quite a distance.

³ Coronado, *Lettre à l'Empereur*, p. 353.

and fifty leagues from Mexico, where I came from, and in forty degrees ; the soil is the best that can be found for all kinds of products of Spain ; for in addition to being strong and black, it is well irrigated by brooks, by springs, and by rivers ; I found prunes like those of Spain, nuts, excellent grapes, and mulberries."¹

Jaramillo says : " This country has a superb appearance, such as I have not seen any better in all Spain, neither in Italy or France, or in any other country where I have served your majesty. It is not mountainous ; there are only hills, plains, and brooks with very good water. I am completely satisfied with it. I presume it must be very fertile, and favorable for the raising of all kinds of fruit. As for cattle (herds) experience proved that it is very convenient ; considering the multitudes of animals that are met with, and which is so great it can only be imagined. We found prunes of Spain of a kind that is not completely red, but similar to red prunes ; there are also black and green ones ; it is certain that the tree and the fruit are the same as those of Spain. Their taste is excellent. We found, in the country of the cows, flax, which grows wild in small tufts isolated from each other, and as the wild cattle don't eat it, the stems and blue flowers are visible ; although small, it is good. On some brooks sumac is found similar to that of Spain ; and grapes of fair taste, although wild."²

Castañeda says : " The plants and fruit resemble those of Spain ; there are prunes, grapes, mulberries, etc., etc."³

We forbear further quotations, and only call attention to the great similarity of the vegetation as described, with the wild plants of northeastern and eastern Kansas.

The appearance of the Indians, however, was not in accordance with the richness of the soil and of its vegetable products.

Castañeda : " The natives do not cultivate them (the plants which he enumerated), because they ignore their properties. Their customs are the same as those of the Teyas, and their villages resemble those of New Spain. The houses are round, have no halls ; the stories resemble lofts. The people sleep under the roofs, where they also preserve what they have ; these roofs are of straw." In another place he remarks : " The Indians of that country had neither gold nor silver, and knew nothing of such metals. The chief wore on his breast a copper plate, which he prized very much."⁴

Coronado : " I had been told that the houses were of stone and with many stories. Not only are they of straw, but the inhabitants are as wild as any of those I had seen until then. They have no mantles, nor cotton to make them with. They merely tan the

¹ *Idem*, p. 360.

² *Relation*, p. 378.

³ *Cibola*, p. 194.

⁴ *Ibidem*.

hides of the cows which they hunt and which are dispersed about their village, near a large river. They eat the flesh raw like the Querechos and the Teyas; they are at war with each other. All these people resemble one another. The inhabitants of Quivira are the best hunters. They grow maize. . . . In all the provinces and all the country I have gone over, I have not seen, nor have there been mentioned to me, more than twenty-five villages, the houses of which are all of straw. . . . The natives are tall; some of them above average size. I found some of them as high as ten spans (palms) in height. The women are well formed. Their features have a Moorish rather than an Indian cast. The natives gave me a piece of copper which one of their chiefs wore suspended to his neck. It is the only (piece of) metal which I saw in that country." Further on: "What I have been able to find out is, that in all this country neither gold nor any other metal is found. I was only informed of small villages, the inhabitants of which, for the greatest part, do not till the land. They have only huts of hides and of reeds, and change their abodes with the cows."¹

Jaramillo: "The houses of these Indians were of straw, many of them circular, the straw descending to the ground like walls. They do not at all look like ours. Outside and on the top there is a kind of chapel or loft, with an entrance, where the Indians could be seen seated or lying down."²

All this proves that the Quiviras were Indians of the plains, living chiefly from the buffalo and from very limited agriculture, changing the sites of their hamlets as the bison moved to and fro. Neither do they appear to have all been of one stock. Says Coronado: "The diversity of languages spoken in this country is extraordinary; every village has its own. We suffered greatly from the want of interpreters, for I was compelled to send officers and horsemen in every direction to find out if anything could be done in your majesty's interests. Although the most diligent search was made, no other inhabited country could be discovered but this one, which amounts to but very little."³

And yet, notwithstanding these and other very positive statements, Quivira became fifty years later a golden phantom, a delusive spectre, important in the end for the increase of geographical knowledge, fatal to all who undertook to grasp it. What we

¹ *Lettre*, p. 354, et seq.

² *Relation*, p. 379. He also says, p. 376, that the village of Quivira was built by the side of small but pretty brooks, all of which flowed into the great river Arkansas. "Il y avait, autant que je me le Rappelé, six ou sept villages séparés les uns des autres; nous fîmes route pendant, quatre ou cinq jours sans les quitter, l'intervalle compris entre l'un et l'autre ruisseau n'est pas habité." The last one of these villages was called Quivira.

³ *Lettre*, p. 360.

have had occasion to say of it elsewhere we repeat here: It is for the North American southwest what the myth of El Dorado proved to be in South America.¹

It is not the place here to follow this digression, but we may, having located the Quiviras at the time of Coronado, ask to what tribe the Indians thus called, belonged? The name Quivira was probably not the one they gave to themselves. Outside of New Mexico, that is, among the numerous tribes of Indians west of the Mississippi, it seems to have been unknown. Still we find, in 1725, on the upper Red river, the Quirireches, a village of the Canceys or Kansas.² The general drift of all the Indian tribes ranging between the Mississippi Valley and the mountain region of New Mexico has been, within the past three centuries, from north to south. Many have disappeared, and the Quiviras seem to have shared that fate. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, we find them in southern Colorado.³ Thirty years later in eastern New Mexico, still later in northeastern Texas.⁴ After 1700 they faded out of sight. But while the Quiviras were still roaming over southern Colorado and western Kansas, Spanish writers bring them in connection with the Tindanes.¹ The word Tindan recalls a Spanish form of the word Thinthon or Thinthonha, used in the latter half of the seventeenth and in the eighteenth centuries, to designate the extreme southerly branch of the Dah-co-tas or Sioux; the Teton-Sioux; also called "Gens des Prairies."⁵ That the Quiviras were a northern stock is quite likely. That they were not a numerous band seems proven. The suggestion is, therefore, not out of place, that they may have been an outlying band of the great Dahcota stock who, gradually drifting further south in the course of little less than two centuries, finally merged into one or the other of the tribes, either of Texas or of the Mississippi Valley. The exaggerated accounts of their numbers and wealth are thus disposed of by Fray Alonzo de Posadas in 1586: "Many pretend to say that the Quiviras consists of many cities; that the one particularly so called is one of them, and that all are rich in gold and silver. On this point it seems that the information is more liberal than truthful, since neither our Spaniards

¹ *Journal Historique de l'Etablissement des Francais à la Louisiane*, p. 200, 212.

² This we infer from the statements of Juan de Oñate about his expedition to Quivira in 1599; from Geronimo de Zarate Salmeron: *Relacioner of 1626*, MSS.; from Fray Alonzo de Posadas. *Informe al Rey Sobre las Tierras de Nuevo Mexico, Quivira y Tegucayo*, MSS., and Torquemada, *Monarchia Indiana*, vol. i., p. 673, *et seq.*

³ Posadas, *Informe*; Francisco Gomez, *Carta al Virrey*, 1638, MSS.; Juan Domingo de Mendoza, *Diario de la Jornada a Los Jumanos*, 1684, MSS.

⁴ Zarate Salmeron, *Relaciones de Todas las Cosas*.

⁵ Hennepin, *Description of Louisiana*; published by Mr. Shea. On the map there is in latitude 50 north, Thinthonha ou gens des Prairies. Compare also p. 200.

nor any of the Indians who border upon that nation affirm to have seen any metal that came from that country. . . . And as for the cities which they represent as being so populous, and some of them so extensive as to cover leagues, while it is certain that there are many people, they are settled in the manner following: Every Indian has his dwelling, and adjacent to it his garden plot and field, on which he raises and harvests his crops. Thus the settled expanses appear very large, without containing, however, the population attributed to them."¹

Having located the Quiviras in 1541, and suggested at least what they probably were, I return to Fray Juan de Padilla. It is not unlikely that he accompanied Coronado on his trip thither. Jaramillo says, at least, that he "wished to return." The "*Relacion Postrera de Sivola*" positively states he went with Coronado, and that document was written by one (possibly by a priest) who was in New Mexico at the time.² At all events, when the Spanish corps, discouraged, disgusted with New Mexico, and dissatisfied with its commander, left the banks of the Rio Grande, Fray Juan de Padilla remained behind with Fray Juan de la Cruz, one Portuguese soldier named Andres Docampo, two "Donados" from Michuacan, called respectively Lucas and Sebastian, and some Mexican Indians. It is positive that no other Spaniard or soldier, except the three priests and Andres, remained in New Mexico in company with the Portuguese, the two Donados and two Indians from Mexico, also with a Mestizo boy. Father Padilla left the site of Bernalillo for Quivira. He took along the most necessary equipments for saying Mass; probably a few provisions, and at least one horse. The date of his departure we cannot find, but it must have been in the summer or fall of 1542.³ Of the route taken by the little band, we only know that they passed through Pecos, where Fray Louis was already established; but we can surmise that they did not follow the trail of Coronado and of the main body. Coronado himself tells us that he effected his return from Quivira in thirty days, and that he brought with him Indians who served as guides. It is probable, therefore, that the latter led him, Indian fashion, in a line as straight as possible; that is, from north-eastern Kansas to the southwest, through that State, and possibly through the southeastern corner of Colorado into New Mexico.⁴

¹ *Informe al Rey.*

² *Relacion Postrera de Sivola y de Quatrocientas Leguas Adelante*, MSS., contained in the Libro de Oro y Tesoro Indico. A still unpublished manuscript of Motolinia, in possession of Don Joaquin Garcia y Cazbalceta at Mexico.

³ It appears that Andres Docampo alone went on horseback. The others, including the father, were on foot. These details are given by Jaramillo, Castaneda, Mota Padilla, and later authors also.

⁴ Coronado, *Lettre*.

It is likely that Fray Padilla took the same route, even if he was not guided by Quivira Indians, a point which I do not venture to affirm or deny.¹ Certain it is that they reached the Quiviras without hindrance, and that they were well received. Coronado had caused a large cross to be erected in or near one of their villages or hamlets.² This cross was, for the missionary, a starting point for his labors.

All went on well for a time until the priest decided upon leaving the tribe and laboring temporarily, perhaps, among another group of natives.³ This was highly imprudent on his part. His intentions were of the best, but he was not sufficiently conversant with Indian nature. A missionary who has been well treated by one tribe cannot leave that tribe without exposing himself to suspicion and jealousy. The Indians looked upon the priests as upon powerful wizards. They looked upon ceremonies of the Church as magic performances, from which they expected the same and greater material benefits than those which they derived or believed they derived from their own practices of sorcery. The more popular a missionary became, the more dangerous it was for him to change his field of work. Such was the case at Quivira, and the danger was still greater from the fact that, as Coronado tells us, the people were often at loggerheads with each other. By leaving his first place of abode Fra Juan de Padilla exposed himself to the double danger of being looked upon by his first acquaintances as a traitor who abandoned them in order to impart to others the benefits of his wisdom, and, by those to whom he went, as an enemy coming from people with whom they were at war.

Castañeda says that the friar intended to go to the Guyas, a tribe with whom the Quiviras were at war, and that the latter therefore killed him.⁴ Jaramillo gives no such account. He attributes his death to the cupidity of the Quiviras, and states, besides, that Indians from Tiguex (Tiguas) had instructed them how to perform the deed.⁵ The most detailed account of the event so far found is in Mota-Padilla, who, although an author of the eighteenth century, still deserves consideration from the fact that he examined original sources yet unknown to us. He states: "The Friar left Quivira with a small escort, against the will of the Indians of that village, who loved him as their father. But at one day's journey he was met by Indians on the war-path, and, knowing their evil intentions, he requested the Portuguese to flee, since the latter was on horseback, and to take with him the Donados and the boys, who, being

¹ *Idem.* He says that he brought Indians from Quivira with him. It is therefore likely that they returned with the friar and the Portuguese.

² Coronado, *Idem.*

³ All the main sources seem to agree on that point.

⁴ *Cibola*, p. 194.

⁵ *Relation*, p. 381.

young, were able to run and save themselves. Being defenceless, they all fled as he desired, and the blessed father, kneeling down, offered up his life, which he sacrificed for the good of the souls of others. He thus realized his most ardent desire—the felicity of martyrdom by the arrows of these barbarians, who afterwards threw his body into a pit and covered it with innumerable rocks. The Portuguese and the Indians, returning to Quivira, gave notice there of what had happened, and the natives felt it deeply on account of the love which they had for their Father. They would have regretted it still more had they been able to appreciate the extent of their loss. The day of his death is not known, although it is regarded as certain that it occurred in the year 1542. Don Pedro de Tobar, in some papers which he wrote and left at the town of Culiacan, states that the Indians had gone out to kill this blessed Father in order to obtain his ornaments, and that there was a tradition of miraculous signs connected with his death, such as inundations, comets, balls of fire and the sun becoming darkened.”¹

Vetancurt, in his “Menologio,” places the death of Father Padilla in 1544, and on the 30th of November. We prefer to follow Mota-Padilla as to the year, for he is more in accordance with the two contemporaries, Jaramillo and Castañeda.²

The news of the fate of Fray Juan Padilla was brought to Mexico many years afterwards, though certainly previous to 1552, by the Portuguese, Andres Docampo, and the two Donados, Lucas and Sebastian.³ The return of these three men—unarmed, destitute and unaccompanied by any one—from northeastern Kansas to Tampico, on the Mexican Gulf, finds a parallel only in the wonderful journey of Cabeza de Vaca and his three companions from eastern Texas to the Pacific coast. Were the fact not established beyond a doubt, it might be looked upon as a fairy tale of old. But it is indisputably proved by official testimony. As to the details of their remarkable journey, none of the sources at our command have much to say. Both Herrera and Gomara state that the Portuguese and his companions were captured by the Indians and

¹ *Historia de la Nueva Galicia*, p. 167.

² *Menologio*, p. 386. Artur von Muenster, in his *Auctarium Martyrologii Franciscani*, 1650, p. 637, gives no year. He calls the Indians at whose hands the monk perished, “Herzinalen:” “est er endlich von et lichen wilden Leuthen (welche man Herzinalen nennet) mit Pfeilen dur chochossen worden.”

³ Both of these “Donados” were from Mechuacan. The name of Andrés, the soldier, is mostly written Del Campo, but since he was a Portuguese, it must have been Do Campo. That they returned previous to 1552 is proven by the fact that Gomara mentions it in his *Crónica*, which was completed in that year.

remained in the power of their captors for ten months, after which time they fled. It is also stated that a dog accompanied them.¹

Of the two Donados, Sebastian died very soon after his arrival at Culiacan. The other became a missionary among the tribes of Zacatecas, where he died at an advanced age.² Of Andres Do-campo nothing further is as yet known.

May we be permitted to transcribe here what, on another occasion, we have written on the deaths of the three Franciscans, whose sad and at the same time glorious end the above pages have related?

"They were never heard from again. Such is the funeral oration—simple, but pathetic from its very simplicity. Of these, the two old monks, Fray Juan de la Cruz and Fray Luis, remaining alone in the newly-discovered land, happy to conclude their days there in whichever way it might be, provided it was in the service of their Lord and Master and for the honor and glory of his name.

"The end of Fray Juan de Padilla was different. As his life had been of a more vigorous cast, so his martyrdom sounded high through the land. His sepulchre in Kansas has never been found, but it is noteworthy that from Mexico, as well as in later years from New Mexico, all attempts on the part of the Spaniards to penetrate beyond the region where his death occurred have signally failed. That region is the same where the hardiest pioneers of Catholic civilization coming from the south met, figuratively speaking, the pioneers of Catholic civilization from Canada. The tomb of Fray Juan de Padilla, therefore, marks not a *ne plus ultra*, but the point where the two standard-bearers of Catholicism came together to join both ends of the advance of Catholic faith across the North American Continent."³

¹ Neither Jaramillo nor Castañeda mention the dog. Compare Gomara, *Crónica*, and Herrera, *Historia General*. The latter is usually very reliable, as far as careful compilation goes.

² Mendieta, *Historia Ecclesiastica*; Vetancurt, *Menologio*, and others.

³ *Histoire de la Colonisation et des Missions du Sonora, Nouveau Mexique, Chihuahua et Arizona, jusqu'à l'an 1700* (MSS. at the Vatican). We refer here particularly to the expedition of Pedro de Villazur to the banks of the Platte River, where nearly the whole of the Spaniards perished, at the hands of the Pawnees and French, on the 17th of August, 1720. A monograph on that expedition will shortly appear in the papers of the Archaeological Institute of America. The notorious Jean L'Archêvêque, the betrayer of Lasalle, perished in that massacre.

ARE CATHOLICS RIGHT?

THE above question it is opportune to ask regarding the position of Catholics on the ever-important subject of discussion, the schools. It is especially opportune at this time, in view of the very strong feeling against Catholics in certain quarters, and of the virulent attacks made on them, with more force of words than wealth of wisdom. Hardly a day goes by without our being treated to some unfavorable criticism, in which Catholics are accused of being disloyal, and hostile to the best interests of our country, because they do not send their children to the public schools, and persist in building their own school houses, and in educating their children as they conscientiously believe they ought to. Who is right, our critics or we? This is the question we propose to answer.

Before we answer it, let us not be misunderstood. We admire exceedingly the zeal for education everywhere manifested amid our people; for education is the process by which man's mind is to acquire the truth—its connatural object and food—and by which the heart is to be directed to the attainment of all that is good, which it seeks by the tendency placed in it by the Creator. This zeal is everywhere to be met with; in the village, in the large city, and in important meetings of educators, in which able teachers compare their views, the proceedings of which we not only read with interest but often find valuable suggestions.

We are in sympathy with all these workers in the great cause. It is often a source of great pleasure to us when we find, as we have more than once, these clever people coming so closely to the systems our Catholic forefathers approved, and advocating, after long experience, the methods which have made the great and learned scholars of the past. Among these we may note the condemnation of putting any strain upon the intellect of tender childhood; the cultivation of the memory; simplicity in early instruction; the moderation to be observed in the number of studies, and in the amount; the explanation by the teacher of what is difficult before the child is made to learn it; the inculcation of the importance of not letting the pupil pass further on till he thoroughly knows what he is engaged on; the importance of following nature, and of not requiring what is above capacity; the grading of classes, and other like measures which an experienced teacher finds suggested to him by the circumstances of the case. In all

such investigations the friends of education will find Catholic educators interested co-workers; and we doubt whether any of them could write as learnedly and as correctly on the subject as the distinguished member of the Order of the Brothers of the Christian Schools, Brother Azarias, in his recent article in the *Ecclesiastical Record*, of Philadelphia. We feel especially indebted to him for what he says of Blessed de la Salle, the founder of that Order; and of St. Joseph Calasanz, the founder of the Order of the Fathers of the Pious Schools. The former of these two illustrious and saintly educators of the children of the people, flourished in the latter part of the seventeenth century; the latter antedated him by fifty years. Before Raikes had begun his Sunday schools, these had been doing far better; and with a century and a half start of him, certainly the Catholic Church is ahead of other churches in this race; and, strange as it may sound to prejudiced ears, is ahead in higher education; though we willingly grant that the United States has outstripped all other nations in the general, ordinary education of the child, defective though it be in the most important point; but of this presently.

To make our answer more intelligible, we must call attention to the state of the educational problem at the present time. Owing to a condition of things which the present generation did not bring about but must accept as it is, there exists a very wide-spread difference of opinion on all points, especially that of religion, in meeting the general need of education. This conflict of ideas has led the majority in this country to look upon a school system from which religious education must be excluded as an absolute necessity. We think it but fair to attribute this to honest conviction, however much we regard it as a mistake. There are other and subtle influences at work to make this idea more far reaching and permanent, and of these we shall speak.

The feature to which we first call attention, is the tendency which the system displays to supersede the duty of parents, to usurp their rights, to make the state the supreme disposer, if not owner, of the child. Herein lies a most serious and fatal error. What the state is for is not to supersede individual right, but to safeguard right, and never to hold rights in abeyance unless the public good call for such action. Rights are sacred things, especially those natural rights which the genius of our American institutions teaches us to regard as inalienable. All government, legitimately instituted on a foundation of justice, has its authority from God, who gave those natural rights. It must, therefore, represent Him, and, representing Him, must not contradict Him by depriving the citizen or subject of the rights the Creator implanted in man's nature. Hence the proper object of all legislation is to

protect right, and the decisions of the Supreme Court look to the rights of individuals and of the States as defined by the limitations of the Constitution, and thus safeguard liberty. In the logical order right comes first, because inherent in man; while a state becomes possible only by an aggregation of men. This makes evident the gross error those commit who worship the state, make it everything, and, like Hegel, exclaim, "The state is the really present God." Making a god of the state is the death of liberty; and against any such assumption it becomes American manhood to rise in just indignation. We, of all others, knowing that our liberty rests, and must rest, on justice, should be ready to give willing obedience to the authority which God has bestowed on men, and as ready to resist the abuse of authority, and oppose the hurtful measures of shortsighted or malicious men that propose in the name of authority.

Among these inherent rights is most assuredly the right of the parent to his child; a natural right, for it has its foundation in the fact of birth. The parent, therefore, is the owner of his child, and this ownership, when rightfully exercised, has no limit but the right of the creator. This right involves the right of the parent to educate his child in his duties to his Creator, and to do so is an obligation inherent in the parent, who must discharge it according to his conscience. Any interference with this is a violation of the rights of conscience. It may be answered that there is no intention to do this, to interfere with such sacred natural right of the parent in having a state system of education. But, when the system is, practically, godless and rears a generation without knowledge of God and of Christian morality—which cannot be taught apart from religion—it is idle to disclaim any such intention; the result is too patent, and shows the mistake. Parents who are religious, whether Catholic, Lutheran, Episcopalian, or Methodist, are justified in agitating in favor of religious training, and because they cannot have it in the public school are fully justified in establishing schools of their own. They are simply exercising their own God-given right, and protesting against a violation of it.

But there are equally grave, if not graver, reasons for the action which looks to the vindication of this parental right. It requires no great foresight to understand that whoever can control the education of the child will have him in his maturer years; who has the child will have the man. This is so well appreciated that it forms part of the programme of naturalism which, in Europe, seeks to destroy the idea of revealed religion. Recently, a very bold and impudent move in this direction has been set on foot by the Freemasons of Italy, and a circular has been sent out by them through the length and breadth of the land commanding their fol-

lowers to seize on and hold possession of *elementary education*, and supporting this command by the presentation of the grounds upon which it is based. Considering the affiliation of Freemasonry in the United States with that of Europe, is it idle to suppose a common purpose, and a word of order passed from mouth to mouth to cripple and destroy the influence of divine revelation in the school? Some of the men who took part in the Giordano Bruno celebration are prominent in their hostility to religious training in the public school, and the German "Turners" have lately thrown their weight in the balance in favor of the Republican scheme to interfere with the German parochial schools of Wisconsin. It will repay the trouble of watching the utterances of the Masonic press of the country; we do not think we risk anything in saying that the Masonic press will be found to a unit in favor of what has been termed "the Godless system of elementary education."

It seems to us that a further insight into the details of the system of public-school education in this country will throw additional light on this subject. At the head of the Bureau of Education, at Washington, has been placed a gentleman of ability, but of well-known pantheistic ideas, Prof. W. T. Harris, A.M., LL.D., of the Concord School. This gentleman was in the habit of lecturing on philosophic subjects at Indianapolis and at Terre Haute, Indiana. Having, it would seem, no one to counteract his hurtful opinions, he spread them widely, so that the Indianapolis *Journal* called attention to the fact that the normal schools of these two cities were saturated with pantheistic teachings. Prof. Harris went to the well-springs and poisoned them. He perverted the teachers, and the children confided to them will be poisoned too. Latterly the professor, active in his work and "wise in his generation," has made use of the influence of the position which political favor has given him, and has edited the "International Educational Series," one of which, Rosencranz's "Philosophy of Education," with a preface by him, and also a commentary on the whole, which is designed for the work of instructing teachers, is before us.

In this work, Prof. Harris informs us of "the stubborn individuality of the martyrs" (p. 249). On page 250 he tells us: "All external authority should be cancelled in the self-rule of spirit, which is a law unto itself. The divine authority of the truth of the individual will is to be recognized, but at the same time freed from its estrangement toward itself. While Christ was a Jew, and obedient to the divine law, he knew himself as the universal man who determines to himself his own destiny; and although distinguishing God, as subject, from himself, yet holds fast to the unity of man and God. The system of humanitarian education began to unfold from this principle, which no longer accords the highest

place to the natural unity of national individuality, nor to abstract obedience to the command of God, but to that freedom of soul which knows itself to be unconditioned by aught in time or space."

Page 254 he tells us Protestantism is "a necessary element of Christianity," and "Monachism (the religious life of the monk) has a defect as measured by the entire scope of Christianity; it re-named the world instead of conquering it"; it was, he says, "the mechanism of a thoughtless subjection to rule."

Page 255-6, Prof. Harris declares: "Christian monachism resembles in many of its forms that of Buddhism. Their vows, poverty, chastity and obedience, indicate the attitude towards the secular world. The three chief secular institutions: (a) the family is attacked by the second vow, which aims at celibacy; (b) civil society, or the institution for the production and distribution of property, is attacked by the first vow, which renounces property; (c) the state is attacked by the third vow, which renounces allegiance to any but its religious superiors."

We close our citations from this book by the following language at the expense of the Jesuit educators: "The most deliberate hypocrisy and pleasure in intrigue merely for the sake of intrigue, this subtlest poison of moral corruption were the result. Jesuitism had not only an interest in the material profit which, when it had corrupted souls, fell to its share, but it also had an interest in the educative process of corruption. With absolute indifference as to the idea of morality, and absolute indifference to the moral quality of the means used to attain its end, it rejoiced in the efficacy of secrecy and the accomplished and calculating understanding, and deceiving the credulous by means of its graceful, seemingly scrupulous moral language." "Penitence and contrition were transformed into a perfect materialism of outward actions, and hence arose the punishments of the Order, in which fasting, scourging, imprisonment, mortification and death were formed into a mechanical artificial system."

We will not tire the reader with matter of this nature further. It shows sufficiently what kind of influence is at the helm of the public elementary education of the United States.

There was placed in our hands some time ago a list of questions to be answered at a "teachers' institute" in Southern Indiana. They were mostly taken from Carlyle's "Heroes and Hero-worship." No one will deny the rugged sincerity of Carlyle nor his ability. But are his views on subjects vital to us to be taken as matter of examination on which Catholic teachers are to answer, and which the teachers in general are to have held up to them as their principles in educating Catholic youth? Luther he lauds as *humble and peaceable*; Tetzel "plies a *scandalous trade* in Indul-

gences," in consequence of which Luther's penitents tell him in the confessional that "they had already got their sins pardoned;" while Leo X. "*seems to have been a pagan.*" "Popehood has become untrue. The thing is untrue; we were traitors against the Giver of all truth, if we durst pretend to think it true." Swinton's book can take its place alongside of this. The Boston Committee of One Hundred must be happy. It is all about as reliable as what they put forth. One of their latest publications is by the Rev. Mr. Dunn, in which he makes an onslaught upon the Church, and quotes "Schouppe's Manual," as claiming for her a power of dispensing from the laws of the State. On looking at Schouppe's words we find he is speaking of dispensation from *ecclesiastical* law, and cites decrees of Councils to show this, as is perfectly proper. Thus we see continual misrepresentation at work among those holding power to injure the Catholic Church, warp the mind of American youth, and destroy the respect of Catholics for their faith.

Is it strange, then, that we say most positively that Catholics are right in their attitude as respects the public schools? It would be passing wonderful if they took any other; it would be a mark of moral decay, of waning vitality, did they not protest in the vigorous way in which they do, and will continue to do, claiming unhesitatingly and persistently their just rights.

But let us say a word to strengthen our position, and not content ourselves merely with a denial of the assumptions of our adversaries, or with rejecting their schemes.

It is well known that the Catholic prelates in the United States have recognized the need of Catholic schools, and have passed decrees to bring about everywhere the erection of parish schools. The principle upon which they acted we find very ably proclaimed by the distinguished Archbishop of Dublin, Most Rev. Dr. Walsh, in a discourse on the 7th of last November, at the Medical School of the Catholic University. There is not enough difference in the state of things in Ireland and in America to make what the Most Rev. Archbishop says inapplicable in any way to our case here. We quote copiously, that there may be no danger of misunderstanding the position of his Grace.

"When Trinity College was, in a sense, secularized in 1873, the position of Catholics in reference to the three Queen's colleges then existing in Ireland was thoroughly well understood. The fundamental principle of the system of education embodied in those colleges was one that made it impossible to regard them as a provision for university education, available, in any practical sense, for the Catholics of Ireland. Save in some special and exceptional circumstances, it could not be considered open to Catholics. I speak now, of course, of Catholics who are sufficiently instructed in the nature of the obligations to which they are subject as Catholics, and who are also conscientiously desirous of fulfilling these obligations. Of such Catholics, I say, it could not not be considered really open to them to make use of the advantages which the State, through these well-endowed colleges, placed fully and freely within the

reach of the members of every Protestant denomination in Ireland. The reason of this is obvious. To us Catholics it comes as a matter of fixed principle that every such institution, embodying that which is known as the 'mixed' system, is from the nature of that system, a source of danger to Catholic students, if they frequent it: a source of danger, in the first place, to the vigor and even to the integrity of their faith; a source of danger also to their constancy in the full and faithful observance of the practical duties by which they are bound as Catholics. That is what we mean by the expression dangerous to faith and morals. That is what the Church has always meant, as often as she has, under that severe censure, condemned as places of education for Catholics, institutions such as the Queen's colleges, whether existing in Ireland or in any other portion of the universal Church.

"Even if no such condemnation had been issued, common sense would have sufficed to warn us of the danger. Let me quote to you a noteworthy expression of a former venerated member of our Irish Episcopacy—Dr. Moriarty, formerly Bishop of Kerry. In a letter to one of the numerous commissioners that from time to time have sat in Ireland to examine and report upon our public educational institutions, Dr. Moriarty wrote as follows of the official Training College of the National Board in Marlborough Street. His severe strictures upon that college as a place of 'mixed' education for our school teachers are, as you will observe, quite applicable to the case of 'mixed' colleges of university education. Dr. Moriarty, in fact, himself remarks that this is so. Here is what he wrote: 'The condemnation of the Queen's colleges by the highest authority in the Church necessitated the condemnation of the Training College by the Bishops. The cases are perfectly parallel.'"

Then he goes on to explain that the case is different from that of a school attended by children who are engaged in learning merely the rudiments of knowledge, such as reading, writing and arithmetic, especially as they meet only for a few hours of the day at school, and for the rest of their time are under parental control. In their case he says, "the dangers of the mixed system may be comparatively remote." You will observe he does not say that even in such a case these dangers disappear. He says merely that they may in such cases be comparatively remote; "but," he goes on to say, speaking of colleges of higher education:

"There is danger of that suppression of truth, and of that concealment of religious profession and observance, which necessarily lead to religious indifference. *The danger is manifestly greatest for those who believe most.* If Anglicans were associated under such circumstances with Unitarians or Socinians, the necessity of avoiding topics of discussion would bring them down to the lower level. *The shortest rule of faith would become the common denominator.*"

The Archbishop goes on to speak of the system as "intrinsically" dangerous: "The danger exists altogether independently of any conscious effort at perversion. It is a danger inherent in the very nature of the 'mixed' system as worked out among youth in such a place of education. And this is what the Catholic Church means when she condemns that system as 'intrinsically' dangerous to faith and to fidelity in the fulfilment of Catholic duty." (p. 21.) Elsewhere Archbishop Walsh remarks that education under such auspices "takes the edge off a man's Catholicity." We heartily re-echo the expression; the Archbishop tells a great truth in those words.

These passages apply with equal, if not with greater force, to the state of education in this country; and this for various reasons. We have ostensibly no discrimination against Catholics. In reality there are and always have been, the atmosphere, the teachers and the books,—all Protestant or un-Catholic. We say teachers too, because until lately the proportion of Catholic teachers has been very small, and we greatly fear, except in rare cases, “the edge was taken off *their* Catholicity” before they were allowed to teach secular science; but nothing Catholic. In one of the schools of this diocese the Catholic teacher was told by the petty county supervisor she was not to mention the name of God in the school. In another school the Catholic teacher was told to take the crucifix out of the school-room. We suppose this is strictly in accordance with “non-sectarianism;” which makes it all the more objectionable to Catholics.

A further danger from this kind of teacher is that public school teachers are simply required to stand the examination, and prove their title to a good character. But this is not enough for one who is to take the place of a parent and watch over the children. Here is a vital point. The teacher will consider his work done when he has taught; but the recreation and the recess, and absence from the school room, frequently unavoidable, give the children a freedom too often fatal. Then there is the further insuperable objection and fatal error of the education of children, in which the theory is, that the gentleness of the girl softens the ruggedness of the boy—but at the expense of both. Any expert physician can give you an interesting lecture on the physical effects of such a system. Besides the indisputable physical effects of acts against the moral code, there have been frequent exposures of moral disorders in these schools. Look at the recent Cleveland sensation in this respect; it is not the most recent known to us, however. It has been said that the standard of female virtue has been greatly lowered. We are afraid this is so, and it is not going to improve under the prevailing system of public education. We know perfectly well that experience shows absolute prevention of vice among children to be impossible; but it can and ought to be reduced to the least amount. The public school system, however, will not effect this. Add to this the perverted system of morality taught; perverted because divorced from religion, and falling back on æsthetic ideas. A teacher with whom we were conversing some time ago remarked: “This teaching children to avoid evil because not beautiful, but ugly, deformed; this making beauty a standard of good, has the effect on me of causing me to lose sight of distinctions between good and evil as taught by religion.” It is a fact that a confessor has to fight against a tendency, in those who come in contact with the public school influence, to look on

certain sins against nature, Malthusian theories and secret indulgence, as no harm at all. A very brief experience in any large city will prove this. It is the reason why so many non-Catholics send their children to the schools taught by the religious orders and by Catholic lay teachers under the surveillance of the priest.

On the other hand we are fully convinced that many upright and earnest teachers are teaching in the public schools, and many pupils attending them are of exemplary life, and with the modesty they learned under the parents' roof. But everything is handicapped by the want of the restraining influence of religion, and secret immorality is on the increase.

To sum up then the grounds of our answer, we say that Catholics are right in their attitude on the school question; in asserting the necessity of denominational schools, and in claiming as due to Catholics, in justice, a corresponding portion of the school fund, or, what is equivalent to that, exemption from taxation for schools; because of the intrinsic defect of a system that excludes religion; because of the hurtful anti-religious and anti-Catholic influence at the helm, both in the normal school and in the institute; because of the influence of Freemasonry against religion, and of its scheme to possess itself of elementary education; because of the judgment of the Church, as expressed by able bishops, and by councils, declaring such a system intrinsically dangerous to faith and morals, which cannot be taught and maintained apart from religion; because even expert physicians tell us of the evils of the system of co-education of children of different sexes—apart from acts of immorality; because of the well-known frequency of scandals among the children; and lastly, because the moral ideas of Catholic children become perverted, so that they come to look on sins against nature as no harm.

These grounds are more than enough to justify and strengthen Catholics in standing firmly to their principles. We say this all the more emphatically because we are persuaded that our American people wish for the best; and did they believe what we have written above, would undoubtedly take the movement for denominational education under the patronage of their good will, and carry it through triumphantly; at least for all who want denominational education; and we venture to say that every American parent who knows the world, on opening his eyes to the real state of things, *would* want it. More than once we have been obliged reluctantly to decline to receive the children of non-Catholic parents in our Catholic schools for want of room or for other reasons that made the decisions imperative. For it has happened, not seldom, that as a last resort, a non-Catholic parent, in his desperation, has put his child, ruined by the freedom of the public school, in some Catholic institution or parochial school, placing his last hope in the influence of Catholic education.

Of a truth, that influence is wholesome. The child comes from home bright and cheerful, sure to meet a smiling, motherly face. A few moments of play under the watchful eye of the teacher, whose highest motive is to help save that soul and form a useful member of society and of God's household, here and hereafter. The bell summons to Mass; the day's work is begun by prayer, the greatest of all, the Holy Sacrifice, which appeals to the faith and love of the child. Prayer to the Holy Mother of God directs the thought to her who is the model of womanhood, the lily of God's garden. The school opens with the brief lesson in catechism, carefully explained and well illustrated; teaching duties to God, to the State, to one's fellow-men, respect for authority, obedience to law, charity to all, the excellence of virtue, and especially the duty of holy purity of life, which is sullied by one deliberate foul thought. The crucifix is on the wall, and the pierced hands and the bleeding body tell of the frightful expiation of the immorality of man by Him who said: "Blessed are the pure in heart for they shall see God." The picture of Mary is prominent, and her mild, pure eyes beaming on her children make them love her beautiful life, and lure them on by the odor of her virtues, to run after her in the ways in which she walked. To please her and her Divine Son the Catholic child labors willingly, and tries to overcome himself in moments of weariness or distraction from his other studies, so that in this, as in other things, is it verified that "piety is useful." When faults are committed, Christian charity, quick to see, presides over the correction, using gentleness of manner, even when administering a well-merited chastisement; dwelling more on the offence to God than on the displeasure to the teacher or the harm to the pupil himself. Then come the rewards, administered with discrimination, directing the mind to one's spiritual well being. Then the joyous feasts that come in the year tell of the consoling truths of the faith, the life of which is the charity which makes one love God, and obey Him, by loving one's neighbor, his kindred, his fellow-men, the State, in whose patriotic, festive days all take part with a loyalty second to none.

Thus the foundation of a useful life is laid. Is it not a good one? Does it not give hope of a good and useful citizen? Does it not afford ground to believe that should any one, as will now and then happen, forget himself and fall away, he will remember his early training and more easily return? Only just now we come from receiving back a poor girl, whose conscience recalled to her the lessons she had learned from the Sisters, and the elevating influences she had once experienced. Such is the frequent happening in the life of every priest engaged in the active ministry. He knows and appreciates how salutary is the early Christian training. When it is wanting, how blank is everything; dreary, hopeless!

IN MEMORIAM.

THE RIGHT REV. JAMES O'CONNOR.

LESS than one year ago the AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW was deprived, by death, of its editor-in-chief, Monsignor Corcoran, to whose distinguished ability and invaluable services to the REVIEW a fitting tribute was paid in the October number of last year. Now, we have to mourn the loss of the Right Rev. James O'Connor, D.D., late Bishop of Omaha, who, along with Monsignor Corcoran, most actively and efficiently aided the originators and proprietors of the REVIEW in founding it, determining its scope, and giving to it the high character and prestige which, from its very inception, it has possessed.

While Bishop (then Doctor) O'Connor remained in the vicinity of Philadelphia, he shared with Monsignor Corcoran the work of editing the REVIEW. After he was appointed Vicar Apostolic of Nebraska and the adjoining territories, and, in consequence thereof, removed to Omaha, distance prevented him from taking part in the practical editorial work, but his warm interest in the REVIEW continued unabated, as was shown by his correspondence with Monsignor Corcoran and the proprietors, by his writing several valuable articles on subjects of great importance, and also by his soliciting and obtaining from personal friends a number of very interesting and able papers.

Were it consistent with the scope of this notice to attempt to sketch the life and character of this exemplary priest and bishop, it would be a task we would most lovingly essay. For it is not too much to say of him, that in all the many and various positions he was called to occupy during the forty-five years that elapsed between his ordination and his death, he discharged their duties, difficult, delicate and onerous as they often were, with rare prudence and tact, with untiring diligence and energy, and with a devotedness which plainly showed that the feeling uppermost in his heart was that he must be ever doing his MASTER'S work. His performance, too, of that work in whatever position he occupied was signally blessed of God, resulting in abundant harvests of spiritual fruit to His greater glory.

Whether as a missionary in the wilds of western Pennsylvania, visiting scattered settlements of a few Catholics, or as pastor of an established parish, or discharging the duties of rector of a

theological seminary, or as vicar general, or administrator of a diocese, or bishop, he was ever zealous, unsparing of self, diligent, energetic, prudent.

Bishop James O'Connor was a man of great natural gifts and of exceptional attainments. His scholarship was solid, accurate, thorough. He was not only a sound theologian, and well acquainted with church history and the ancient languages, but understood and spoke the German, French and Italian. His English was admirable for its simplicity and purity. Yet so unaffectedly modest was he, so self-repressive and humble, that his scholarly attainments, like his labors,—which were always carried on quietly and without outward demonstration,—only showed themselves in the work he accomplished, and the abundant fruit which that work everywhere and always brought forth.

He was an admirable director of souls, and few there are who, under God, have been more successful in converting to the faith those who were in doubt, in guiding those who were searching for the truth, and in advising and counselling converts after their reception into the Church.

But it is as a bishop that the name and memory of the Right Rev. James O'Connor will be perpetuated. It was during the fourteen years between his consecration to the episcopal office and his death that the admirable qualities we have already mentioned—his unselfish zeal, his indomitable energy, his eminent ability and prudence—most conspicuously displayed themselves in the vast work he so quietly accomplished, and the wonderful success which attended that work. When he entered it, his Vicariate was a wilderness of almost illimitable extent; when he was removed from it by death it had become one of the most flourishing parts of the Church in our country. What at the outset of his episcopal work was a simple Vicariate, now comprises seven regularly organized dioceses, equipped with bishops, clergy, churches, convents, schools and colleges.

Here in the East we highly esteemed Bishop O'Connor, and will not soon forget him. But it is in the far West, with the people and priests he ruled, where noble monuments of his holy zeal and energy confront men on every side, destined to be sources of countless blessings now and for ages to come, that the name of the Right Rev. James O'Connor, Bishop of Omaha, will be most highly honored, and his labors be most gratefully remembered and most fully appreciated.

May he rest in peace.

Scientific Chronicle.

ELECTRO-MAGNETIC THEORY OF LIGHT.

VIEWS OF ELECTRICITY.—PART I.

WE do not intend to advance any new theory on this subject. Our object is to recall some of the answers that have been given to the question, "What is electricity?"

In whatever direction we turn, we meet practical applications of this agent. It is a motive power on our street-cars, and in our machine-shops, the source of light in our dwellings and on our streets, the power by which we converse with or send messages to absent friends. In a word, it is the helpmate of every branch of industry, a necessity to the development of our present resources and to our future material advancement. Its ubiquity, and the startling phenomena in which it is clothed, arrest our attention, and we hear on all sides the question, "What is electricity?" A question the many may ask, and to which the few can reply—and these few but inadequately.

Some seem surprised that an agent with which we are so familiar, and which is so subservient to our wants, which we can measure, hold in bondage or direct whithersoever we choose, should be so coy and succeed in concealing its true nature despite our vigorous efforts to unmask it. Yet we must be content with theorizing as to its nature, accepting as the best explanation that hypothesis which agrees best with all known facts and disagrees with none. So, too, the theory which is in unison with known electrical phenomena answers best the question, "What is electricity?"

In the present state of science we have reached two grand generalizations—the conservation of matter and the conservation of energy. The principle of the conservation of matter states that the amount of matter in the universe is constant. Solids may be liquefied or transformed into gases; elements may combine to form compounds, and these latter may be resolved into their constituents; but, in all these changes, there is no loss of matter; the amount of matter undergoing the change is always equal to the amount resulting therefrom. The verification of this principle is one of the elementary experiments of chemistry, and the equations by which chemical reactions are expressed are based upon it.

Although the principle of the conservation of energy does not admit of a proof as rigid as that in support of the preceding principle, still there is the strongest indirect evidence in its favor. If true, it ought to give certain results under certain test conditions. This it does; and, as there is no valid objection to it, scientists accept it. According to this principle, when an amount of a certain kind of energy disappears, it is not destroyed, but changed into an exact equivalent of some other kind or kinds of energy. Hence, we have a mechanical equivalent of

heat, or the exact amount of mechanical energy capable of generating a given amount of heat, and *vice versa*.

Under which head, then, will we class electricity? Is it a certain kind of matter, or is it a certain form of energy? At different times, it has been regarded in both these lights. There have been fluid or material theories of electricity; and not many years ago there was a tendency to assign it a position as a form of energy. This was avoiding Scylla to rush into Charybdis. It was due principally to an analogy which seemed to exist between electricity and sound, heat, and light. This analogy has not been verified, and although, at the present, we cannot say exactly what electricity is, still, in the present condition of science, we are in a position to state what it is not.

The theory, then, in which the labors of all past and present scientists culminates, states that electricity is neither a form of energy nor a form of matter, but provisionally defines it as a property or condition of matter; not of ordinary matter, but of the all-pervading ether by which ordinary matter is everywhere surrounded. At first sight, it seems that the electricity of an electrified body is a condition of that body itself. When a piece of glass and a piece of resin are rubbed together, and then separated, it is found that they attract one another with a force which varies inversely as the square of the distance between them. But when these bodies were pulled asunder, work was done, according to this theory, not upon two isolated bodies mutually acting at a distance, but upon a system made up of the two bodies and the ether between them. This latter was stressed by their separation, and the tendency of the bodies to approach one another is not due to their mutual action, but to the elastic tendency of the ether to recover its original condition.

The formation of a theory is not the work of a day, nor the work of one man. It may imply the labors of centuries, the accumulated knowledge of a host of experimenters, the converging of scattered rays of truth, which dispel the darkness or pierce a rift in the mist, revealing to one of keener sight, or to the patient watcher on the towers of science, fields of thought before unsuspected, or truths but dimly discerned. Nature may sometimes deprive the scientist of the merit of discovery by throwing facts under his feet, but there yet remains an ample field for the exercise of his sagacity in the proper appreciation of the effects which are merely incidental to his researches. To seize these as they arise, to pursue them through their consequences, to distinguish them from related phenomena, to expand them by comparison and generalization into comprehensive natural laws, requires the highest power of philosophical inquiry.

In this work the scientist is aided by the labors of his predecessors in the same field. The facts they accumulated, the phenomena they described, and the observations they recorded, form a rich bequest to the better equipped and better disciplined observers of a later day. While, however, in all the other branches of physics we had the experience of ages to draw upon, still in electricity this rich heritage was wanting; for the great discoveries which have accumulated concerning this agent,

its subservience to man as a mechanical power, its application in every division of science and in every department of the arts, are peculiarly due to the labors of our own age.

Although Thales [of Miletus, six centuries before the Christian era, was acquainted with the fact that amber could be electrified by friction; although Théophrastus, Pliny, and other writers, mention this same property of other substances; although electric lights shone forth from the javelin of the Roman soldier, and from the masts of the Roman squadron, presaging storm or calm, as Helen or Castor and Pollux, the names by which these displays were known, recalled the terrors of war or the joys of peace, still such phenomena were regarded with superstition, and provoked no scientific research.

So over twenty centuries rolled away, and man's knowledge of electricity remained the knowledge of a few isolated facts. The vein which cropped out to challenge the attention of the miner remained unexplored, and its treasures were reserved to reward the toil and crown the enterprise of our own generation.

The work of classification in electricity was first begun in 1600, by Dr. Gilbert of Colchester, physician to Queen Elizabeth. He published his results in the beginning of the 17th century, in a work entitled "*De Magnete*." In this work he enumerates all the substances then known to be susceptible of electrification, and mentions some of the circumstances which affect electrical phenomena, such as the hygrometric state of the atmosphere.

After a century of inactivity, two laborers appeared whose work in this field gave a new stimulus to research in electricity. They were Grey and Dufay. The former made the generalization of electrics and non-electrics, or bodies capable of electrification by friction and those which were then considered incapable of such electrification. In connection with Wheeler, he also established the distinction—conductors and insulators.

Dufay extended the catalogue of electrics, transmitted electricity through a cord 1300 feet long, and experimented on the disruptive discharge of an electrified body. He was the first to deduce general laws from his own experiments and those of other investigators, and to put in more definite form the principles of attraction and repulsion between electrified and neutral bodies. But his great contribution to science was his theory of the existence of two distinct kinds of electricity. "Chance," he says, "threw in my way another principle . . . which cast a new light upon the subject of electricity. The principle is, that there are two distinct kinds of electricity, very different from one another; one of which I shall call vitreous and the other resinous electricity. The first is that of glass, rock crystal. . . . The second is that of amber, copal. . . . The characteristics of these two electricities are that they repel themselves and attract each other."

Long before this, the effects of electricity had been attributed to virtues, effluvia and atmospheres, of which no very distinct conception was formed. But this was the first attempt at a clear answer to the question,

what is electricity? Thus it was considered a material fluid, or rather two fluids endowed with the powers of attracting and repelling.

This theory does not seem to have been very widely adopted, and was lost sight of when Franklin proposed his one-fluid theory. According to Franklin, electricity is a single fluid contained in definite amount by every body in its neutral or unelectrified condition. This fluid possesses the power of attracting ordinary matter. When a body is in its neutral state, the quantity of electrical fluid in it is held in equilibrium by the attraction of the particles of the body, so that it cannot act on other bodies. But if a body by any means obtains more than its natural amount of this fluid, the surplus, which is not held bound by the matter of the body, attracts other bodies, and the body which has the surplus is said to be positively electrified. If a body has less, it is ready to take electricity from any neutral body that is near it, so that each will have less than their natural share, or will be negatively electrified. When two bodies are rubbed together, one parts with some of its electric fluid, so that after the rubbing one has an excess, or is charged positively; the other a deficit, or is charged negatively. The acceptance of this theory marked a new epoch in the history of electricity, remarkable for the accuracy of experimental detail, the generality of the laws unfolded, and the practical ends to which electrical knowledge was directed.

But the great principle of electrical induction had not yet forced itself upon observers. It was in 1753 that Canton presented to the Royal Society a series of experiments which brought out this fact. To the study of this single phenomenon is due the great progress made in electrical theory. Even the facts on which Dufay and Franklin based their theories, although not then recognized as such, were induction phenomena. When, however, Canton's report was made known to Franklin, he succeeded in explaining the phenomena, and showing that they were exactly what might be expected from his theory on the assumption that the fluid was self-repulsive but attracted ordinary matter. The satisfactory explanation then given by the one-fluid theory made it very popular.

Robert Symmer, however, doubting the sufficiency of Franklin's theory to explain fully all known facts, reconsidered Dufay's theory and published his views in 1759. While maintaining the dual nature of the electric fluid, he showed that the vitreous and resinous fluids were not independent of each other, as Dufay had supposed, but were co-existent in unelectrified bodies. In their neutral condition all bodies have equal amounts of these opposite fluids, and as the fluids mutually attract these equal quantities, hold each other bound, and thus prevent any electrical display. Electrification would therefore consist in increasing or diminishing the amount of either of these fluids in the body. As Symmer did not support his theory by any extensive application to the phenomena of electricity, it did not shake the confidence placed in Franklin's hypothesis until the mathematicians had thoroughly invaded the field and subjected this branch of physics to the rigorous canons of mathematical calculation.

The necessity for some quantitative measure of the forces of attraction and repulsion was long felt by experimenters, and the first real attempt in this direction seems to have been made by Æpinus. He took the hypothesis of a single fluid, but found that besides the force of attraction existing between the particles of the body and the electric, he had to admit a force of repulsion between the particles of the bodies if he would give mathematical expression to the phenomena of attraction and repulsion. Otherwise the mutual electric inertness of two bodies in the neutral state could not be explained. For since the fluid in the one attracts the matter of and repels the fluid in the other, there will be two attractions against one smaller force of repulsion. Hence another force of repulsion is required, that the neutral bodies may be in equilibrium. Again, in the case of two negatively electrified bodies, since negative electricity is a deficit of the fluid and the fluid is the repulsive element, two bodies thus electrified would not repel each other, except in the supposition that there was a repulsion between the particles of the two bodies.

Æpinus states that it horrified him to attribute to matter a force of repulsion besides the force of mutual attraction of universal gravitation. But he finally adopted the theory, and worked out the mathematical expressions for the laws of attraction and repulsion. The difficulty found by Æpinus has, however, been adroitly answered. The force of repulsion of matter is considered less than the attraction of matter for the electric fluid, so that there would be a resultant attraction which would explain gravitation as an electrical phenomenon.

Masotti, extending the calculations of Æpinus, found that admitting the suppositions of the one-fluid theory, the particles would exert a repulsive force at very small distances, which, on increasing the distance would first vanish and then change to a force of attraction, which at sensible distances would vary inversely as the square of the distance. Hence, the theory would offer an explanation of gravitation and of many other properties of matter.

But the two-fluid theory had also its mathematical advocates. In 1785 Coulomb began his investigations. By means of the torsion-balance, which he invented, he first showed experimentally the laws of electrical attraction and repulsion. This gave rise to the necessity of expressing by mathematical formulæ the intensity of the electric charge on different parts of variously shaped conductors placed within each other's influence. The one-fluid theory accounted for such phenomena in a general way, but none of its advocates brought forward exact mathematical expressions which could be compared with the experimental results obtained by Coulomb's instruments. The mathematicians, therefore, adopted the two-fluid theory as the basis of their calculations.

Coulomb's investigations are remarkable for the ingenuity with which he arrives at certain approximate conclusions without the aid of theoretical numerical results, which were wanting to him on account of the undeveloped state of mathematics. But not long after, owing to the great progress made in astronomy, mathematics was so advanced as to afford these numerical results; and in 1801 an exact solution of the

problem of the distribution of the electric fluid on a spheroid was given by Biot. The complete subjugation, however, of this portion of electrical science to mathematical analysis is due to Poisson.

In the work of *Æpinus* and *Coulomb* we find the application, in a particular case, of the general concept of attraction and repulsion introduced by *Newton*. *Poisson* perfected and extended the mathematical treatment of this concept in the case of electrical phenomena, and may be said to hold the same place, with reference to the founders of the fluid theories of electricity, which *Laplace* holds to *Newton*.

Poisson's calculations were based on the two-fluid theory as modified by *Coulomb*. He considered the attractions and repulsions, not as forces exercised by the bodies, but as altogether due to the fluids with which the bodies were charged. The particles of each of these fluids are assumed, by him, to repel each other, while they attract those of the opposite fluid. These conditions supply the mathematical formulæ necessary, and these formulæ are in harmony with the observed results.

The beautiful agreement of the calculations with experiments seems, at first sight to prove that the hypotheses on which they are built must represent the real state of things, and be the complete answer to the question, "What is Electricity?" But such evidence is not conclusive. Any true view of electricity must be consistent with all known electrical phenomena, and must explain the connection undoubtedly established between electricity and magnetism. All that the mathematicians and supporters of the fluid theory required was centres of force acting on each other at a distance. This meant an ultimate fact incapable of further analysis. Although the *Newtonian* doctrine led to this conclusion, electricians were not to accept it as a final answer. This would be to rest content with knowing the laws of nature without inquiring into the manner in which she executes them.

In 1820, *Professor Oersted*, of *Copenhagen*, announced his discovery of the deflection of a magnetized needle, placed near a conductor through which a current of electricity was flowing. This was the first experimental proof of a relation which was long thought to exist between electricity and magnetism. The discovery was immediately pursued with ardor by many investigators, among whom *Ampère* stands out conspicuously. The rapidity with which he prosecuted those beautiful researches which form the foundation of electro-dynamics, and announced their mathematical analysis, is truly wonderful, and shows clearly the advanced condition of physical science in 1820.

It was at this period *Faraday* began his researches. He was an indefatigable experimenter, who lived among phenomena from which he wrested their secrets in a way unintelligible to ordinary workers. Of one point he was thoroughly convinced, namely, of the impossibility of action at a distance. Hence, to him the work of the mathematicians, who based their calculations on the fluid theories and consequently on the action of forces at a distance, although it accorded with, still did not explain electrical phenomena. The medium surrounding an electrified body, or a wire carrying an electric current, possessed prop-

erties which had been ignored, and which must be accounted for if an adequate explanation of electric and electro-magnetic attractions and repulsions is to be given.

Hence, Faraday conceived electric induction to be the result of an action taking place between the electrified and neutral body through lines of contiguous particles in the mass of the intermediate body, which he called the dielectric. Faraday was convinced that the space or medium around an electrified or magnetized body had properties as essential as the magnet or electrified body itself, and that with the latter it formed a complete system. Thus Maxwell writes of him: "Faraday saw lines of force traversing all space where the mathematicians saw centres of force acting at a distance; Faraday saw a medium where they saw nothing but distance; Faraday sought the seat of the phenomena in real actions going on in the medium; they were satisfied that they had found it in a power of action at a distance impressed on the electric fluids."

At this time great progress had been made in the science by the German investigators, Gauss, Weber, Riemann and others, but all their mathematical investigations were based on action at a distance. The great success they attained in their mathematical treatment of electrical phenomena gave weight to their fundamental principle. Faraday, however, was not a mathematician, and hence was not able to give such expression to his facts and speculations as would permit of their comparison with those of the professed mathematicians.

This work was reserved for Maxwell, whose relation to Faraday is thus given by Doctor Lodge in his "Modern Views of Electricity": "Then comes Maxwell with his keen penetration and great grasp of thought, combined with mathematical subtlety and power of expression; he assimilates the facts, sympathizes with the philosophic but untutored modes of expression invented by Faraday, links the theories of Green, Stokes and Thomson to the facts of Faraday, and from the union there arises the young modern science of electricity, whose infancy at the present time is so vigorous and so promising that we are all looking forward to the near future in eager hope and expectation of some greater and still more magnificent generalization."

Thus by the labors of Faraday and Maxwell, supplemented and extended by Thomson and a host of eminent physicists of the present day, we have the "ether-stress theory" of electricity, which is more in accord with our present knowledge of electrical phenomena, and which does away with the necessity of admitting action at a distance, an admission adverse to both right reason and experience. This is the theory we alluded to in the beginning. It states that all bodies are immersed in a perfectly elastic and continuous medium called ether. This medium fills all space and penetrates into the interstices of ordinary matter. The evidence of its existence is based on the impossibility of transmitting energy through space without a medium, and as energy can be transmitted through space from which ordinary matter has been removed, modern physicists accept the existence of the ether as a necessity.

Our theory then states that electricity is a condition of this ether. When two electrified bodies approach each other, they do so, not because they have any new property, but because this continuous ether which surrounds them is under stress, and this stress gives rise to tensions and pressures in the ether, thus occasioning directions of pull and push along which these bodies must move. These directions are called lines of force. An idea of a line of force may be obtained from the familiar experiment of scattering iron filings on a piece of paper placed over a magnet. The iron filings arrange themselves in curved lines around the poles of the magnet: these are lines of induction or lines of force, or directions along which the stress in the ether causes the particles to move towards the magnet. So when we say a glass rod is electrified, we do not mean that the glass rod has any new property, but that the ether around the glass is now under stress, and a body, such as a pith ball, placed in this field of stress, will have to move in the direction of the lines of force. If we could place two balls in the interior of a mass of rubber, so that the rubber would cling to and penetrate them as the ether does ordinary matter, and then pull them asunder, the rubber would be stressed for some distance around the balls, and there would be directions in the rubber along which the balls would be urged. These directions represent lines of force.

This stress in the ether is not a piece of fiction. Faraday's experiment of the permanent deflection of a beam of polarized light in a magnetic field, shows that the ether carrying light waves was under stress. But how does this stress originate? I conceive that in the case of frictional electricity it may be at least partially explained in the following way: When two bodies are rubbed together they are heated. In this condition their particles are in a rapid state of vibration. This motion of the particles must disturb the continuous ether which surrounds and permeates the body. Whether such motion is capable of producing a static stress of the ether or not, the expansion of the body would, and this stress would be gradually removed as the bodies cooled. This agrees well with the fact that bodies charged by friction slowly lose their charge.

When a current of electricity runs along a wire, we are to look to the ether around the wire for the power which we have been accustomed to attribute to the wire itself, and see in that ether the alternate formation and releasing of stress along the conductor. Thus it is by the aid of the ether that we not only see but converse in the telephone, illuminate our streets and propel our cars. The ether is no longer an uncertain medium but a mighty power filling all space and binding the universe together, while by means of this theory we could reconstruct our theories of radiant energy, and could build up the wave theory of light had it remained unknown to the present day. But of this we will speak later.

Have we then the final answer to the question, what is electricity? This we cannot presume to say, but we feel certain that it is nearer the truth than any answer yet given. Still the theory may be but a temporary scaffolding, which will be removed when the edifice is complete.

THE ROTATION PERIOD OF MERCURY.

JOHANN HIERONYMUS SCHRÖTER of Lilienthal near Bremen, the Herschel of Germany, was the first to give any determination of the time it takes the planet Mercury to revolve on its axis. On March 26th, 1800, Schröter observed with his 13-ft. reflector that the southern horn of Mercury's crescent was blunted. To explain this phenomenon he assumed the interception of sunlight by a Mercurian mountain about eleven miles high. By carefully timing the recurrence of the phenomena, he concluded that the planet revolved on its axis in 24 hours 4 minutes. This conclusion was confirmed by observing the successive appearances of a dusky streak and a blotch observed on the planet in May and June, 1801. From a rediscussion of these observations, Bessel inferred that Mercury rotates in 24 hours 53 seconds on an axis inclined 70° to the plane of its orbit.

Ever since this has been regarded as the time of rotation of the planet, and in this, as is evident, it closely resembles the earth. There would thus be a close analogy between its seasons and ours. The effects, however, of the Mercurian seasons must be swallowed up in the more intense changes brought about by the great eccentricity of its path, which causes its distance from the sun to vary from 29 to 43 million miles. Moreover, the light and heat received by Mercury is from four to ten times the amount reaching our planet.

The rotation period of the planet must be fixed by the observation of spots on its surface. But as it is never found at any considerable angular distance from the sun, it must be observed in twilight or in the daytime. Observations made at the later time are very unsatisfactory. But M. Schiaparelli, at Milan, has been able to observe Mercury some 150 or 200 times between 1881 and 1886. The observations were made with an eight-inch telescope, but since that time he has confirmed his earlier conclusions by observations made with an eighteen-inch telescope.

On December 8th, 1889, the Academia dei Lincei, of Rome, held a special meeting, at which M. Schiaparelli related his discovery of the rotation period of Mercury.

The fundamental facts in the problem are, first, if the planet is observed on two consecutive days, the aspect of its spots is identical or almost so. The same is the case if the interval between successive observations is two, three or more days.

To explain these facts, three hypotheses may be advanced. First, the planet turns on its axis once in twenty-four hours; secondly, it makes two or more revolutions in that time, or thirdly, its motion of rotation is so slow that an interval of a few days permits of no appreciable alteration in the position of the markings on its surface.

Professor Schiaparelli deduced from his observations that the motion of the spots on the disk was too slow to permit of either of the first two hypotheses. He therefore concluded that the period of rotation was very long.

From observations in '82-3, confirmed in '86-7, he concluded that the motion of the planet around the sun closely resembled the motion of the moon about the earth; that is, Mercury always turns the same face to the sun. Owing, however, to the great difficulty of making observations, it was impossible to prove that Mercury, like our satellite, turned on its axis in exactly the same time it took to make one revolution in its orbit. Professor Schiaparelli, however, takes the sidereal period of Mercury, about 87 days, as the time of rotation. Moreover, according to observations, the axis of rotation is practically perpendicular to the plane of its orbit, and around this axis the rotation is uniform. The markings by which the rotation of the planet is noticed are very faint, and it is not an easy matter to offer any satisfactory explanation as to their nature. They may be peculiarities in the solid crust of the planet, or as Professor Schiaparelli thinks, be seas like ours. This latter is not unlikely, as Mercury is known to have a very dense atmosphere. The climate, if this rotation period be correct, varies between that due to the perpetual presence of the sun almost vertically above certain regions and its perpetual absence from others, unless, perhaps, these extremes are tempered by a more vigorous atmospheric circulation.

LEXELL'S COMET.

No class of heavenly bodies is subject to so many adventures and vicissitudes as comets. At the extreme point of their oscillation through space they are acted upon by the sun and by Jupiter and Saturn. They approach so close to the paths of these planets as to permit these heavenly giants to act as secondary rulers of their destinies. It is, in all probability, by the influence of these planets that they were originally started in their present courses, and by their influence they will be eventually diverted from them. A curious instance of this capricious dealing on the part of Jupiter was afforded by the comet of 1770. Lexell, of St. Petersburg, found that this comet, which was visible to the naked eye, performed its circuit of the sun in $5\frac{1}{2}$ years. It travelled this path twice and then disappeared. It had not been observed before. In explanation of this peculiar behavior, Lexell suggested that a very close approach to Jupiter, in 1767, had changed the orbit of the comet, and brought it within the field of terrestrial observation, while in 1779, after its second journey in its new path, it approached Jupiter so as to be diverted into an entirely new course. This explanation, suggested by Lexell, was confirmed by the analytical inquiries of Laplace and Leverrier. But it seems that after its long absence it has returned to us again. In 1770, at its nearest approach to the earth, it was less than one half a million miles distant. At that time, Laplace calculated that if the comet had any considerable mass it would have produced a very appreciable disturbance in the motion of our planet in its orbit. It was determined that if its mass was equal to that of the earth it would have

shortened our year by something like three hours. As there was no appreciable disturbance, Laplace concluded that its mass was very much less than the one three-thousandth part of the mass of the earth.

From the fact that this comet has not been seen since 1770, it has been known as the lost comet. But in July last Mr. Brooks reported the discovery of a comet which has since been under observation. Following on the discovery of the comet, is a discovery by Mr. S. C. Chandler, the well known mathematical astronomer. He has found that it revolves in an elliptical orbit about the sun in seven years; and through the discoveries at the Lick observatory we are informed that it is attended in its wanderings through space by companion comets. During the course of his investigations, Mr. Chandler found that Brooks's comet must have made a very close approach to Jupiter in 1886, and that the attraction of the planet then threw the comet into its present orbit. Then arose the suspicion that this comet might be identical with Lexell's comet. This surmise gave a new impetus to his investigations, and he determined that previous to its encounter the comet was moving in an orbit entirely different from its present one. Mr. Chandler says: "Several months before reaching its perihelion it passed, near the beginning of 1886, into the sphere of Jupiter's attraction, and was deflected into a hyperbolic path about the planet, remaining for more than eight months under its control—the disturbing action of the sun during most of the interval being insignificant. The eccentricity of the hyperbola was but slightly in excess of unity, so that the comet narrowly escaped being drawn into a closed orbit as a satellite of Jupiter."

Mr. Chandler moreover states, that on its close approach to Jupiter, it passed somewhat outside the orbit of the third satellite, and that, in all probability, the unequal attraction of the planet and its satellites brought about the disruption of the comet, yielding the present comet with its attendant companions. Although the comet is, at present, free from the preponderating influence of Jupiter, it is impossible to say what changes it has undergone since 1770, when it became the lost comet.

If Mr. Chandler's surmise is correct, and there seems to be good reasons for it, the comet would, in 1921, again encounter Jupiter, so as to be entirely changed in its course, being once more thrown into an orbit whose perihelion distance will be too great to permit of its being observed from the earth, when it will again regain its title of the lost comet. If this be verified, Mr. Chandler's discovery will stand as one of first importance in cometary history.

PROFITS OF THE PARIS EXPOSITION.

Now that we are busily engaged preparing for the great exhibition to commemorate the discovery of America, it will not be out of place to recall the commercial success of the late Paris Exposition. That such an exposition is of great financial importance is clearly proved by the

report which M. A. Neumarck made to the *Chambre Syndicate des Industries Diverses* of France. From this report we learn that the year of the exposition had increased the gold reserve in the Bank of France by \$54,528,048. The other banks showed a gain of over \$17,000,000.

During the exposition, one and a half million of foreigners visited France, and it is calculated that the American visitors, numbering 115,000, spent about \$70,000,000 in gold. The receipts of the railroad companies were increased by over \$13,500,000. The omnibus companies report an increase of \$800,000. The cab company received an increase of revenue equal to \$311,600. From May to October the tramways carried 6,342,670 people, receiving over \$300,000.

The internal revenue felt the influx of visitors, and the hotels, restaurants, theatres, etc., had their receipts proportionately enlarged. The gross receipts, from May to November, of the Eiffel Tower, which cost \$1,502,819, amounted to \$1,291,916.80. The exposition proper had a profit of \$1,600,000. Besides these receipts there were strictly private receipts which can only be approximately estimated. After a thorough discussion of the figures, the direct monetary gain is put down at about \$350,000,000. This is convincing proof that a national exhibition is the source of not only future prosperity on account of the stimulus it gives to the different industries represented, and the information it gives respecting the resources of the nation, but is also the source of immediate gain. But to effect these ends, the exhibition must be carried out on a grand scale, such as we expect to see in the case of our own national exhibition.

SMOKELESS EXPLOSIVES.

IF the invention of modern ammunition will entirely change the character of future warfare, there will undoubtedly be far greater changes produced by the invention and adoption of an efficient smokeless explosive. Until recently little thought seems to have been given to this subject, probably because in time of war the cloud of smoke arising at each discharge was not always inconvenient, but frequently so shrouded the soldiers as to permit of important manœuvres unsuspected by the enemy. The great disadvantage, however, of smoke in mines and in sport has directed attention to the production of a smokeless powder.

In 1846 all thought that gun cotton had solved the problem, for gun cotton, consisting of carbon, hydrogen, nitrogen and oxygen, being a hexnitrate of cellulose, is, on explosion, broken up into nitrogen, carbon monoxide, carbon dioxide, marsh gas, other hydrocarbons and water. The former are transparent gases, and the latter, at the moment of liberation, assumes the form of a highly heated vapor, hence there is nothing to obscure the view. In the case of gunpowder, on the contrary, we have a mixture of some nitrate as saltpetre, carbonized vegetable matter as charcoal, and a quantity of sulphur. When such a mix-

ture is exploded, a large proportion of the resulting products is not gaseous at the temperature reached, and this solid residue is driven out of the gun in the condition of a finely divided powder and suspended in the gases and vapors resulting from the explosion.

The introduction of smooth-bore guns, and the increase in their size and power, necessitated a change in gunpowder, which would modify the violence of its action so that these new pieces might be used with safety. The result was practically reached by varying the size and form of the small particles that make up a charge. According to the different variations in the size and shape of the powder-grain, we have rifle large grain, pebble, boulder, pellet and prismatic powders. This latter was the suggestion of Doremus, an American. Thus the solution of the difficulty was sought rather in a modification of the mechanical character of the charge than in a change in the constitution of the powder. It is true that some result had been reached by varying the proportion of the ingredients, but the most important change occurred when two German chemists, Heidemann and Duttenhofer, turned their attention, not only to a variation in the proportion of the ingredients, but also to a modification in the character of the charcoal. They labored independently, but reached simultaneously the same result.

The powder produced by these two chemists was a brown prismatic powder, containing a higher percentage of saltpetre and lower percentage of sulphur than the ordinary black powder, while the charcoal ingredient was prepared by the action of superheated steam on wood or other vegetable matter, a process employed by Violetto in 1847. This powder, on account of its color, was called cocoa powder. In this powder the oxidizing agent, saltpetre, is found in greater proportion than in ordinary black powder, hence the sulphur and charcoal are more thoroughly oxidized, and there is less solid residue. The amount of gas and vapor produced by both powders is about the same for the same temperature, and although the amount of smoke is the same, still, in the case of the cocoa powder, it disappears sooner, because the charred wood contains more water and also more hydrogen, which is oxidized to steam, and this steam condenses and dissolves some of the salts of potassium formed, thus bringing about a more rapid dissipation of the smoke. Here, then, we have the first step, not only in decreasing the rate of discharge, but also in removing the great inconvenience arising from the dense smoke produced by an explosion of black powder.

In naval warfare it is absolutely necessary, in order to defend a man-of-war from the attack of a torpedo boat, to keep the latter in sight, that it may be effectively dealt with. This is impossible when the explosive employed yields a large amount of smoke, hence chemists have labored to produce a suitable explosive. Mr. Gaus, a German chemist, conceived the idea of employing ammonium nitrate as an ingredient of powder, since the products of its decomposition are all gaseous. His powder, which he called amide powder, was not, owing to the hygroscopic character of ammonium nitrate, free from the absorption of moisture, and moreover yielded on explosion a considerable quantity of smoke. Mr. Heidemann

has, however, been successful in modifying Gaus's method and producing an ammonium nitrate powder which is but very slightly hygroscopic, and which produces but a small amount of smoke that readily disappears. The charges are enclosed in sealed metal cases so as to preserve them from the moisture of the air. It gives remarkably good results, and must be considered as the first partially successful smokeless powder.

There have been numerous rumors of the invention of various kinds of smokeless powder which were perfect in action, but after thorough examination and experiment they were found wanting, and smokeless powder is still in the experimental stage. Gun cotton is by far the best smokeless explosive, but a great difficulty is to be overcome in controlling and regulating its rapid combustion. Partial success was achieved in this direction, both by Van Lenk in Austria, and Sir Frederick Abel in England. Van Lenk's method of controlling the rate of explosion consisted of converting threads of cotton into the most explosive form of gun cotton, and winding or plaiting these threads so as to regulate the air-space in the mass. Abel's method has been in use in England for over eighteen years, and consists in reducing gun-cotton fibre to a pulp, purifying it and converting it by pressure into a homogeneous mass of any form or size.

The smokeless powder adopted by the French government for the Lebel rifle no doubt contains picric acid as one of its ingredients, although its real composition is kept a secret. Want of stability has led to its abandonment for a more simple preparation. Work has been steadily pursued in Germany on this all-important point, and the results obtained have no doubt been greatly exaggerated.

Mr. Alfred Nobel, the inventor of dynamite, has produced a good smokeless powder by combining nitro-glycerine with one of the lower products of the nitration of cellulose. By combining a larger portion of nitro-cotton with the nitro-glycerine and using camphor to combine the two, as well as to deaden the violence and reduce the rate of explosion, Mr. Nobel has obtained a very good smokeless powder. Modifications of it are now undergoing severe tests.

The problem is a difficult one, and after the proper powder has been prepared it will have to stand the test of storing on land and sea, which may prove too severe for it. The problem, however, seems to be approaching solution. Absurd rumors of the powder being noiseless as well as smokeless have been circulated. In the tests that have been made in Germany and elsewhere with smokeless powder, the only difference in the report is that it seems to die out sooner than the report from a black powder discharge. The production of a perfect smokeless powder will undoubtedly produce a remarkable change in future warfare.

LIME SULPHITE FIBER.

In the manufacture of paper, wood cellulose, or sulphite fiber as it is called from the process by which it is manufactured, is destined to supersede rags. The industry is comparatively new in this country, but

will, it is confidently hoped, improve and expand rapidly under the direction of talented American engineers. The process of manufacture of this fiber is in operation in Detroit, Mich.; Appleton, Wis.; Lawrence, Mass.; Birmingham, Conn., and a few other places.

The wood, in the shape of chips or disks, is boiled in large digesters with a solution of bisulphite of calcium. The size of the digester and the pressure under which the wood is boiled, varies with the different methods employed. In some cases, large quantities are boiled under low pressure, as in the Mitscherlich process; in others, such as the Graham, Ritter-Kellner, Partington, and Schenk processes, smaller quantities are boiled under high pressure. Although larger quantities are cooked by the low-pressure method, still it requires a longer time, but, it is claimed that the output is of a better quality.

The digesters are iron or steel cylinders or spheres, built up of metal plates. This material is required to withstand the pressure. The interior of the vessel must be lined with some material capable of withstanding the corroding action of the acids.

It is in the construction of a suitable digester that great progress in this industry will depend. The iron digesters are generally lined with lead, which lining must be continuous to prevent the acid from reaching the metal covering. But lead has a higher co-efficient of expansion than iron, and as it must be attached to the shell in some way to prevent its collapse, it will either bulge out from the covering under heat, and return by contraction when cooled, or, if entirely soldered to the iron, be subjected to violent molecular strain, both of which will soon bring about fissures in the lining and necessitate repairs.

The Partington, Graham, and Ritter-Kellner, are lead-lined digesters. The Mitscherlich is brick-lined, and this clay-lining answers very well for low pressures. Its expansion is much less than that of iron, and hence the same difficulty is not experienced as with lead. The bricks are joined together with Portland cement, and a break in the lining is readily repaired. In the Schenk digester no lining is used, but the instrument is made of deoxidized bronze. This metal is regarded as sufficiently acid-proof to withstand the corroding effects of the contents. Owing, however, to unevenness in the quality of the alloy in different parts of the casting, it is soon honeycombed and rendered unsafe for use with the high pressures employed. Aluminium-bronze might possibly be prepared to make a valuable retort.

The bisulphite of calcium necessary for the cooking of the wood is prepared at the works. Sulphur is oxidized to sulphurous anhydride. Then this gas is forced, either by the vacuum process, or by pumps, or by natural atmospheric draught, into towers containing lime or limestone. The amount of sulphur consumed per ton of fiber varies from a minimum of 200 pounds in the Mitscherlich process to a maximum of 600 pounds in the other methods.

In the Mitscherlich process the wood is in the shape of disks, cut from the log, and about $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches thick. In the other methods chips are used. It is calculated that even if the finest saws are employed in

cutting the disks, still, about 10 per cent. of the wood is wasted in sawdust. Moreover, as the disks are arranged in the digester so as to obtain a maximum charge, much valuable time is consumed. But the claim which counterbalances this loss of material and time is that a much better output is the result.

The best output for the high-pressure process is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ tons of fiber in 18 hours; in the low-pressure method, nearly 10 tons is the yield for 72 hours. As the pulp comes from the digester it is transparent, due to the bleaching action of the sulphurous acid. If the paper manufactured from this pulp is to do lasting service, a process of reoxydizing and bleaching with hypochloride of calcium must be gone through, otherwise the paper becomes yellow from exposure to light and air. This fiber fills a needed place in the manufacture of paper, and although it is an American invention, developed mainly in Germany, still we look forward to improvements in the present cumbersome methods when native talent has been directed to the importance of this industry.

Book Notices.

SUPERNATURAL REVELATION. An Essay Concerning the Basis of the Christian Faith. By *C. M. Mead, Ph.D., D.D.*, lately Professor in Andover University. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co.

In our days, the apologist who undertakes to write a defence of the Christian religion has to cover a far wider field than was necessary half a century ago. Principles formerly admitted to be self-evident must now be re-established at the expense of much logical acumen. Facts, too, that have been accepted for centuries as historically certain are now called in question by the schools of modern criticism. Mr. Mead's book is well fitted to contest our enemies' position in both these directions.

The work before us especially deserves praise for the development of the indirect argument for the existence of God. Of the direct arguments, the teleological and moral ones are well stated. Not that the author regards them as the source of our belief in God. He represents them as conclusive only on the supposition of our existing theistic belief. All this is treated in so masterly a way by Mr. Mead that we must pardon his omission of what seems to us the strongest argument for God's existence.

In the chapter which treats of the origin of theistic belief, we notice a certain inaccuracy in the final appraisal of human knowledge. "Sure knowledge is the product of the combination and comparison of individual cognitions," is the last thesis of Mr. Mead on this subject. It may be all very true that our certainty of knowledge presupposes three data: the first condition, or the aptitude and truthfulness of our faculties; the first fact, or our own and the world's existence; and the first

principle, or that nothing can at the same time be and not be. But these data, the third of which has been left unnoticed by Mr. Mead, once presupposed in any given case, we require certainty of principles and of outward and inward facts without combining and comparing our perceptions with those of other men.

The question of a "primeval revelation" is admirably stated and solved. Though it bears only indirectly on the apologetics for Christianity, we owe thanks to the author for his thorough study of it. The chapters on the nature, the evidential value, and the existence of miracles, constitute the most important and satisfactory part of the whole book. We cannot understand, however, why belief in the existence of a miracle should necessarily presuppose belief in the moral uprightness of the thaumaturgus. That the high moral standing of a man *facilitates* our belief in him appears plain. But suppose a person should raise a dead man to life, feed thousands of men and women with a few loaves of bread, walk on the troubled waters of the sea, command the storm and calm waves, impart his miraculous power to others to such a degree that the laws of heaven and earth yield to the mere invocation of his name, it surpasses our comprehension why, in such a case, we should not be able to pronounce decidedly upon the reality of the miracles before being acquainted with the moral character of the wonder-worker. If such events can be the feats of jugglery, the most sanctimonious life can be hypocrisy; if the former are uncertain without the latter, much more may the latter be deceptive without the former.

For the rest of the chapters on miracles the general remark must suffice, that Mr. Mead excels here, too, in his *indirect* arguments. Without incurring the blame of minimizing, he divests the crude conceptions of miracles as opposed to us by our adversaries of their unscientific additions, so that the greater part of the anti-Christian argument is left without any foundation. The argument on "The Relation of Christianity to Judaism" is drawn from the fulfilment of the Messianic prophecies in Christ. On the whole, it deserves great praise. The strength of the argument is rightly placed in the combination of the prophecies and their joint convergence towards Christ.

We are sorry to say that the excellence of the book is considerably marred by the defective reasoning found in the chapter on "the authority of the Scripture." The question at issue is stated plainly enough. "How does one come to know that the Bible is infallible? If we depend on its testimony for our Christian certitude, then we must be *sure* that its testimony is absolutely trustworthy. It is not infallible to *us*, unless we believe in the infallibility of the judgment which pronounces it to be infallible. How, then, is this judgment reached?" The *subjective* way of reaching it being rightly excluded, the author seems to know only one *objective* method of arriving at certitude, namely, the Apostolic origin of the New Testament. But this, too, he dismisses for the good reason that several New Testament authors were not Apostles, and that, besides, the general promise of inspiration does not necessarily imply inspiration in writing. Instead of answering the question the author tells us that Christianity is not the offspring of man's natural consciousness or of the Bible; that neither human opinion nor the Bible is invested with any authority over the Church; that Christ is the supreme and only authority. Afterwards he again states that the Bible is *mediately* authoritative, as if any Christian had ever denied that Christ's authority is supreme, or that the Bible must not be revered for its own sake.

But Mr. Mead does not seem to perceive that it is precisely the judg-

ment concerning the Bible's *mediate* authority which we must reach, before we can do as much as make an act of faith. Before we can believe God, we must first know that He has spoken; and we do not know that God has spoken to us through the Bible or through Christian tradition—which also Mr. Mead acknowledges as authoritative—unless we have the full assurance of the *mediate* authority of either. A Catholic reaches this assurance through the living, divinely instituted and infallible authority of his Church. Mr. Mead professes to possess the same assurance because “Christians have direct access and relation to their divine Master.” The position of the “papists,” therefore, making the Pope Christ’s infallible representative, does not appear to be so very unreasonable after all.

The last chapters on “the conditions and limits of Biblical criticism, and the appendix containing eight excursus on subjects whose special treatment would appear out of place in the book itself, contain much valuable information and are of a very conservative character. We must again point to the double excellence of the book, containing as it does the apology of the Christian revelation both against infidel philosophy and infidel criticism. Its general tone of moderation must secure esteem even in the camp of its enemies. Its typographical perfection and handsome binding will predispose the reader in its favor.

THE WAY, THE NATURE AND MEANS OF REVELATION. By *J. F. Weir, M.A., N.A.*,
Dean of the Department of Fine Arts in Yale University. Boston and New
York: Houghton, Mifflin & Bros.

This book takes us back into the atmosphere of the early Christian heresies, when theological terms were not yet settled, and pagan philosophy intermingled with Christian principles of faith and morality. Without adhering to the tenets of any particular creed, Mr. Weir employs the usual terminology of theological writers, but changes the received meaning of nearly every term. We shall, therefore, give an outline of the theological system of the author in his own words, leaving minor details unnoticed.

1. “The Free Spirit is the Father. The Spirit individualized in a divine soul is the Son; and that divine soul is the Holy Ghost.” Mr. Weir maintains that we would not be able to come to the knowledge of a personal God if He had not revealed Himself as such.”

2. “The New Testament includes three distinct orders of divine manifestations—by the Son of man, by the risen Jesus, and by the Holy Ghost.”

3. “The *Word* bears that relation to the Godhead that the soul in man bears to the indwelling spirit, when imparted from above.”

4. “The incarnation of the Word was not the abrupt entrance of the Messiah into earthly existence, but the culmination in Jesus of long ages of travail in a psychical state. The process of incarnation was gradual and only consummated in the fulness of time, as witnessed by the prophets and in the Psalms. The *Word* incarnated in Jesus is God manifest in the flesh. Jesus manifested the Word, which in turn revealed the spirit.”

5. “Previous to His baptism of the Holy Spirit, symbolized outwardly by its descent in the form of a dove, Jesus was a sinless moral man, in whom the Word, or Logos, was incarnated as a divine soul. . . . After the Holy Spirit had descended upon Him at His baptism, a change was wrought in the life of Jesus; thenceforth a new power was mani-

festes as abiding in the Son of man, a transforming spirit, transcending the righteousness of even a blameless moral life."

6. It must have been through gradual enlightenment that Jesus recognized in himself the Messiah. But when the presentiments respecting his divine mission had resolved themselves definitely Jesus then emerged from seclusion, and John's testimony, no doubt, gave to them the character and consistency of a settled conviction."

7. "It is plainly apparent that the Messiah came, not to establish religious forms, but to reveal in himself their fulfilment in an awakened *spiritual consciousness*."

8. "There was a reconciliation of the natural and spiritual states of consciousness in Jesus, who abolished in his flesh the enmity between the natural and spiritual orders of mind in man, making in himself of the twain one new man, so making peace. This is the great outcome of the incarnation."

9. "The manifestations of the Son of God in the son of man, as the Christ, is typical of the spirit individualized and domiciled in the soul of man, and this individualized spirit in man is of one substance with the Father. . . . Jesus thus reveals in himself the ultimate destiny of the soul of man, whose inheritance is God."

10. "In order that we may understand the nature of the revelation made by the *risen* Jesus, it is essential that it be known that the natural creation includes as it were two worlds, a visible and an invisible sphere, a *physical* and a *psychical* realm. Divested of its garment of flesh the soul rises in a psychical realm."

11. "During the forty days intervening between his resurrection and ascension Jesus was in a preternatural or intermediate state of being, a *psychical* world, or *hades*, the abode of the departed."

12. "The *natural* and *spiritual* personalities in the creature are designated *man* and *angel*; in the natural world the soul is manifested as man, and in the spiritual world it is manifested as an angel or spirit. The natural man is outwardly organized in physical conditions, but the spiritual man is outwardly organized in psychical conditions; and these physical and psychical conditions pertain to the visible and invisible realms of *nature*."

13. "The nature of the Holy Ghost is outwardly psychical and inwardly spiritual; God manifest in the sanctified soul of the Son of Man; the spirit individualized or made personal in the soul of the ascended Jesus."

Enough has been given of Mr. Weir's notions to justify the opinion that, except as a religious curiosity and a specimen of the vagaries into which the Protestant principle of private judgment often leads those who follow it, his book is not worth reading. Apart from his erroneous views concerning the Holy Trinity, the incarnation, the person of Christ, etc., etc., Mr. Weir is widely astray, even on those subjects where one would naturally expect him to be reliable, viz., the inspiration of the Sacred Scriptures and kindred topics.

It seems to be a hard truth for many persons to master, that the truths of the religious and supernatural order are just as actual and real as are those of the natural order. They exclude the visionary theories of the would-be, rationalistic theologian just as firmly as the formulas of mathematics resist the speculations of shallow scientists.

It is unpleasant to be compelled to say this, because Mr. Weir seems to be, personally, very much in earnest as to his religious life, and gives many beautiful applications of Old Testament prophecies.

JOSEPHI FESSLER, QUONDAM EPISCOPI S. HIPPOLYTI INSTITUTIONES PATROLOGIÆ Quas denuo Recensuit Auxit. Edidit *Bernardus Jungmann*. Eccles. Cathedr. Brugens. Canon. Professor in Universitate Cath. Lovaniensi. Tomus I. Oeniponte 1890. Sumptibus et typis Feliciani Rauch Ratishonae, Neo Eboraci et Cincinnati. Apud Fr. Pustet.

Who that has seen the Migne Collection of the Fathers of the Church, the two hundred and twenty volumes of the Latin series and the one hundred and sixty-two of the Greek series, must not have thought within himself, how utterly impossible it would be for the most diligent student to acquire even a superficial knowledge of their contents. And yet, where else is the true student of sacred science to look for all the information he needs in the course of his studies? The Fathers are the witnesses of the deposit of faith; they are the best interpreters of the true meaning of the word of God; they are the Church's champions against all the attacks of heresy. How necessary, then, is it for the priest and for every student of theology and Sacred Scripture to have at command a hand-book which will serve as a guide to this immense treasure-house of learning, and show him at the same time how to make use of it profitably. Such is the object of the comparatively new branch of sacred science, which has been called patrology or patristic science.

All students, therefore, will be delighted that this new edition of the "*Institutiones Patrologiæ*" is now being published, the first volume of which we have received from Fr. Pustet of New York. The first edition came out in 1850. It was the work of Dr. Fessler, then professor in the Seminary of Brixen in the Tyrol, afterwards the renowned Bishop of St. Pölten or St. Hippolytus, and who will be always remembered as the Secretary-General of the Vatican Council. It might be called the first attempt to present a complete text-book of patrology, embracing not only the science in general but going over the series of the Fathers in particular, down to St. Gregory the Great (604).

This new edition of Dr. Fessler's work has been revised, augmented and edited by Dr. Jungmann, Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Patrology in the Catholic University of Louvain. Dr. Jungmann's name as the author of so many works on theology and Church history is a sufficient guarantee that the new edition has had the benefit of every new light that has been thrown on the works of the Fathers during the last forty years. Dr. Jungmann tells us in his preface that he undertook the work for the benefit of his students in the University of Louvain, who, having finished their ordinary seminary course, were led to perfect it by the deeper knowledge to be gained in the university. His additions are, specially, his comments on the Apostolic Fathers and the works of Dionysius, the Areopagite. In the first part of the work he has added a chapter on the influence of the Greek and Latin classics on the writings of the Fathers. He has omitted some paragraphs on the authority and use to be made of the writings of the Fathers, and has given shorter sketches of the lives and works of many of them, in order to keep the edition within the limits of two reasonable volumes. Patrology is that branch of sacred science which teaches us how to make proper use of the Holy Fathers in theology. The study divides itself naturally into universal and particular. In the prologue the author tells us what patrology is, its office, its necessity and utility, and then gives a brief history of it as a branch of theology. The *pars generalis* is divided into four chapters. (a) On the idea and authority of the Holy Fathers; (b) Criticism as applied to their writings; (c) Aids to the proper understanding of the Fathers; (d) The use to be made of their writings in general and especially in dogmatic and moral theology, as also for the study of the Sacred Scriptures and for preaching.

The *pars specialis* of this first volume, which ends with St. Ambrose, contains also four chapters. The first embraces all the Apostolic Fathers. The second takes in the Fathers of the second century. The third, the Fathers of the third century. The fourth is divided into three sections, bringing before us the Fathers who explained and defended the divinity of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Each chapter opens with an idea of the century, its general characteristics and the character of the writings of the epoch. From this analysis of the first volume the reader can judge how necessary the work is to every student of theology and to every priest who is desirous of keeping up his studies, or who wishes to be able to make use of the Fathers intelligently and easily in the preparation of his sermons and discourses. The only works heretofore published on the subject were Permaneder-Bibliotheca Patristica, 1841-44, Alzog's Grundriss der Patrologie, 1866, Schmid's Grundlinien der Patrologie, 1879; translated into French by Cornet, 1881, and last, and especially to be praised, Dr. Nirschel's Handbuch der Patrologie und Patristik. Three volumes, Mainz, 1881-85.

This edition of Dr. Fessler's Institutiones Patrologiæ ought to find a place at least in every priest's library. With it he will need no other book of reference in that branch of sacred science.

A MANUAL OF CATHOLIC THEOLOGY BASED ON SCHEEBEN'S "DOGMATIK." By Joseph Wilhelm, D.D., Ph.D., and Thomas B. Scannell, B.D., with a preface by the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. Vol. I. London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd. New York: The Catholic Publication Society Co. 1890.

Whilst reading this admirable book we were reminded forcibly of the remarks made by one of our most prominent prelates about the text-books used in our seminaries. He upheld the necessity of a thorough knowledge of Latin; that the preparatory course should so equip the students that they would be able not only to understand fully, but also to write the Latin language correctly, and that moral theology should be taught also in that tongue; but he held that for the other branches of sacred science it would be far better to have the text-books in English and the lectures of the professor also in that language. One thing we think certain, and that is that the clergy, as a rule, will not take up a work written in Latin unless they are forced to. They prefer to have their reading in the mother tongue. German and French ecclesiastical authors have long since acknowledged this truth. Most of the works of Bossuet are written in French, and his theological writings are voluminous. Gousset wrote both his dogmatic and moral theology in that language. Most of the theological works of German professors written for the clergy, and for the educated Catholic laity, their works on sacred Scripture, ecclesiastical history, and other branches are published in their native tongue. For some years past a corps of German professors have been publishing a full course of works pertaining to the sacred sciences. Prof. Scheeben is the author of the "Dogmatic Theology," the substance of the first volume of which is now given to us in an English dress by Joseph Wilhelm, D.D., and Thomas B. Scannell, B.D. It is, as its title implies, "A Manual of Catholic Theology," a manual giving the various arguments for all the truths of our holy faith, but giving them as briefly as possible. The work is very suggestive and very complete. The decrees of the Vatican Council receive due consideration. In a word, it is an admirable work, and one that we are sure will be hailed by the clergy with heartfelt thanks as the pioneer, we hope, to the publication of the whole series. It is one

of those solid works we stand so much in need of, and which so rarely appears. His Eminence, Cardinal Manning, has enriched it by an admirable preface. This first volume is the most important of the series. In the learned introduction, the author gives us the definition and division of theology; a short sketch of its history (short but good); and the special sphere of theology in our day. The work is then divided into three books. The first treats of the sources of theological knowledge, *viz.*, Divine revelation, the transmission of revelation, the Apostolic deposit of revelation, ecclesiastical tradition, the rule of faith, faith and understanding. The second book is on God; our Knowledge of God, natural and supernatural; God's Essence and attributes in general; His attributes in particular both negative and positive, internal and external; the Divine Life; the Divine Trinity; the Trinity in Scripture; the Trinity in Tradition; the Evolution of the Trinity from the Fecundity of the Divine Life. The third book is on Creation and the Supernatural Order; the Universe created by God, created for God; the Angels; the Material Universe; Man; the Supernatural Order; Grace; Theory of the absolutely Supernatural; theory of the relatively Supernatural; Concrete realization of the Supernatural order. We have given the headings of the various divisions to show how intensely interesting the work must be, and how every question treated is one that meets the burning difficulties of the age. St. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, who died April 21, 1109, and is called the Father of Scholastic Theology, in his wonderful little work "Cur Deus Homo?" which is written in the form of a dialogue, introduces Boso as asking the question: "By what necessity and in what way did God who is omnipotent, take upon Himself the humility and weakness of human nature for its restoration?" and Boso gives this reason for his asking the question: "As right order requires that we should first believe the deep things of the Christian faith before we presume to discuss them by reason, so it seems to me to be negligence if, after we are confirmed in the faith, we do not study to understand what we believe." St. Anselm's work strives to make Boso understand why God became man, and this work of Prof. Scheeben is, as Cardinal Manning says, "A profuse exposition of the deep things of faith in the light of intelligence guided by the illumination of the Church." It would be difficult to say which parts of the work are the most important, when all treat of such living questions, yet we venture to say that the first and second books will be the ones that will be studied more deeply as giving answers to the infidel spirit of the times. We commend the book warmly to all our readers. We must not withhold a word of praise to the publishers. The work is gotten up in exceptional style, fine paper, magnificent print, tasteful binding, as was becoming such an important publication.

A SHORT CUT TO THE TRUE CHURCH; OR THE FACT AND THE WORD. *Rev. Father Edmund Hill, C.P.* Notre Dame, Indiana: Office of the Ave Maria.

The author tells us in his preface that his little work was suggested by a passage in the "Invitation Needed" of the Rev. James Kent Stone, now Father Fidelis, C.P. The substance of the book was originally a lecture he gave at the close of a mission in Bishop Ryan's church in St. Louis, by whom he was encouraged to enlarge it to its present form. He invites his reader to look at certain *facts* from the standpoint of common sense; then to compare these facts with certain *words* of Scripture, and in making this comparison to use *their own* private judgment. This is his "Short Cut to the Church." In the second part he

"tunnels" through four great mountains or difficulties, that ordinarily obstruct the way of those looking for the true Church, viz., the Primacy of the Pope, Transubstantiation, Confession and Devotion to the Blessed Virgin. He treats these four great truths in the same way, first stating the *fact* clearly, then the *words* of Scripture, and shows that the *fact* never could have existed except in and through the words. We have read many works on these same topics, but we say candidly that for the vast majority of readers we have found none so striking and so suggestive or better fitted than this little volume. It is an excellent book to loan to one who is searching for the truth. It *must* set him thinking and will lead him to ask for fuller instruction. Father Hill is a convert to our holy faith, and we think has given us here the way the Holy Spirit led him into the Church. To give an idea of his style, we take this extract from the chapter on Transubstantiation :

" 'But transubstantiation is so *very* hard to believe ' you say. 'It positively contradicts the evidence of the senses.' (a) It ought not to present so much difficulty to the faith which believes in *transnaturation* recorded in both Testaments. For of course you admit that Moses, at God's command, changed water into blood (Exod. vii.)—and not merely in appearance; for the fish in the river died and the Egyptians could not drink. While, again, our Lord's first miracle, when at the marriage feast 'The conscious water saw its God and blush'd,' was a striking type of the Eucharistic change of wine itself into blood—so, at least, we Catholics say. Now, if you really believe (as I presume you do) in the *transnaturation* effected in these miracles, why is it so much more difficult to accept *transubstantiation*? In the former case a complete change is wrought both of substance, accidents and natural properties; in the latter, substance alone is changed, the accidents and natural properties remaining as before. Will you say that a complete change of *nature* is possible to divine power, but *not* a change of *substance only*, where the new substance assumes the accidents and natural properties of the substance it replaces? Reason itself forbids you to say so. . . . Then, as to the alleged contradiction to the senses, the very reverse is the truth. For, what do our senses come in contact with? Only with the outward forms, or 'accidents' of things. We can no more see a *substance*, philosophically speaking, than we can see a spirit. . . . Burn a piece of wood, for instance; a change of accidents or appearances, takes place, but is the substance destroyed? No, says philosophy; no, says science. Both authorities maintain substance to be indestructible—except, of course, to the creative power, which having produced it from nothingness, can cause it to return to its original. So, then in case of transubstantiation our senses rest on the *unchanged* accidents or appearances of the consecrated bread and wine, and not upon the substance behind them. . . . They therefore tell us correctly as to what they come in contact with."

We consider this "Short Cut" a valuable addition to Father di Bruno's "Catholic Belief," Father Russo's "True Religion" and Cardinal Gibbon's "Faith of Our Fathers," and for a first book to be given to inquirers would prefer it to any of them.

REVELATIONS OF THE SACRED HEART TO BLESSED MARGARET MARY AND THE HISTORY OF HER LIFE. From the French of *Monsieur Bougard*, Bishop of Raval. By a Visitandini of Baltimore. Translator of "The Way of Interior Peace." New York, Cincinnati and Chicago: Benziger Bros. Printers to the Holy Apostolic See.

Alike to author and translator is this work most creditable. To both we are deeply indebted. In it they have given us, not merely a life of

Blessed Margaret Mary, not merely a history of the Sacred Heart's revelations to that great servant, but a splendid treatise on the devotion which has become so popular and beloved. On devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus we have read many books, but none with half the satisfaction, with half the love and fervor of soul with which we devoured the pages of the work before us. Cold indeed must be the heart it will fail to impress. From beginning to end it has not one dry page. Indeed there is a charm about it that holds the reader spell-bound.

Beginning with a picture most faithful and complete as the limits of the work permit, of the Church in France at the birth of Blessed Margaret Mary, the author from the very outset commands our closest attention. He leads us to the home of Margaret Mary; we see her as a little child; and what a beautiful, unearthly childhood was here; yet she had even at that early day her trials. Predestined undoubtedly of God for great things, she had nevertheless as she grew older to do battle against the worldly ambitions of her young heart. The grace of God triumphed however. She resolved to be a Religious. It is a beautiful picture the author gives us of the house, the convent of Paray, and the Order; the Visitation, in which Margaret Mary, directed by the Holy Ghost, had chosen to spend her life and consecrate it to God. Little did the daughters of St. Francis de Sales and St. Chantal realize the rare preciousness and beauty of the soul they were receiving in the person of the young novice, or the lustre she was destined one day to shed upon their community. Through the days and trials of her novitiate the author leads us with ever-growing interest. Often and often was she misunderstood, the very heights of her sanctity seemingly her cross. Then follows her profession, her solemn consecration to the Spouse she loved, as to few it has ever been given to love. And with her profession we turn to the grandest, sublimest side of her ever beautiful life. But we must not anticipate. Love with her was a passion. She loved God with all the intensity of her soul, with all the strength of her mind, with all the affection of her heart. And in return for that love God gave her the sweetest rewards, communicating with her, speaking with her in the most familiar ways—in fact choosing her to be the apostle of devotion to His Sacred Heart. For the story of these wondrous manifestations of divine love and the Sacred Heart's revelations to Margaret Mary we refer our readers to the work before us. There too they will learn the story of her sorrows, of the trials to which she was subjected because of her love of God. Following the touching beautiful story of Margaret Mary's life to the end, the author devotes the remaining chapters of his book to a history of the growth of the devotion to which she had consecrated every throb of her heart and every breath of her life. In the beginning it met with many obstacles; well intentioned and holy souls, not understanding, opposed it. But in the end it triumphed. To-day it is everywhere, for wherever there is a Catholic people and a Catholic altar there is love of the Sacred Heart. Here in our own country it is fast becoming the devotion par excellence. Let us pray that the love of God's Sacred Heart may continue to abound more and more with men, and that the story of Margaret Mary's devotion may lead them to a closer union with it.

NATURAL RELIGION. From the "*Apologie des Christentums*," of Franz Hettinger, D.D., Professor of Theologie at the University of Wurzburg. Edited, with an introduction on Certainty, by *Henry Sebastian Bowden*, of the Oratory. New York and Cincinnati: Fr. Pustet & Co. 1890.

More than once in the past Father Bowden has, by his writings, laid

the English-speaking world under no light obligations; but we doubt if he has ever before done us such signal favor as in editing and giving to the English-reading world this admirable work of Dr. Hettinger. His own introductory chapter on Certainty is most apposite and in keeping both in point of style and clearness and strength of reasoning, with the exceptionally able work which it prefaces. The book supplies a keenly felt want. That materialism and agnosticism are gaining ground, it were sheerest folly to deny. A few years ago, and here in this country, one heard but little of them. They had, of course, their disciples and devotees, but, conscious that the intelligent sentiment of the land was strongly against them, they maintained a respectful reticence. To-day the picture is changed. They are no longer a few isolated men, without a habitation and a name, but a powerful and restless multitude, boastful, aggressive, defiant. We cannot afford to ignore them. If we would do honor to truth and preserve it, and make it powerful with men, we must meet these adversaries and vanquish them. We must meet them on their own ground and fight them with their own weapons. What is their ground? Reason, they tell us. What are their weapons? Again they answer, reason. From reason, then, and with reason we must fight them. How little able they are to stand the clear, penetrating glance of reason, there is no thinking mind that does not see. They reason, but unreasonably; starting from premises false in reason and philosophy, they build up a system, to the unphilosophic mind fair and plausible, but which in reality, because of its false foundation, has no existence.

Take the Agnostic. What is the grand keystone of his mighty arch, built so firmly, we are told, on the solid basis of reason, and which has lured so many unphilosophic minds from God and faith? "That doubt is prior to certainty, and that everything is to be assumed as doubtful till it is logically proved." Yet never was a falser principle expressed in words, or conceived in the mind; indeed, it is self-contradictory. What, on that hypothesis, would become of the great first principles which underlie all evidence and truth? Yet, on that basis of doubt as the primary condition of the human mind, agnosticism is founded; and from that false foundation it has risen to its present proportion. In the work before us, that false principle is combated and disproved with a force and clearness of reasoning that must carry conviction to every intelligent and honest mind. So, also, does the author, with a strength of logic and clearness of reasoning that are irresistible, take the ground from beneath the feet of the materialist, postulating, as does the materialist, that perception is the one test of truth, and the investigations of the microscope and physical measure and weight are the only media of true knowledge and exact definition." Did space permit, we would gladly follow the author in his splendid reasoning on the existence of God, on the possession by man of a soul, on man's relation to God and the end for which God created him and placed him here on earth. It were better, however, that our readers should do that work for themselves. It will repay them, and so clear and forcible is the reasoning, and plain and simple the language of the author, that few will experience difficulty in following him. We trust the work will meet with every encouragement, first for its own sake; secondly, for the good it will do, and thirdly, as an encouragement to its able editor.

PRINCIPLES OF RELIGIOUS LIFE. By the *Very Rev. Francis Cuthbert Doyle, O.S.B.*, author of *Lectures for Boys*, *Life of Gregory Lopaz*, *The Hermit*, *The Teaching of St. Benedict*, etc. Second edition. London: R. Washbourne, Paternoster Row. New York, Cincinnati and Chicago, 1890: Benziger Bros.

This work, the author in his preface tells us, was written "for those

who desire to lead a solidly devout life, in the ecclesiastical, in the religious or in the secular light." It is eminently qualified, in our judgment, to bring about all the author claims. We admire the work, in the first place, for the singular clearness and directness of its method. Generally, our books on the spiritual life, in other respects most admirable, are lacking in method and plan, and in consequence fail of much good they are otherwise splendidly calculated to effect. In the opening chapter of his work the author treats of the end of man. For the sake of clearness, he speaks of it from a two-fold aspect. He considers first the ultimate end of man, of what should be the great goal of every mortal, viz., the possession of God. Then he takes up what he calls the subordinate end of man, essential to the attainment of the grand ultimate purpose of life, as is the eye to man, that he may gaze upon the sunlight. This subordinate end lies, he contends, in the three great virtues—charity, humility and purity of heart. Perfect in those virtues, he holds, and we think with every reason, that we fulfil the end of life and are assured of the possession of God. Setting before us these three fundamental virtues as the goal for which we must labor, the author proceeds to a consideration of the instruments by which and through which alone we can attain to these virtues. Under the term instrument, he classes (1) Prayer; (2) Divine grace; (3) Attention to the working of the Holy Ghost; (4) Imitation of Christ; (5) Renunciation; (6) Obedience. Each of these classifications he then treats separately. First, as they are in themselves in their own individual natures, and then in regard to their relations to the three great fundamental virtues, charity, humility and purity of heart.

Much that the author says in his treatment of these instruments of perfection, especially when speaking of prayer and grace, would seem, as men now live and think, to have reference chiefly to Religious, to those choice souls who have gone out from the great crowd of men and given themselves wholly to God, and yet it should not be thus. Living in the world and busy with many things, men should, nevertheless, be all for God. That they can be this, sanctifying their worldly pursuits and making them subservient to the interests of God, must be clear to every intelligent mind. Men do not love God and consequently do not serve Him, chiefly because they do not know Him; because, too, they do not understand the nature and the workings of the instruments with which they are to gain heaven. If men had clearer understanding of prayer and truer and more intelligent knowledge of grace and its marvellous capabilities they would, we feel assured, be better Christians. Therefore, to them as well as to the clergy and religious, we take especial pleasure in recommending "*Principles of Religious Life.*" We regret not a little that the Reverend author did not give larger space and greater prominence to the question of the Sacraments, particularly to Confession and the Eucharist, for certainly they bear a wonderful part in the great scheme of salvation. We wish for the work a high measure of success. It is certainly worthy of it. Well conceived, splendidly developed, written in excellent style, and treating of a matter very dear, we would fondly believe to the hearts of men, it has everything in its favor.

THE POPE AND THE NEW ERA. Being Letters from the Vatican in 1889. By *William T. Stead*. Copell & Company; London, Paris, New York and Melbourne. 1890.

The letters which this book contains have been already published in a number of newspapers in England, the United States, and Australia.

Their style is clear and animated, and, no doubt, they will be extensively read.

In his introductory letter the author tells us that he honestly endeavored to overcome "the prejudices of a lifetime, and to examine facts in a spirit of that charity which hopeth all things and of a faith which revolts against the notion that a Church which to two hundred millions of our fellow-creatures is the sole fount of Christian teaching has been utterly disinherited of God." That the writer has not succeeded in his very laudable undertaking is proved by his subsequent declaration that "not even the constant and helpful presence of friends whom he loved and respected could overcome the keen antipathies naturally excited by the political heresies and theological superstitions that seem to be rampant in Rome.

Mr. Stead unequivocally acknowledges the services of the Church to society in past times, and also that she is now "doing a good and useful work among races of inferior civilization." By way of offset to all this he says: "We find a very different state of things when we turn from the civilizing activity of the apostles of the Propaganda among races of heathen creed and inferior civilization to the complex and highly-developed society of Christendom." According to Mr. Stead Mazzini's lie is the truth, that not "a single one of the vast strides made upon the path of progress in our age was either suggested or consecrated by the Catholic Church."

Mr. Stead's real and great grievance is, that on his visiting Rome he found that neither the Pope nor the Cardinals would give him even the slightest encouragement to hope that the Church would abnegate her divine mission and change herself into a vast humanitarian organization, according to modern socialistic, philanthropic dreams. Because the English language is rapidly spreading through the world, and the English-speaking peoples seem destined to rule it, Mr. Stead thinks that the Church should become Anglicized or Americanized, and the Pope remove to London or New York.

The trouble with Mr. Stead is, that he seems not to have even the slightest idea that the Church is a divine supernatural constitution introduced into the world, but not of the world, having purposes and aims, and exercising powers far beyond those of mere human society.

CONFERENCES OF AGOSTINO DA MONTEFELTRO. Delivered in Rome during the Lent of 1889. Translated from the Italian by Charles Aubrey Ansell. With Approbatory Letter to the Translator by His Eminence, the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. First series. New York, Cincinnati and Chicago: Benziger Bros. 1890.

CONFERENCES OF AGOSTINO DA MONTEFELTRO. Delivered in Rome during the Lent of 1889. Translated from the Italian by H. Dalby Galli. With Prefatory Letter by His Eminence, the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. Second series. New York, Cincinnati and Chicago: Benziger Bros. 1890.

These Conferences have so quickly attracted wide-spread attention, and been so highly commended by many eminent ecclesiastics, that it seems needless for us to say anything further in their praise. They treat of subjects of crucial importance. Some of these are profound mysteries; mysteries comprehending verities to which the natural world and the inner consciousness of all mankind alike bear testimony, and which challenge the attention both of the learned and the unlearned; verities which the shallow skepticism of our age denies, or pronounces unknowable. Others of these subjects are directly and immediately practical,

treating questions in which society and the different classes of society, and all men individually are directly and deeply interested.

With regard to the manner in which Father Agostino has dealt with all these subjects we are at a loss which to most admire ; the almost exhaustive comprehensiveness of his treatment of them, or his simplicity, brevity and yet lucidity of statement and argument. It seems to us that the most untrained mind can easily take in and follow his thoughts, and that, on the other hand, the most thoroughly trained and cultivated intellect can profit by reading these Conferences.

It remains for us to inform and warn our readers that the two volumes before us are the only *authentic* and *entire* translation into English that has been published. We make this emphatic statement, because (with reluctance we say it) several garbled, spurious translations have been put forth by Protestants, as "adaptations" or "selections," which omit Father Agostino's powerful and luminous expositions of Catholic dogmas.

LIFE OF ST. ANTHONY OF PADUA, OF THE ORDER OF FRIARS MINOR. By *Father Servais Dirks*, Friar Minor. Translated from the French. New York : P. O'Shea, Publisher.

If it be true that good associations tend to improve us there can be no better reading for the faithful than lives of saints. For in perusing their lives we see how persons who, by nature were no better than ourselves, yet by more faithful and courageous co-operation with divine grace, distinguished themselves among their fellow human beings in those things which made them true benefactors of mankind and secured to them special honor and bliss in the eternal world.

The work before us is eminently calculated to be useful, especially in this our age, when so great laxity of opinion prevails as to the importance of implanting in the minds of children from their earliest years the seeds of religion and virtue, and training them in the practice of their religious duties. Thus was St. Anthony educated by his parents, and to this and his correspondence with the grace thus given him in increasing measure, may be traced his subsequent eminently holy life.

Incidentally the work furnishes valuable information on the state of Christian society at the beginning of the thirteenth century, on the heresies of that period, the conflicts between the Guelphs and Ghibellines in Italy, the Popes and the German Emperors, and the disorders produced by the Albigenses in Southern France.

LUX VERA. Par un Laïc Americain. Paris : Victor Palmé. New York : F. W. Crosten, 1890.

A book of spiritual reading from an American layman evidently of French birth ought to mark an epoch in our Catholic literature. It is, as its author takes pains to assure us, a work done in good faith and in the interest of truth, with little pretension to fine writing, though the style is certainly very good. The writer's aim has been to make known the things of greatest importance to us and that men now-a-days concern themselves least about ; to show us, he says himself, "What the body contains that is essential to the attaining of our end in creation, on earth, where our Creator has given us life that we may freely undergo a test of rather short duration. In other words, to explain what life is, what the body is, and how we acquire knowledge and cultivate the intellectual faculties ; what the person or *ego* is in life, . . . in death, and

after death ; and, finally, what the soul is, and what attention it requires from us in order to attain eternal life." On this foundation our anonymous author has built a very useful superstructure, a store-house of spiritual information that may be used with great advantage by all who are acquainted with the French language. The book is a very handsome duodecimo volume of over four hundred pages, and has an extensive alphabetical index.

JESUS THE MESSIAH. By *Alfred Edersheim, M.A.*, Oxon., DD., Ph.D. Sometime Srinfield Lecturer on the Septuagint in the University of Oxford. An Abridged Edition of the Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah. Author's Edition, New York : Anson D. F. Bardolph & Co. 38 W. 23d St. London : Songmans, Green & Co.

It is ever a difficult task to give due satisfaction in the abridgement of a work. The whole scheme of the original must be preserved, and yet omissions have to be made ; naturally, there will be obscurities. The work before us has not escaped the lot of all abridgements. It has obscurities, and will, we are sure, give not a little dissatisfaction. We must say, however, that the author has made the most of a difficult task. We are much pleased with the reverential spirit that pervades the work. Of course, with the conclusions of the author, in many instances, we cannot agree ; indeed, we cannot understand how calmly and deliberately the author could step aside from the plain, obvious meaning of Christ's words, for instance, when he " gives to Peter the keys to the kingdom of Heaven," and in another place wrests the text into a meaning far-fetched and untenable. The work is given to us in excellent form. It is fairly well written. The typography is very good. So that with those who hold the author's views it will undoubtedly meet with welcome acceptance.

THE FOUR GOSPELS EXAMINED AND VINDICATED ON CATHOLIC PRINCIPLES. By the *Most Rev. M. Heiss, D.D.* Second Edition. Milwaukee and Chicago : Hoffman Bros.

When the first edition of this learned and useful work was published, a few years ago, it was duly noticed in the REVIEW. We are glad to learn that the demand for it has continued so as to require a second edition, with a probability that that edition will soon be exhausted, and a third one will be called for.

In small compass, considering the importance of the subjects treated, the learned author has compressed lucid and valuable expositions of the authenticity of the Four Gospels, their freedom from errors and their chronology, an outline of the Life of Christ, His passion, death, resurrection and ascension.

The latter pages of the work are occupied with an exhibition of the manner in which the historical credibility of the Gospels is corroborated by secular history, and a dissertation on the most reliable text of the Gospels and their divine inspiration.

RATIONAL RELIGION. By *Rev. John Conway.* Milwaukee : Hoffman Bros. 1890.

We welcome this really admirable volume. It is truly *multum in parvo*. Rarely do we meet with a work which, in method and style, is better calculated to be extensively useful. As its author remarks in his unpretentious preface, " the fact that the book is intended for Catholic readers is no reason why it should not be useful for non-Catholics."

In the first four chapters the author briefly, yet lucidly, treats of God,

the Trinity, the Divinity of Christ, and of Miracles. He then, in successive chapters, shows the relation of Faith and Reason, Faith and Physics, Faith and Evolution. The author then explains the relation of the Church to the Bible, and the meaning of the declaration: "Out of Church, no Salvation." Following these are a number of chapters briefly treating the subjects of Indulgences, Devotion to the Sacred Heart, Veneration of the Blessed Virgin, and the Immaculate Conception. The latter part of the work is occupied with the subjects of mixed marriages, divorce, the question of a life beyond the grave, and a dissertation on reading.

LUTHER ON EDUCATION, INCLUDING A HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION AND A TRANSLATION OF THE REFORMER'S TWO MOST IMPORTANT EDUCATIONAL TREATISES. By *F. N. Painter, A. M.*, Professor of Modern Languages in Roanoke College, etc. Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society.

Such highly laudatory notices were made of this book in several Protestant newspapers that we obtained a copy of it, by special request, from the house that published it, thinking we could find in it something worthy of thought, and perhaps of commendation. Yet after a careful examination we feel constrained to pronounce it one of the most pretentious, and at the same time unreliable, publications that has fallen under our notice for a long time. The first four chapters, on "Causes of the Reformation," the "Papacy and Popular Education," "Protestantism and Popular Education," and "Education before the Reformation," are simply misrepresentations of their respective subjects. The other chapters are little else than fulsome eulogies of Luther, attributing to him a character and ideas which history conclusively shows he did not possess.

GENERAL METAPHYSICS. By *John Reckaby, S. J.* New York, Cincinnati and Chicago. Benziger Bros. 1890.

This we think the most important, by far, of the series of manuals in Catholic philosophy given us by Father Reckaby. If such a thing were possible, we would like to see this book in the hands of every thinking man in the land. Would-be philosophers and so-called savants are doing much mischief in these our days. It is the story of the blind leading the blind; they speak of Being, of Existence, of Truth, and Goodness, yet they know not the meaning of the things of which they discourse so loftily and erroneously. Here, in the work before us, we have explained to us the true notion of Being, of Essence, and Existence; we learn here the true notion of Substance and Accident, and Causability, of Relation, of Space, and Time. Put this book, and its like, into the hands of men capable of understanding it, and your agnostics and materialists, your Ingersolls and Huxleys, will have lost their hold on them, and the world will be a great deal the better for it.

CATHOLICITY vs. PROTESTANTISM. Conversations of a Catholic Missionary with Americans. By *Rev. John C. Perrodin*. Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged; to which is added a Biographical Sketch of the Author. Milwaukee: Hoffman Bros., Printers to the H. Apostolic See, 413 E. Water. 1889.

Father Perrodin, the author of this book, was a man of unusual ability and extensive learning. He has not, in the volume before us, attempted to give us a special and complete treatise on any particular theme, but a series of conversations held with men, for the most part non-Cath-

olics, with whom, from time to time, he fell in. Unpretentious though it be, we feel sure the work will do much good, far more, we have not a doubt, than those of loftier aims. We especially like the chapters on Materialism, the Trinity, and the Spanish Inquisition. What the world needs is clear notions and right understanding of things; and on many most important subjects regarding religion Father Perrodin's work will supply this need. We wish it a full measure of success.

THE INNER LIFE OF THE VERY REV. PÈRE LACORDAIRE, O. P. Translated from the French of the Rev. Père Chocarne, O. P. With Preface by the *Very Rev. Father Aylward*, Prior Provincial of England. New and revised edition. New York: P. O'Shea.

Mr. O'Shea has done the public a real service by bringing out a new and revised edition of the "Inner Life" of the renowned Père Lacordaire. The work has already been noticed in the REVIEW in terms of high commendation. We simply add that, apart from its highly interesting and edifying character as a biography, the clear light it throws upon one of the most critical periods of the Church in France during the latter part of the first half the present century gives it a permanent historical value.

AIDS TO CORRECT AND EFFECTIVE ELOCUTION. With Readings and Recitations for Practice. By *Eleanor O'Grady*, author of *Select Recitations*. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Bros. 1890.

This is one of the best books for practical use in Catholic parochial schools and academies that we know of. The selections have been judiciously made. Those that are not of high literary merit are nevertheless useful by the scope they give for elocutionary expression.

The directions respecting gesture, the carriage of the body, breathing, pitch, force, quality and cultivation of the voice, accentuation, emphasis, pronunciation, etc., are plain and practical, and much more copious than in most other text-books on elocution.

THE WAY OUT OF AGNOSTICISM, OR THE PHILOSOPHY OF FREE RELIGION. By *Francis Ellingwood Abbot, Ph.D.*, Late Instructor in Philosophy in Harvard University. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1890.

The purpose of this work is to refute agnosticism on the grounds of pure reason. It is metaphysical throughout, and of course is intended for the perusal only of close thinkers. It is worthy of their attention, for whether they agree or not with the author in his assumed premises, or in the conclusions he arrives at, it will be highly suggestive to them.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

[The mention of books under this head will not preclude them from receiving further and fuller notice hereafter.]

GERALDINE; A TALE OF CONSCIENCE. By *E. C. A.* New Edition. New York: P. O'Shea. 1890.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND SOCIALISM. A Solution of the Social Problem. By *Condé B. Fallén, Ph.D.* St. Louis: B. Herder.

MONTH OF JUNE IN HONOR OF THE SACRED HEART OF JESUS. By the *Rev. A. Von Sever*. Milwaukee: Hoffman Bros.

DEVOTION TO THE HOLY GHOST. A Manual for the use of Seminarians, Priests, Religious, and the Christian People. By the *Very Rev. Dr. Otto Zardetti, V.G.* With a Letter of Introduction by the Rt. Rev. John Keane, D.D. Milwaukee: Hoffman Bros.

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A GLANCE AT THE PRESENT POSITION OF THE
CHURCH IN ENGLAND, WITH A GRATE-
FUL REMEMBRANCE OF CARDI-
NAL NEWMAN.

“THE Queen’s dominions have been parcelled out by a foreign potentate,” said Lord John Russell in the House of Commons in the year 1851, when speaking of the Restoration of the Catholic Hierarchy. He might as well have said that Windsor Castle and Buckingham Palace had been forcibly seized and occupied by Cardinal Wiseman. Yet so delirious was the outburst of national wrath at the first news of “the Papal Aggression,” that no phrase was too fantastic, no statement too extravagant for the gratification of the popular appetite for revenge. We must not be too severe on the English prejudice. Trained for centuries to regard the Catholic religion as the mortal foe of all liberty, English Protestants might be excused for sincerely dreading an “aggression” which threatened to “enslave them again to the Church of Rome.” Their wrath was all the fault of their education, not the fault of their natural brains or natural heart. They have shown this by forty years of reparation. Their “Ecclesiastical Titles Bill” they quickly repealed. Their respectful treatment of Cardinal Wiseman was in the best taste. Their more than respectful treatment of Cardinal Manning—their almost affectionate recognition of his national services, has made it manifest that they only wanted to be disillusioned, in order to do justice both to Catholics and to themselves. The English *have*

VOL. XV.—39

been converted to common sense. Their conversion to the Catholic Church is quite another matter.

"In another ten years," said Cardinal Manning last June, on the occasion of the silver jubilee of his episcopate, "you will have to celebrate the first jubilee of the Catholic Church in England." Whatever the next ten years may bring forth, we have reason to be profoundly grateful for what we may call the *social* progress which the Catholic Church has made during the last forty years. Only they who have been born in a Protestant country know what is the full meaning of that word "social." We may go further, and say that only such Englishmen as are now old men,—old enough to remember fifty years ago, can appreciate the contrast between the present social ease, and the social misery of say, the year 1830. It is from this social point of view that we may commence our inquiry into the progress of Catholicism in Great Britain; not precisely measuring the spiritual progress by the social, but measuring the *hope* of future conversions by social gains.

I.

Perhaps Englishmen are more influenced than are most people by the examples of persons in high estate. In the old days when there were only a few dozens of Catholic "gentlemen" scattered up and down a Protestant land, these gentlemen living very retired lives and being prohibited from taking part in official life, to be a Roman Catholic was to be a sort of *rara avis*, a kind of interesting relic of the dark ages. The laws, the national religion, the social traditions were all in deadly antagonism to Roman Catholicism; so that a man who "turned Catholic," say in 1830, was looked upon with a very unpleasant suspicion. But just as in the days when our fathers were young men, it was thought a compassionate thing to be a Catholic, a thing excusable perhaps in the descendants of those Catholics who had wickedly resisted the Reformation, but disgraceful in an Englishman who had been surrounded from childhood by the enlightening influences of pure Protestantism, so now it is thought rather "in good form" to be a convert, because so many distinguished persons have been converted. The English take their fashions in religion, just as they take their fashion in toilet, from the classes whom they look up to as aristocratic. This is not said in sarcasm, but as a fact. It would not be true to say that Englishmen change their religion with any reference to the examples of other persons; but it is true to say that intellectually, morally, and therefore socially, they are respectful towards a religion which is "in the fashion." The conversion of six duchesses to the Catholic religion caused "society" to rather admire that "form of faith." That a Viceroy of India, an

English Ambassador at Paris, a member of the Privy Council, and a Postmaster-General should be not only Catholics but converts, were facts that caused society to try to reconcile the two ideas of official and Catholic consistency. But society, as it is called, has had other auxiliary motives for esteeming the sincerity of conversions. Intellectually there has been no possibility of putting in the background a Newman, a Manning, a Faber; or of questioning that the English Bar has furnished splendid Catholic testimony in a Coleridge, a Hope-Scott, a Westbury. Just as there was no resisting the "respectability" of the fact, that one Anglican church, that of All Saints, Margaret street, sent seven clergymen in one year into the Catholic Church, so was there no resisting the "respectability" of the fact that the aristocracy of the arts, of poetry, of journalism, of grave composition and of light humor, gave many of its best men to the Old Faith. We are speaking now only of social aspects; and in no country since the days of the Emperor Constantine has "respectability" paid more homage to faith than in the England of the last forty-five years.

It used to be told of Lord Beaconsfield that he had expressed his "sense of the fitness" of offering a seat in the House of Lords to Cardinal Manning. As that versatile and eminently "social" minister was chatting with half a dozen convert lords, he is reported to have approved the idea of a peerage for the representative Catholic Englishman of his day. We all know that the "Grandison" in "Lothair," and the "Eustace de Lyle" in "Conningsby," were meant for portraits of a Catholic dignitary, and of a young distinguished lay convert, Ambrose de Lisle. Such points are indeed only worth alluding to as showing that "social" influences were working warmly on the imagination of the most romantic of statesmen. As they worked on *his* fancy, so have they worked on the fancy of the majority of the thinking, fashionable world of England. When we come to ask the question: Does this mundane, social influence do any good to the spiritual life of the Church? we shall touch upon a very difficult point indeed. At the present moment we are insisting only on the fact; the influences will be more apparent as we go on.

A most important groove of the "social" influence is the "literary," and let us see how this groove has helped Catholics. It was a thing unknown until within the last quarter of a century that Catholics should publish articles in non-Catholic periodicals in defence of their faith or of their philosophy. At the present day it is a common thing to see a first and a last article written by well-known Catholic champions, while among the other articles are perhaps aggressive compositions in avowed hostility to the first article and the last. Cardinal Manning is always welcomed

in such periodicals, and has necessarily done an enormous amount of good. Dr. St. George Mivart has rendered service to the Church by his voluminous contributions as a scientist, just as Lady Herbert of Lea and Lady Georgina Fullerton have purified the atmosphere of "popular" literature. It is perfectly well known that the editors and sub-editors and a very good proportion of the staff of the most widely read newspapers in London are either born Catholics or converts; nor does the fact cause the smallest uneasiness to the British mind, though fifty years ago there would have been a cry of "Jesuits on the press." It would be out of place here to speak of Catholic books which are published by professedly Catholic publishers; their influence is not so much "social" as it is religious. The point to be here noted is that Protestant society in mundane sense is largely traversed by Catholic writings in Protestant reviews. Such a fact is quite exceptional to the present age. Our fathers, when they were young men, would have rubbed their eyes in their amazement and would have refused to believe that a Roman Catholic could plead his cause in *their* literature and actually receive his twenty guineas for very ably demolishing Protestantism at the expense of *their* serenity or prejudice.

Now we may touch on another social aspect—the public part taken by Catholics in official movements, whether in the groove of education or of philanthropy. It was a sincere compliment which Sir Francis Sanford paid to Cardinal Manning on the occasion of his Eminence's silver jubilee, when he said to him: "It has been my privilege to work with you for several years on the Royal Commission. I can only say that if that Commission result in good to the education of this country and, above all, to the religious education of this country, it will be mainly owing to the lead you took on that occasion. I feel from my very heart that if England is to remain a Christian country, so far as education is concerned, the happy result will be due largely to Your Eminence." And as with the Cardinal, so with Catholics generally, there has been a disposition on the part of the Protestant authorities to invite them to "take office" in doing good; Mansion House Committees, Boards of Guardians, and the Commissioners for the Housing of the Poor considering their presence a fruitful source of public benefit. This, then, is socially a great gain. There would now be considered to be an incompleteness about many of the stately gatherings of London life, say the annual banquet at the Royal Academy, or even a Lord Mayor's official entertainment, unless some Catholic who was eminent in his particular groove were to be included in the number of the guests.

We have thus briefly touched upon three points in the social

gain: (1) the "fashion," as we have called it, of welcoming Catholics in society; (2) the throwing open of the highest class of periodicals to the advocacy of Catholicism by Catholics; and (3) the conspicuous part taken by Catholics in what may be called the public life of England. As to the place which Catholics hold in political life,—necessarily very nearly allied to the social life,—it will suffice to say that the present government, although Tory, has not refused to entertain the Liberal project that the next Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland shall be a Catholic, or at least that the profession of the Catholic faith shall not in future be an impediment to holding the office.

This rapid glance at "social" changes may suffice for the moment, and we may now pass to the ecclesiastical and therefore the spiritual progress which Catholicism has made in Great Britain.

II.

And first let it be said that the Catholic Church in Great Britain has necessarily some influence on the whole empire. India, Australia, New Zealand and indirectly all places where Englishmen dwell, must feel the pulsation of that mother-island in which Catholicism is vigorous in the very fact of its rejuvenescence. And so, too, Ireland is all the better off in sympathies, in the proportion of the strength of English Catholicism, though curiously—and it is a mystery we will not touch here—the political sympathies of English and of Irish Catholics are not ruled by the simple law of one faith. Not even one common persecution for three centuries has united English and of Irish Catholic sympathies, but on this subject let it only be said that in the present day the "Irish Question" is *not* first a religious question; it is first a political or imperial question. Fifty years ago, even forty years ago, some fiery Protestant Irish colonel could feel quite safe in assuring the House of Commons "if you only hanged an Irish priest or two you would pacify the country." In the present day any Protestant would be thought a madman who should say a word even in disrespect of Irish priests. True, the coercive policy of the present government has included Irish priests in its malignity; but this is only a make-belief that the government is impartial; it is not intended to be a sneer at religion. We will say a word presently as to the modern aspects of Catholicism in that island which has so superbly clung to the faith. For the moment let it suffice that we emphatically note the fact that religion is *not* now a fatal barrier in the sense of dividing England from Ireland.

If the growth of Catholicism in Great Britain should be measured by its material offspring,—new churches, schools, orphanages,

monasteries, being taken as its ostensible records,—there would be reason to rejoice over a development which has been, in normal phrase, “perfectly satisfactory.” Yet we know that it is not safe to judge of things spiritual by any monuments of energy or generosity. We should rather trust the evidence which English priests can appeal to in such statistics as, say this very happy one, that whereas twenty-five years ago, in the Westminster diocese, the number of Easter communicants was 53,000, last year it was 79,000, and the same proportion of increase has been registered in the great towns, and *this* at least is indisputable progress. But how has such progress come about? The answer is, or at least one answer, that where a quarter of a century ago there were few priests who felt themselves competent to give missions, in the Westminster diocese alone there are now fifty priests engaged in missionary labors. But how have such mission priests been prepared? And here the answer is that the new Seminary of St. Thomas, built at a cost of two hundred thousand dollars, has already sent two hundred ordained priests into English missions, while in the last twenty years a hundred and forty-nine working priests have been distributed over the London diocese alone. The missions by the Oblates of St. Charles, who are constantly preparing more than a hundred students, and the new efforts of St. Nicholas’ School, with its forty students, combined with the quiet work of eleven fresh communities of religious men and fifty fresh communities of religious women in the archdiocese of Westminster alone, may well account for the increase in the number of Easter communicants, who have been well pastored since Cardinal Manning was made Archbishop. Nor does the fact that in the London Catholic schools the daily attendance has been increased by eleven thousand, or the fact that sixteen more orphanages, poor-law schools and workhouse schools have been added in the same short period to the Westminster diocese leave us room for surprise that the practical fruits of such energy have been a reward which is both spiritual and temporal. The building also of forty churches in the Westminster diocese has been an enterprise as laborious as successful. And perhaps it should be added that the purchase of a piece of land, on which to rear the future cathedral of the metropolis, at a cost of nearly three hundred thousand dollars, has set the seal to the grand initiative which Cardinal Manning has parented and will make his name glorious in future history.

But, to sum up the growth of Catholicism in the whole of Great Britain,—that is, in England, Wales and Scotland,—let it suffice to put down these few statistics: The total number of churches, chapels and stations in 1840 was 522; it is now 1641, or rather

more than three times as large. In regard to the number of priests the total number, only a little more than forty years ago, was 624; it is now 2791, England and Wales having 2444 as against their former 551, and Scotland having its 339, as against its former 72 or 73. Next take the religious orders. In 1840, there was 1 convent in Scotland, and there were 19 in England; total for Great Britain 20. But Scotland has now 13 houses for men and 34 for women, while England has 195 for men and 400 for women, so that Great Britain has 642 houses for both sexes together, or an increase of 622 houses. It may be superfluous to allude again to the Archdiocese of Westminster, yet suffice it to say briefly that it has now 353 priests, 124 churches, chapels and stations and 111 religious houses of both sexes. As to education, it may be observed that in 1847 there were only 300 Catholic schools in the whole country, a number which was nearly doubled in fifteen years, and again has been nearly doubled since 1861. As to higher education, in 1840 there were but 9 colleges in England and 1 in Scotland; there are now 35 in England under ecclesiastical rule, besides 19 under a mild administration, and there are also 4 of the first category in Scotland, or a difference between 10 and 58 in England and Scotland put together. And, finally, as to the Catholic population, it has more than doubled in the course of the last half century, 800,000 having been the estimate in 1840, and about 1,800,000 being the present estimate.

Scotland, Presbyterian Scotland, the country of the fanatic fury of John Knox, has advanced *pari passu* with England. The number of Catholic churches is 332, the number of priests is 348, the number of convents for women is 34, and the number of children in attendance at the day schools is not less than 49,000. Perhaps the return of the religious orders to Scotland is the most interesting of the particulars of Scottish advance. The Oblates of Mary Immaculate and the Jesuits entered Edinburgh in 1859, the Vincentians in 1861, the Passionists in 1865, the Franciscans in 1868, the Redemptorists in 1870, the Benedictines in 1876, and the Premonstratentians in 1889. Finally, it should be noted that the Scotch monastery of Fort Augustus is the only monastery of its kind in Great Britain, being a fully-developed, united abbey, with a community of 40, and with a discipline which involves the carrying out of the Benedictine rule, and, therefore, of the Liturgical offices after the idea of pre-Reformation severity. Scotland is very far from being Catholic, yet it is true of Scotland as of England that the spirit of Protestantism is dying out, the spirit of indifference being its supplanter with the many, while that of inquiry is its supplanter with the few.

One word as to Ireland; her population is many millions less

than it was forty years ago ; yet, materially, her modern churches, her institutions, are on a nobler scale than has been essayed since the Reformation ; while the presence of the religious orders is a sustenance and a delight to the whole bitterly tried Catholic population. The doing away with the Irish Protestant Establishment—a purely political, purely mundane organization—has removed a standing insult out of the country ; the swarms of Protestant emissaries who used to tease and fret the Catholics having lost their shield and dignity by its removal. England has thus offered its little meed of reparation to a country it has trampled upon for centuries ; though it is deplorable—as was suggested a few pages back—that the bond of faith between English Catholics and Irish Catholics is not necessarily a bond of union between the countries. English Catholics owe at least half of their present prosperity to the sympathies and to the initiative of Irish Catholics ; yet they are as slow to help them as the Tory government is quick to spite them ; thus enfeebling the Catholic interests of England, which must be all one with those of the English-speaking race.

III.

And now to take a wider view of the whole subject. The advance of English Catholicism in the last half century—if we may proceed to look at it rationally or philosophically—must be taken in connection with the wondrous change in the world's ideas in regard to science, to politics, to social life, enlightenment, progress, religious liberty, which used to mean, in England “No Popery,” have all changed their bearings toward the Church. They have also changed them, curiously, towards Protestantism. Or rather Protestantism has changed its bearings towards Revelation. Forty years ago the prescient mind of Cardinal Newman could foresee the present phases of unbelief, and was able to prophesy that the time was near at hand when Biblical controversy would die out from pure exhaustion, and the Church would have to contend mainly against the scientists. Perhaps the first fulfilment of this prophecy was seen in the publication of the tentative Oxford “Essays and Reviews,” introducing a new era of Broad Churchism and next of downright blatant Agnosticism. Englishmen seemed to become impatient of all restraints ; they were in hot haste to cut the Gordian knots of difficulties ; they would not hear of faith, mystery, or obedience, but struck straight out into the open sea of skepticism. It was remarkable that just at the moment when developments in physical science were giving us steam movements, electric news and electric lights, developments in Protestant license were giving us rapid ways of arguing, rapid notions of hewing all difficulties with the hatchet, difficulties social,

political, and religious, difficulties of this world and of the next. It was all hurry, in mind, movement and religion. Free thought, as it was grandly called, was only hurry; and modern thought—which was no more modern than is modern sin—was only the desperate haste to get rid of our responsibilities by getting rid of our conviction that we had any. This new era of “being in a hurry” has now had its fair trial; and it has made England so unsettled in mind and heart that the whole nation is beginning to cry out for repose.

This general allusion to the marked changes in habits of thinking was almost necessary in approaching the study of that attitude which English Protestants now adopt towards English Catholics. Naturally we think of the future as well as the present; we feel anxious about the generations which, while they *may* have Catholic liberties, most certainly *will* have increased free thinking to contend with. And so we should like to gauge, were it possible, the full meanings of those signs of the times, which, though they promise continued peace to the present generation, have some very threatening forecasts for posterity.

“I do not anticipate the conversion of England,” said Cardinal Manning, in the course of last summer, when he was addressing a mixed audience at his own house. Why not? we may, perhaps, legitimately inquire. If we have been able to show, by clear statistics, that, both materially and spiritually, there *has* been a splendid advance in English Catholicism, what can hinder that the same proportionate advance should bless the ages which we shall not live to see? We must touch, of course, on delicate ground, in trying to answer this question; but it is more manly to try to answer it than to shut our eyes.

And, first, as to the range of difficulties which have to be met. *Who* are the worst enemies of the Catholic faith, in regard to class, caste or education? Of course, we reply readily that Mammon is the big enemy; but then Mammon has been the Goliath from the beginning. In England Mammon is most worshipped by the middle classes; those dense masses of respectability and complacency, which require a Krupp gun of Catholic wisdom or spirituality to penetrate even half an inch beyond the surface. And, in England, the middle classes are everybody. The aristocrats are a small, isolated class; the working classes have no power—save at election time; but England is really the middle classes, without whom there would be no England at all. Now, the attitude of the middle classes is respectability, with complacency—weaknesses, which are the pet armor of Mammon, who never did like the Catholic religion. But, respectability and complacency have unfortunately bred in the middle classes a spirit of isolation and

individualism ; so that each grade of each class lifts up the hem of its garment from the next lower grade of the same class. This spirit is the complete negation of Catholicism. The primary instinct of Catholicism, in the social sense, is that we are "every one members, one of another"; that we have, every one, duties towards each other which are as imperative as our duties towards ourselves. This is not English. It is Catholic. And, unhappily, English society is anti-Catholic.

But, are the humbler orders, the working classes, anti-Catholic? No; they are profoundly ignorant of the whole Catholic philosophy; but this is not their fault; it is their tradition. The Protestant corruption of the working classes has all come down to them from the middle classes, who have taught them that Catholic philosophy means tyranny, whereas it means freedom, social, political and religious. Lies have made the working classes anti-Catholic, and very widely do they open their eyes when a Catholic warmly assures them that, in the Middle Ages, some English kings quarrelled with Rome, *because* Rome insisted that power resided in the people, and *from* them passed to the governments they selected. But, unhappily, in the present day, the vast outpouring of the infidel press, the cheap pamphlets which are sold on the streets of the large towns, advocating the rights and glories of freethinking, with the hostile attitude of Protestant clergymen and Protestant nuns, give the working classes little chance of knowing what they would know, if Catholic literature could be sown broadcast in their midst.

Again, the struggle for existence, the coarse, animal relations, which exist between the employed and their employers, the want of natural sympathy and natural grace which are characteristic of English notions of "lords and masters," predispose the working classes to look on life as a horrid puzzle, as a mystery of injustice and pain. This is the *social* side of Protestantism. Quite as fatal to the social harmonies and social graces was Queen Elizabeth's dispensation of schism and heresy as it was fatal to the soul's peace and the mind's dignity. The English working classes are the victims of that isolation and individualism which were begotten of the destruction of Catholic unity; they cannot, naturally, turn to the Church for social fellowship, because they have lost the instinct of the Catholic Family, which is *not* Protestant; so that they have no chance of finding their way into their true Home, unless some Catholic friend or Catholic priest happen to aid them. There is no hostility in their minds towards the truth; how should there be, when they have never known anything about it? there is only the want of means of being taught, and such means, speaking naturally, must be rare. If the English working classes could be

converted, they would make as warm Catholics as they are now cold Protestants, for they have the right stuff in them for manliness and for service.

So that, with the middle classes devoted to the life worship of Mammon and with the working classes tied to the chariot wheels of the middle classes, there is only the aristocracy left which "cares for none of these things," save speculatively, sentimentally or educatedly. The few members of the aristocracy who have become Catholics have set the fashionable world talking about conversions; but they have no more leavened their class with Catholic ideas than the Irish immigrants have leavened the costers or artisans. The aristocracy may admit that doctrine just as they admit that art or history may be an auxiliary accident of a national church; but authority they do not admit, because they think it shackles individualism, and individualism is the pet weakness of English magnates. So the aristocracy, when they happen to be religious minded, fall back on the modern fiction called Ritualism, which satisfies their imaginations without demanding their obedience, and so presents a very happy British compromise.

But will Ritualism continue to be the enemy of Catholicism by posing as a haven instead of as a shoal bank? The Goodwin Sands off the coast of Kent have a brilliant revolving light which warns voyagers in dusky weather of their danger, nor would any one willingly get on to the Goodwin Sands, because the chances are that he would never get off again, but the Ritualists assure the voyager who is going from Protestantism to Catholicism that their Goodwin Sands are the home and harbor he would seek, and thus cruelly allure the voyager on to their quick or shifting ground through which he will necessarily soon sink down into pure free-thinking. Ritualism is unquestionably the enemy of Catholicism, not only because it keeps people out of the church, but because it puts an absurd fiction into its place. If it said frankly, "We are *not* the Church, but then there is no necessity to go into it," there would be no deception, no pretension, no hypocrisies; but what it says is: "We, who have for three centuries been Protestant, have just discovered that we are the real Catholic Church, and though we have no authority but ourselves for this restoration of our identity, it is obvious that we must be the Church, because we say so." The English people, wanting a pretext for not being Catholics, accept this patent fallacy for an axiom, not that they really believe that Ritualism is divine, but that, in order to escape the dreaded submission to the Church, they prefer to soothe their Protestant fancy with a fiction. For a quarter of a century has Ritualism barred the Catholic way.

And just as Czarodoxy compels the Russians to obey the Czar so Ritualism compels the Anglicans to obey themselves.

This brief survey of some of the normal Protestant difficulties may lead us to ask another and a painful question. What are the shortcomings still existing on the Catholic side which make the hope of England's conversion somewhat dim ?

IV.

First, the Catholic organization, though in some respects advanced, is in others in an inchoate state. There is a want of a common centre of meeting and of teaching. Though the bishops and clergy are knit together, there cannot be said to be an easy intercommunication between the far-divided laity of north and south. However, we may find remedies for this separatedness, which is one of the inherited stiffnesses of Catholic action, resulting from three centuries of oppression. Next, there is no Catholic University. The Holy See has not seen its way to advising young Catholics to matriculate at Oxford, Cambridge or London, and such attempts as have been already made to found and endow a university—a few years ago there was a beginning but no continuance—have perhaps naturally failed for want of funds. Besides, there is an old traditional hankering after the *old* universities on the part of the young and wealthy English Catholics, a sort of feeling which would express itself, "Oxford and Cambridge belong to *us*; what need others to begin anew with more foundations?" Even assuming that there were adequate resources for this task, there are few Englishmen who would have the enthusiasm to give their thousands to start a rival to the old historic places,—places which *might* be theirs again in changed conditions, and which they almost believe may yet become so.

Again, there is a very small "reading public" for Catholic books, and there is a slowness in bringing into the English market, in placing conspicuously before the eyes of the general public, the grand books which are known upon the continent of Europe, and also such American publications as are noteworthy. Nor is there such a thing as an "English Catholic Quarterly Review?" There is the old "Dublin," time-honored and mainly English; there are several excellent tentative periodicals; but no publisher has had the courage to start an English Catholic Quarterly, perhaps for reasons which might be imparted in friendly privacy. In the same way there is no Catholic daily paper. Catholics would not start it, would not support it. An influential Catholic tried twenty years ago to form a committee with a view to initiating plans for a daily paper, but the normal objections, chiefly commercial, were considered fatal, and the scheme has

slept soundly for many years, nor is any one likely to awaken it. One great difficulty in the way was that of politics. The only perfectly united Christian body in England is as much divided about politics as are Anglicans. So there is no daily organ; there does not seem likely to be one of Catholic faith, because it is not possible to have an organ of Catholic politics.

There is a want also in England of such beneficent associations as abound in many parts of the Continent; a need which may be supplied when we get a grand "Centre Party" to work for Catholics as do their strong German allies, but which, at present, results from an inherited isolatedness, with no "impregnable fortress" to back it up.

As to education, in the higher schools, it is all that can be desired, in regard both to religion and scholarship; yet it scarcely touches the new duties which devolve on Catholics as citizens in an age which is intensely selfish and money-worshipping. Our duties to ourselves are well imparted, but our duties to everybody else are not taught philosophically, or in such a spirit as to make them the grand object of life. Now, considering that the master evil of Protestantism, socially speaking, has been to split up the Christian family into units, to make every man a separate world to himself, instead of making all men Catholic brothers, it would seem that the first principles of purely natural magnanimity ought to be brought into close accord with Christian chivalry. A gentleman should be one who has no selfishness, no narrow, cliquy ideas of social caste; no pride, in the odiously conventional sense of the word, and no *fear* of what the world thinks or says, whereas, English Catholics, as a body, are conventional. Their religion does not permeate their social ways. They bow obediently to the dictation of "society," instead of contemptuously disregarding its weaknesses. This is doubtless an easy way of living peaceably and prosperously, but it does not seem quite worthy of the Catholic mission. We should rather expect that Catholics would teach society exalted ideas, than that they should conform themselves to its littleness or vulgarity. And even Protestants seem disappointed that Catholics, whom they look up to as being their superiors in the grandeur of their religion, should nevertheless, socially speaking, be as small as other people—smaller, considering what they profess.

At the beginning of this paper, a doubt was mildly hazarded, whether the mundane progress of the Catholic body in England had aided them in the spiritual life. The present writer well remembers how, say in the year 1850, a Catholic cared first for his brother Catholic; but "social gains" have spoiled the fervor of the old brotherhood, so that a Protestant would hardly say now what he

would have said to a Catholic forty years ago: "What I like in you Catholics is your freemasonry; you are all of one mind and one heart." "Social gains" have spoiled Catholic affinities, instead of inspiring the Catholic heart with St. Paul's beautiful philosophy, in regard to the perfect sympathy of "all the members." While speaking of the national prospects of England's conversion, it was hardly possible to avoid allusion to this chief failing of Catholic society (the poor, are, of course, exempt from such temptations), the allowing conventionalism to take the place of wide ideas, and moral cowardice to crush out Catholic chivalry.

V.

A glance at the present condition of the Church in England has shown us much that is cheering, and yet not very much that is hopeful. Perhaps we can understand with what sadness Cardinal Manning uttered the words: "I do not anticipate the conversion of England." His Eminence knows both sides. He is not so unreal as to shut his eyes to Catholic weaknesses, any more than to the obstacles which are Protestant. He knows where the best reform should begin. Pius the Ninth said that, "Nothing was easier than to reform Italy, if every Italian would begin by reforming himself." And so we may say of England, that nothing would be easier than to convert it if every Catholic would make up his mind to reform himself; that is, to live henceforth for all men, instead of living for self, *plus* acquaintance. "A man can hardly be a good Catholic," said Father Faber, "unless he has something of the missionary spirit," and it is tolerably certain, that if every Catholic had a missionary spirit, England would very soon be converted. But the missionary spirit must work first in the natural order; and it is because English society is grounded on the principle that a man must not raise his hat to an inferior, that the want of social harmonies breeds this want of Christian sympathy; because real influence must begin with real interest. An essay on the fallacies of English society would be an essay on the slowness of English conversions. It is in the natural order that a country is to be converted before it is to be converted in the spiritual order, which is only another way of saying that no man believes in your religion unless he first sees that you have the natural virtues. Now, pride, exclusiveness, callousness, patronage, with all the breed of purely conventional gentility, are the great opposites of the loveable natural virtues; and here it is that English society begins by destroying its best influences, in putting the world before social heroism and magnanimity. The world stops the way. And some English Catholics hold tight on to the world with their

right hand, while with their left hand they set to work to convert Protestants.

It must be manifest that such remarks are but suggestive; they would be unjust if applied to a great majority; they are only trying to get to the bottom of a principle. Society is one thing, Englishmen are another; and even among Protestants most Englishmen deplore the weaknesses which have resulted in so alienating the lower orders, that their uncouthness or unmannerliness is a sort of vengeance on the isolation which Protestant disintegration has generated.

Retracing, for one brief moment, these hurried steps—and the subject is so large that it would be a positive presumption to affect to treat it comprehensively in a few pages—may we say that the difference between the fury of Lord John Russell's time and the mild Protestant acquiescence of our own day, is the difference between a tradition and an education. The English are, naturally, stubborn in clinging to their traditions; but it is due to them to say that they are as reasonable in their reparation as they are unreasonable in their perversity of prejudice. The fact having become patent to the national eye that Catholics *may* be good citizens and good Christians, there has been an uprooting of the prejudice, but not a conversion to the principle that both schism and heresy are deadly sins.

A good deal of the popular favor towards Catholics is now due to political causes. Liberalism includes, to-day, the right of believing as you please, even though that belief be "un-English"; whereas, formerly it meant the right only of believing as you pleased, so long as you were *not* a Roman Catholic. Liberalism is now as blatant in the religious sphere as in any of the spheres called democratic; it is not precisely the insistence on the right of religious liberty, but on the right of having no religion whatever; it is a big word, always spelt with a capital letter—for Liberalism, like Unknowableness, disdains small type—but it is a negative a good deal more than it is a positive; for it is not a principle, but an apostasy. Civil liberty means only the being equally protected by equal laws; religious Liberalism means the exemption from all religious laws of belief, whether formulated by the Church or by the State. It is manifest that such a sweeping modern Liberalism must, in consistency, extend its favors to Catholics; because it were absurd to insist that a man may believe nothing, without conceding to him the right to believe anything. But this august concession is only a sham. As a matter of fact, there are no men in England so aggressive in their attacks on others' beliefs as those men who are clamorous for the rights of their own freethinking—including their blasphemies on Christianity.

This spirit of religious Liberalism, though qualified by education, by natural piety, and also by the sentiment of Christianity, has permeated the national church, the universities, the professions ; so that you hear it, you feel it, all around you. Does it tend to conversions to Catholicism? Certainly not. What it tends to, is a vain, weak complacency which makes men imagine that they are liberal, because they are politely indifferent to dogmatic truth, or because they do not care enough about saving their own souls, to take an interest in the religious belief of other people. The late Cardinal Newman said that Liberalism in religion was a greater enemy of the truth than even heresy ; because heresy might be consistent with sincerity, but Liberalism was inconsistent with earnestness.

This last allusion to the great name of John Henry Newman may fitly lead us to conclude this short paper with a grateful remembrance of *his* work, a work which perhaps did more towards the conversion of England than that of any other Englishman of the century,

It is sixty years since a young clergyman at one of the Oxford Colleges took a lead in the "theological thought" of his day ; and about fifty years since he was accepted as the head of that school, which was first famed as seeking primitive authority. In looking back upon his influence both at Oxford and all over the country, we must attribute it, not to his talents, to his eloquence, to even his pure and beautiful religious writings, but to the individuality of honesty, of simplicity with earnestness, which made the *man* a more potent teacher than the theologian. Because every one could trust him as he could trust his own soul, therefore every one could love him even to obedience. It was this transparent integrity which made John Henry Newman the favorite with Low Churchmen as with High Churchmen, with Dissenters, with Broad Churchmen, even with skeptics. The *man* was so indubitably honest, so simple natured and above the smallest prevarication, that when he put pen to paper all Protestants liked to read, because they knew *he* believed all he said. That very simplicity of truthfulness got him into no little trouble among such Catholics as esteem prudence before outspokenness ; but it so endeared him to the British public that they would take anything from him, even a good scolding or a bit of sarcasm or ridicule. And thus his influence on the whole nation was a sort of half-conscious education, leading Protestants to see clearly that a master mind which was Roman Catholic could be as childlike in honesty as it was full of faith. John Henry Newman "converted the English nation from its prejudice as to the Jesuistry" of Catholics to a firmer belief in Catholic candor and manliness, and so did more perhaps to lead England back to the

faith than had he spent his time in preaching Catholicism from St. Paul's Cathedral.

The death of Cardinal Newman closes an epoch in English history, the epoch between old Protestantism and new Liberalism. Whatever has been gained to the Catholic Church in the last forty years, must be associated, not indeed as effect from cause, but as in harmony with that new impression on the English mind which John Henry Newman largely fathered. It was impossible to close this brief essay on "Present Positions" without a tribute of affectionate homage, both to the Anglican who *led* his church, and to the Catholic who made Protestants *respect* his Church. Forty years have compassed the first epoch of concessions; but whether the next forty years shall be as fruitful in Catholic progress must depend largely upon whether the spirit of John Henry Newman continues to animate English Catholics.

And at this point it would have been fitting to lay down the pen had it not been for the accident that the major part of this paper was written before the death of Cardinal Newman. We may, therefore, be allowed to add a few words in regard to certain aspects of the career of the late Cardinal, whom all England has mourned with profound homage.

"When Dr. Newman submitted to Rome," said one of his critics, "he undid, intellectually speaking, the mischief of three centuries." The reason was that Mr. Newman's career, from the time he went up to Oxford to the time when he was received into the Church, was primarily an intellectual process; reason, not imagination, guiding him from step to step, so that his conversion was a purely logical ultimate. He tried every Anglican position, one after the other, travelling slowly for twenty years from Protestantism to Catholicism, never permitting himself to let go of one ecclesiastical theory till he had made sure by years of trial that it was untenable, and so having nothing to retract because he never permitted haste or worry to obscure the terrible issues of the inquiry. It was on that account that all Anglicans trusted him, "*credo in Newmannum*" being a sort of popular way of expressing belief in Mr. Newman's safe and steady reasoning progress. The Church of England, by its leading newspaper, has called Cardinal Newman "the founder, we may almost say, of the Church of England as we see it." The founder, certainly, in this sense: that, as the master builder, he would never leave the subject of foundations till he was sure that they could bear the church edifice. After twenty years of working at the foundations he gave them up as being "sand," not "rock," but his Anglican friends were content with his workmanship, and built a picturesque Ritualist house—on the "sand."

Elected, when still a young man, to the vicarage of St. Mary's, Oxford, he quickly drew around him all the thinking men of Oxford, and led them, step by step, towards Catholicism. His position at Oxford has been compared to that of Savonarola at Florence, but in truth the whole of England was soon listening to that voice which, as Mr. A. T. Froude has observed, and with partial accuracy, "was the voice of the intellectual reaction of Europe, alarmed by an era of evolutions, and looking for safety in the forsaken belief of ages, which it had been tempted to despise." Mr. Newman in those days was laboring at the impossible task of discriminating between the doctrines of the Anglican writers he most respected, as apparently justified by primitive teaching, the "recesses" of the "Romish Branch of the Catholic Church," and the wild Protestantism of Geneva and Wittenberg. He was for a long while, as he has told us in the "Apologia," warmly prejudiced against Rome as a pure authority, so much so that he wrote hard things, which, some years before his conversion, he unsaid with his usual candor and humility. And so earnestly desirous was he to "stay where he was" that he wrote "Tract 90" expressly to show that an Anglican *might* subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles in a sense which he might think Catholic, though it was not Roman. Mr. Newman's heart was in the home church of his lifetime, his conversion being ultimately the conquest by pure reason of the natural sentiment of attachment to the Church of England. It was this determination "never to hasten faster than reason would let him," which won for him the eulogy quoted above that "he undid, intellectually speaking, the mischief of three centuries," because never again can Anglicans go back to their old positions; these positions having each in turn been tried and found wanting by the master mind which lived *in* them and passed *through* them, and which has left us, in incomparable writings, the most logical exposition of every one of their good points and their bad. He himself summed up the whole of his researches, his long and earnest struggle with his natural self in those simple words he addressed, in 1850, to his Anglican friends: "We must either give up belief in the Church as a Divine institution altogether, or we must recognize it in the Communion of which the Pope is the head; for," he added, "the question lies between the Church and no Divine messenger at all. There is no revelation given us unless she is the organ of it, for where else is there a prophet to be found?"

Historian, controversialist, poet, theologian, and indeed, we may venture to add, saint, the late Cardinal Newman was also the first essayist of his time; rivalling in lucidity, in coloring, in depth, those masters whom we have been accustomed to take as models,

and perhaps surpassing them in the charm of individuality, that indefinable and rare gift of nature. "His language," says an Anglican, "was a faultless instrument, and he played on it as a faultless master." Could anything in oratory be more beautiful than his sermon at St. Mary's, Oscott, on "The Second Spring," which even Lord Macaulay is said to have learned by heart, as one of the purest gems in the English language. As to his power as a preacher, we may perhaps quote the words of Mr. Froude, for he was speaking not as an ally, but as a critic, when he recalled "that voice so keen, so preternaturally sweet, whose very whisper used to thrill through crowded churches, when every breath was held to hear; that calm gray eye; those features so stern and yet so gentle." Yet it has been better said that Cardinal Newman's preaching, like his writing, was "chiefly striking from the absence of any fault;" his style being so pure that neither rhetoric nor feebleness could ever find place in its composure.

It is refreshing to average mortals to think of this great mind as having passed through some of the phases of "doubt," and come out of them the stronger, the more believing. Thus in 1825 it was said of Mr. Newman by some friends who knew him intimately at Oxford, that he was "drifting in the direction of the liberalism of the day," "beginning to prefer intellectual excellence to moral," and even becoming "skeptical as to the early Church miracles." He himself says of this period in his "Apologia," "I was rudely awakened from my dreams at the end of 1827 by two great blows, illness and bereavement." And we know how he has made reparation for this young man's "dream," not only in his writings but in his public addresses; especially on two occasions, when (1) he made his famous reply at the Pallazzo Della Pigna in Rome, on receiving the Cardinal's biretta, and (2) when he addressed a London audience at Norfolk House, shortly after his return from the Eternal City. No one has cut modern liberalism to the quick more keenly than he who, sixty-five years ago, with no guide but his own unaided wisdom, was half disposed to listen to its enchantments.

Of his great personal controversies the two which will be best remembered are (1) his answer to Mr. Gladstone's "The Vatican Decree," and (2) his sharp retort to Mr. Kingsley, who had accused him of untruthfulness, but who had to "fly away into space" as a deserved punishment. As to the first controversy, Dr. Newman was even more than victorious; for not only did he succeed in forcing Mr. Gladstone to acknowledge "the personal loyalty of the Queen's Roman Catholic subjects," the very point which Mr. Gladstone wrote his pamphlet to question, but he compelled the whole English press to recognize the perfect consistency of the

Dogma of Infallibility with British loyalty. Thus the "Letter to the Duke of Norfolk" became an English classic, to which Catholics can turn in any emergency of misrepresentation, as to an armory of polished weapons of defence. And as to the second controversy, "The Kingsley Suicide," English Catholics must always prize it, because it put controversy itself on its proper basis. It taught the English world that a false accusation, such as that which Mr. Kingsley had hurled, was a wicked "poisoning of the wells," and should be castigated; nor probably does there exist in English literature a finer fragment of brilliant irony and just wrath than Dr. Newman's "Reflections" on Mr. Kingsley.

If it were asked, was there any region of controversy which the late Cardinal Newman did *not* touch, it might be replied, yes; he did not care for problems in science, because they were ephemeral; and because the Darwins and the Spencers of "modern thought" were sure to be answered by their own friends. Nor did critical problems in Bible literature much occupy him, because he knew that they were only excuses for putting off the real inquiry as to the authority of the Church as our interpreter. His mind could not rest on minor details of human strife, because he lived rather in the whole age of the Catholic Church than in one particular century which was querulous. His intimate knowledge of men, manners, and influences; his habit of looking upon the past as always present, and upon the present as being a page only in life's story; his love of seeking rather to make us live with the ancient martyrs than with modern or mediæval celebrities—a habit which was so beautifully illustrated in "Callista," which might be said to be "Newman in his home life"—were all traits of mental character which made the late Cardinal *above* this age, which is an age of present conceits and present strifes. He knew what development meant in ecclesiastical sense; but as to the sense in which Mr. Darwin might use it, or its application to the human race, or the natural world, he seemed to look on such speculations as ephemeral. Nor would he ever consent to take part in grooves of work to which he had not given his special attention, so that, for example, when he was invited to aid the "Anglican Committee" in revising their translation of the New Testament, he declined, on the ground that he had not made the sacred text "a sufficiently special study to be competent." He stood outside the very age in which he lived. In his "Grammar of Assent," he pursues his course in a serene atmosphere, as though hardly conscious of the Agnosticism or the Materialism which were troubling the waters of thought with dirty bubbles. He wrote on principles which were above such human accidents, as much as to say, clear your minds of these distempers, and look down from the eternal principles of truth

and right on to the shifting delusions of this folly or of that sin. And in this attitude Cardinal Newman was a great teacher, a sort of apostle to the weak victims of modern thought, since he was exactly the man who was wanted to teach them that to-day is only the briefest possible link between past and future. He knew that he could not convert the world, and he did not attempt it; but what he did do was to tell the world that it was Antichrist, that its philosophy was the oldest delusions re-dressed up; that its literature was only a diverting of the soul's thinking from its real love to a morbid variety of sham loves; and that its cynicism, which it supposed to be directed against religion, ought properly to be directed against itself. Thus "the prophet" spoke to his countrymen in the wilderness. He tried to win them back to the rock of Authority. He showed to them, by his own example, what they ought to do; what, indeed, so to speak, he had done for them; "undoing, intellectually speaking, the mischief of three centuries." It was a glorious mission. The name of Newman, though intensely English in association—as to work, movements, objects, sympathies, ideas—will be always esteemed throughout Christendom for its primarily Catholic signification, as putting the world right, intellectually, upon Authority.

The saintly poet, who wrote the modern gem "*Gerontius*," has now passed into the eternal Home for which he lived, and we, too, can now dream of *him* as saying:

"I went to sleep; and now I am refreshed,
A strange refreshment; for I feel in me
An inexpressive lightness, and a sense
Of freedom, as I were at length myself,
And ne'er had been before."

THE FRIENDS AND THE FOES OF SCIENCE.

DURING the past few decades many important chapters of history have been rewritten, and many statements, which a German writer has well characterized as "historical lies," have been rejected as never having had any foundation in fact. The chapter concerning the inductive sciences, and especially the relation of these sciences to the Church and to those who have been in communion with the Church, is yet to be written. We want a historian who can distinguish true from false science; who can discriminate between theory and doctrine; who, in a word, can point out to us who are the real friends and who are the real foes of true science.

If we look over the field of science to-day, we shall find that the so-called leaders of modern thought would have us accept the flimsiest hypotheses and wildest speculations as the unquestionable, ultimate results of scientific investigation. We shall discover, also, that these alleged "advanced thinkers" are men without faith and generally men who deny the existence of God. We shall see, too, that they are popular, and that their theories are popular because they are sensational and because they run counter to the traditional teachings of our race, and more particularly because they are opposed to the truths of revelation and the positive doctrines of the Catholic Church. A glance will tell us of the lack of unanimity in the conclusions reached by these popularly-regarded and applauded representatives of science; that they differ as much from one another as to what is scientific truth as do the same class of exponents of science of one age differ from those of the age succeeding.

If we extend our view back beyond the "living present," and consult the records of the past, we shall learn that the most energetic and successful workers in every department of science, and the greatest champions of progress, were those who were the most devoted sons of Holy Church, the most consistent believers in her teachings. The friends of the Church, of revelation, of sound doctrine, have ever been the friends of true science. On the other hand, science has known no greater foes than those who have actively opposed the Church, denied her dogmas, or called in question her divine origin.

In view of these undeniable historical facts, we shall, in this paper, discuss the principles that give rise to such conflicting opinions, such false and sensational conclusions; inquire why it

is that men of ability, as many of our scientific professors unquestionably are, fall into such egregious errors and ridiculous absurdities; and, finally, shall show, in the light of history, what a spirit of intolerance has ever reigned outside of the Catholic Church; a spirit, as intolerant of true science as of Catholic dogma; a spirit, that has been as antagonistic to scientific progress as it has been to the propagation of the gospel, and a spirit too, which has headed a persecution as bitter and as protracted in matters of science as any recorded in the annals of religious development.

One need not, indeed, be surprised at finding those who are outside of the Church falling into error regarding the various subjects with which the scientist is supposed to deal. Conflicting errors and changing opinions are the inevitable resulting consequences of rejecting the Church's authority. The theories and the guesses, the materialism and the atheism, which go so far towards making up what is known as "modern science," are simply the natural outgrowth of the great apostacy of the sixteenth century.

The German "Reformers," with Luther at their head, rejected the Church and retained the Bible; the Deists of England cast away the Bible and held on to God: the Encyclopædiasts of France repudiated God and contracted their faith to a simple recognition of the existence of matter. Luther opposed Catholicity; Voltaire battled against Christianity; modern materialism has entered the lists against religion of any and every form. The pantheists of the last century insisted on it, that all men are Gods. The materialists of our own age are equally positive that we are all beasts. At one time, scientists, with Lelande, will refuse to believe in the existence of God, because they have never seen Him with their telescopes; at any other time they will join in a chorus of praise about "Father Mud, the Almighty Plastic." With Broussais, they deny that there is a soul, because, forsooth, they have never found it at the end of their scalpels; and, with La Mettrie, they teach that man is merely a plant or a machine. In one generation "everything," in the words of Bossuet, "is God except God Himself; and in another, men, who call themselves scientists, will write long treatises on nature, without even a mention of the name of the Deity, and without the slightest allusion to His power and wisdom as displayed in His works. With Hæckel, they will believe in spontaneous generation—although it has been proven to be absurd—rather than acknowledge the miracle of creation. In a word, "Every one of them," to quote the language of Voltaire, "destroys and renovates the earth after his own fashion, as Descartes framed it, for philosophers put themselves without

ceremony in the place of God and think they can create a universe with a word."

But our modern "advanced thinkers" have gone even farther. Not content with eliminating from their creed everything pertaining to theology, they have gone so far as to discard logic and philosophy. They sneer at the productions of the great masters of thought of ancient and mediæval times, and speak of their philosophic labors in terms of undisguised contempt.

Büchner, for instance, flippantly declares, that the metaphysics of the Platos, the Descarteses, the Malebranches, the Bossuets, the Fenelons, the Leibnitzes and the Clarkes, may beguile simple minds, but no one, like himself presumably, could seriously regard it as a science.

With Büchner, as with modern scientists generally, outside of the pale of the Church, everything is reduced to induction, and it is applied indiscriminately to the discussion of every question, whether of the natural or of the supernatural order. According to them, a man cannot consistently profess a belief in the truths of philosophy, as a science of principles, and at the same time be a scientist.

In his work on "Man in the Past, Present, and Future," Büchner quotes, as expressing his own sentiments and those of his school, the violent denunciations of the atheistic Dr. Page against all who have the hardihood to accept anything that, like the truths of philosophy or religion, presupposes fixedness and unchangeableness of belief.

"No man," says Dr. Page, "who has subscribed to creeds and formulæ, whether in theology or philosophy, can be an unbiased investigator of the truth or an unprejudiced judge of the opinions of others. His sworn preconceptions warp his discernment; adherence to his sect or party engenders intolerance to the honest convictions of other inquirers. Beliefs we may and must have, but a belief to be changed with new and advancing knowledge impedes no progress, while a creed subscribed to as ultimate truth and sworn to be defended, not only puts a bar to further research, but as a consequence throws the odium of distrust on all that may seem to oppose it. Even when such odium cannot deter, it annoys and irritates; hence the frequent unwillingness of men of science to come prominently forward with the avowal of their beliefs. It is time this delicacy were thrown aside, and such theologians plainly told that the skepticism and infidelity—if skepticism and infidelity there be—lies all on their own side. There is no skepticism so offensive as that which doubts the facts of honest and careful observations; no infidelity so gross as that which disbelieves the deductions of competent and unbiased judgments."¹

And "these words of gold," to which Büchner and his associates say amen, "deserve to be graven on brass and affixed to the doors of all churches, schools, and editorial rooms."

It would be indeed difficult to put in words more damning evi-

¹ Author's preface.

dence in support of the arraignment we have drawn up against modern scientists than the passages we have just quoted. Nothing could reveal more clearly their methods or declare more explicitly their desires and purposes. Passion and zeal in furtherance of an ungodly cause have led them to make known the animus that governs them in their researches, and to betray the secret of the subterfuges and tergiversations that characterize them, and of the pronounced hostility they display whenever there is question of the relation of science to the Church.

As to a Catholic scientist, it would be simply impossible for him to fall into the errors, contradictions and absurdities of those who have rejected the assistance and guidance of reason, and faith of philosophy and revelation. He would not idle away his time in futile speculations, which his faith, if not his reason, would tell him, have no foundation in fact. On the contrary, he would eschew all such sources of error, and be spared the mortification of the constant changes and retractions our modern materialistic scientists are constantly obliged to make.

In his admirable "*Sept Leçons de Physique Générale*," the immortal Cauchy, conceded to be the ablest mathematician of his age, makes a pointed reference to this subject. Speaking of the precautions that students of science should take to avoid falling into error, he says:

"One ought to reject without hesitation, every hypothesis which is in contradiction to revealed truth.¹ I will not say in the interest of religion, but in the interest of science, because truth can never contradict itself. It is, for having neglected this rule, that there have been scientists who have squandered in futile attempts much precious time that might have been happily employed in making useful discoveries. What important contributions might not have been made to our collection of scientific memoirs, if religion had always guided the pen of those authors, who for awhile imagined that they had discovered that the zodiacs of Denderah and Esne have an antiquity of twelve thousand years; that man is descended from a polyp; that he has existed on earth from all eternity; that the deluge is a fable; that the creation of man and animals was the effect of chance; that even in our own days, they can be seen springing from the earth in the isles of the great ocean; and that the natives of America form a different species from that to which we belong, etc.?" "Yes, gentlemen," the learned author continues, "we are forced to recognize the fact, that, as in regulating the heart of man and interdicting to him false pleasures, religion simply opens up to him a new source of ineffable joys and seeks his own happiness; so also, in imposing on the mind of the savant certain rules, she simply confines his imagination within just limits, and spares him the regret of having been misled by false systems and pernicious illusions."²

¹ The learned German scientist, Prof. Virchow, although not a Catholic, has wisdom enough to see the necessity of this rule laid down by the illustrious Cauchy. In his address before the German Naturalists at Munich in 1877, he solemnly declared that "Every attempt to transform our problems into dogmas, to introduce our conjectures as a basis of instruction, particularly any attempt simply to dispossess the Church and to supplant her dogma by a creed of descent—aye gentlemen—this attempt must fail, and in its ruin will entail the greatest peril on the position of science in general."

² *Sept Leçons de Physique Générale, deuxième leçon.*

The lesson here inculcated is the one put in practice by every Catholic student of science. It is, indeed, one of the most striking characteristics of the many eminent men who have reflected honor on science and on the Church, that they have always known what are the true limits of science as distinguished from those of philosophy and theology, and that they have understood how to steer clear of the Scylla and Charybdis that have been the destruction of so many proud and venturesome spirits outside of the Church.

The distinguished French chemist M. Berthelot, in writing to M. Renan *apropos* of this subject, says :

"Positive science pursues neither first causes nor the end of things, but it proceeds by establishing facts and connecting them with each other by intimate relations. . . . The human mind ascertains the facts by observation and experience; it compares them and thence infers relations; that is to say, facts which are more general. These in turn, and this is the sole guarantee of their reality, are verified by observation and experience. It is the chain of these relations, extended further each day by the efforts of human intelligence, that constitutes positive science."

In referring to the same subject, the eminent physiologist Claude Bernard declares that :

"First causes are not within the domain of science, and that they always escape us, as well in the science of living bodies as in the science of brute matter."

The celebrated Pasteur says, in the same strain, that :

"Experimental science is essentially positivist, in this sense, that in its conceptions it never introduces the consideration of the essence of things, of the origin of the world, and of its destinies."

Were we to question the other great representatives of science, of present or past time, concerning the domain of the sciences in which they achieved such success, they would give us the same answer.¹ With Cauchy, Berthelot, Claude Bernard, Pasteur, they would tell us that science deals simply with facts and phenomena; that the methods and instruments of the scientist cannot be ap-

¹ It gives us pleasure to quote here from two of the most renowned, although two of the most neglected, scientists of the Middle Ages, viz., Roger Bacon and Albertus Magnus—the former a Franciscan monk, the latter a Dominican friar. To these eminent scholars and to Galileo, of a later age, and not to Lord Bacon, is due the introduction of the inductive or experimental method in the natural and physical sciences. Roger Bacon, in his *Opus Majus*, p. vi., 1, says: "Duo sunt modi cognoscendi, scilicet per argumentum et experientiam. Sine experientia nihil sufficienter sciri potest. Argumentum concludit sed non certificat, neque removet dubitationem ut quiescat animus in intuitu veritatis, nisi eam inveniat via experientiæ." Albertus Magnus, *Opp.*, tom. v., p. 340, writes: "Harum autem, quas ponemus, quasdam quidem ipsi nos experimento probavimus, quasdam autem referimus ex dictis eorum, quos comperimus non de facili aliqua dicere nisi probata per experimentum. Experimentum enim solum certificat de talibus, eo quod de tam particularibus syllogismus haberi non potest."

plied to questions that belong to an order that is supersensible or supernatural. Ever ready to acknowledge the assistance afforded by philosophy and revealed truth; to recognize the light they throw on the many complicated questions which arise in the study of nature, they yet always have before them the lines of demarcation separating the sciences based on induction from those that repose on the firmer and more certain bases of reason and faith.

It has been such men, working in accordance with the principles indicated, that have given to the world the precious deposit of science it now possesses, and it is one of the glories of the Church that she can point to all the great masters of true science as those who, if not in every instance within her pale, were trained in accordance with her teachings and were ever, directly or indirectly, under her influence. She has always counted, and still counts, among her children the most eminent representatives of every department of science. Wherever there is question of original, practical work as distinguished from distracting, fickle theorizing, her children are the first to respond to the call.

But, as a rule, this is a kind of work of which the world hears little or nothing. There is nothing sensational about it; nothing that, as a rule, will secure fame, much less notoriety, for those who engage in it. It has not about it that glamour of novelty, that fascination of presentation which so captivates the superficial multitude in the speculations of Darwin, Huxley, Tyndal, Haeckel and others of their school. It is, however, just such work as is accomplished by these quiet, unassuming laborers in the fields of science that is appropriated for the construction of the various new-fangled hypotheses of which we hear so much.

And here, indeed, lies the great distinction between the two classes of scientists of whom we have been speaking. Those who are directly or indirectly under the influence of the Church are eminently practical men—men of fact, of patient research, of rigid demonstration; men who will accept nothing as science that is not proven and will entertain nothing as scientifically possible that contravenes any of the acknowledged truths of philosophy or revelation. Those, however, who boast of being free-thinkers—who are intellectually the lineal descendents of the proud, independent, self-sufficient spirits of the apostacy of the sixteenth century—the agnostics, materialists and atheists, to whom we have referred during the course of this article, are men who instinctively prefer, whatever they may aver to the contrary, fancy to fact, hypothesis to demonstration, theory to positive science. They are, in a word, men who wish to have a world without a God, and they bend all their energies to devise plausible arguments to deceive themselves and those who, like themselves, are seeking for some pretext for

being deceived. Only on this assumption can we account for the amazing popularity of the anti-religious theories of certain modern scientists who, in reality, have nothing to offer except simple negation of all that is grand and noble in religion and philosophy.

"By their fruits ye shall know them." We may compare the representatives of the two schools—the Catholic and non-Catholic, the Christian and the anti-Christian—and we shall find that even in those departments of science in which the latter boast of having accomplished so much it is to the former that justice must decree the award for meritorious work. Instances that prove the truth of this assertion abound in every period of the history of science.

Among some of the many who are now distinguished, or who in recent years have been distinguished, for their eminence in science, and for their loyalty to Holy Church, may be mentioned Leverrier, Faye, and Fathers Secchi, Denza, Ferrari, and Perry, among astronomers; the brothers Tulasne, among botanists; Barande, Dumont, d'Homalibus, d'Halloy, and de Lapparent, among geologists; Barf, Dumas, Berthelot, and Chevreul, among chemists; Chasles, Pussieux, and Cauchy, among mathematicians; General Newton, and Count de Lesseps, among engineers; Schwann, Johannes Müller, St. George Mivart, Claude Bernard, Canon Carnoy, Van Beneden, de Quaterfages, and Pasteur, among zoölogists and comparative anatomists. These illustrious men, faithful sons of the Church, and deserving well of science, have simply kept the traditions of their eminent predecessors in similar departments of science.

And what has been said of those just enumerated can also be said of many distinguished Christian scientists who, nominally without the fold of the Church, have never strayed far away from her benign influence. Among the numbers who, during the last quarter of a century, have added lustre to science, and borne witness to the truth of Christian teaching, we may count the names of James Clerk Maxwell, Gabriel Stokes, P. G. Tait, Sir William Thompson, Asa Gray, J. D. Dana, Joseph Henry, Sir David Brewster, Dr. Whewell, Adam Sedgwick, Sir Roderick Murchison, E. Hitchcock, Sir John Herschell, and Michael Faraday. And should we wish to go back further, we should find such men as Sir Isaac Newton, Cuvier, Euler, Leibnitz, Linnæus, Kepler, Hugh Miller, Davy, Volta, Galvani, Ampere, Oerstedt, Pascal, Descartes, and a host of others, scarcely inferior to them in genius and the extent of their attainments, who were as staunch defenders of revealed truth as they were valiant champions of science.

The Church, then, does not impede the progress of science. Her influence has not been of that blighting sort that her enemies are so fond of ascribing to her. On the contrary, the names men-

tioned—and it were easy to increase the list—are sufficient evidence of the falsity of the charge. Her standing in the scientific world to-day, represented, as she is, by the most brilliant minds in every department of human thought; her past history in reference to the development of science; and the fostering care which she has always bestowed upon those who devoted themselves to the study of nature, are an irrefragable argument for the validity of the position she has ever assumed, and still maintains, respecting the relations of the science of nature to reason and revelation.

We have already seen what has been the outcome, in their bearing on science, of the principles adopted and promulgated by the so-called reformers of the sixteenth century. The principles of Luther and Calvin and Zuinglius and Bucer have been carried out to their logical consequences by their followers, and we have to-day, as their representatives and lineal descendants in Germany, the Hæckels, the Voghts, the Büchners, the Strauses, the Schmidts, the Schopenhauers, and their legions of co-laborers and sympathizers. In France, the teachings of the Reformation are to be seen in the works of such authors as Renan, Madame Royer, and Paul Bert; and in England in the productions of Spencer, Darwin, Huxley, and Tyndall.

Yet, notwithstanding all the evidence to the contrary, a certain class of writers still indulge in the fancy of referring to the Reformation as the one great event in the world's history that liberated mankind from the intellectual thralldom with which it had so long been oppressed by the Church of Rome. Science, they tell us, was then given free scope, something it never had in the past, and men of science rejoiced in a liberty that they had long sighed for, but had never known before. We have seen what are now the fruits of this liberty—a liberty that means materialism of the rankest kind, and atheism of the most pronounced character.

But was science given the free scope about which there has been so much boasting? Were men of science encouraged, and did the Reformation contribute to the advancement of science? This is a question of history, and to history we appeal for an answer.

We may quote, as authority, one who has always shown himself specially inimical to the Church, and whose testimony, therefore, cannot be called in question by his fellow anti-Catholics. We refer to J. W. Draper. In his "*History of the Conflict between Science and Religion*,"—a conflict, by the way, that has never existed, so far as the Church is concerned—the author in speaking of the effect of the Reformation on scientific development, says:

"Luther declared that the study of Aristotle is wholly useless; his vilification of the Greek philosopher knew no bounds. 'He is,' says Luther, 'truly a devil, a horrid calumniator, a wicked sycophant, a prince of darkness, a real Apollyon, a beast,

a most horrid impostor on mankind, one in whom there is scarcely any philosophy, a public and professed liar, a goat, a complete epicure, this twice execrable Aristotle.' The schoolmen were, as Luther said, 'locusts, caterpillars, frogs, lice.' He entertained an abhorrence of them. These opinions, though not so emphatically expressed, were entertained by Calvin. *So far as science is concerned, nothing is owed to the Reformation.*"¹

When Luther comes to speak of universities and schools, his language is nothing short of the ravings of demoniac frenzy. Any one who will take the trouble to consult any of the earlier editions of his complete works—the later editions are more or less expurgated—can verify for himself the accuracy of this statement.

"Universities," according to Luther, "are dens of robbers, temples of Moloch, synagogues of perdition. All high schools," said he, "should be razed to the ground. Nothing more infernal or more diabolical, has ever come, or ever will come, upon the earth." He regarded them as the works of the devil, and said "that, during the reign of the popes, the devil spread his nets to catch the souls of men, by the erection of schools and convents."

But let us come to facts and figures bearing on the influence of the preaching of Luther and his coadjutors on the study and progress of science.

The dean of the philosophical faculty of the University of Erfurt, in an official report for the year 1523, says that

"No one, living before our day, would have believed it, if it had been foretold to him that, in a short time, our universities would have fallen so low—as they have fallen—that there would scarcely remain a shadow of their former glory. The subject of the University is so treated in the pulpits of the Reformers, that there is scarcely anything connected with it which, erstwhile, was held in estimation, that is not now condemned."²

From year to year, after the introduction of the Reformation, the number of teachers and students at Erfurt rapidly decreased. More than this, it soon became difficult to find proper persons who cared to accept a position in any capacity either in this or other universities or schools.

The number of students matriculated at Erfurt from 1520 to 1521 was 311. In the following year, the number sank to 120; in 1522 it fell to 72, and in the year 1523-4 there remained only 34.

The fate of Wittenberg was the same as that of Erfurt. Melancthon, the least vandalic of the Reformers, and the one who displayed the greatest love of learning, does not hesitate in his confidential correspondence to attribute the decline of science and

¹ Page 215.

² For the quotations here made, see the admirable *Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters*, von Johannes Janssen, Band 2, p. 294, et seq.

the contempt in which studies of all kinds were held, to the Reformed theologians. He declares "that the age has become an age of iron, that the sciences are neglected and despised," and that he despairs of any revival in their behalf.

The universities of Northern Germany, as Leipzig and Rostock, fared no better. In Rostock which, before the Reformation, counted full 300 students, the number in 1524 had dwindled down to 38, and in the year following the roll-call was responded to by only 15.

The same sad picture was presented in South Germany and Switzerland, and notably at Heidelberg, Friburg and Basle. "The University seems dead and buried," was the wail that went out from Basle in 1524. "The rostrums of professors and the benches of students are empty." In the year 1522 it could count only 29 students, and in the year 1526 the number enrolled was 5.

Heidelberg, in 1525, numbered more professors than students. "I have now only six students, and these are French." Thus wrote from Freiburg, in 1523, the most celebrated professor of jurisprudence of his age, Ulrich Zasius.

Under the Emperor Maximilian I. the University of Vienna had attained to the rank of one of the most celebrated institutions of learning in Europe. It then counted its professors by the hundred, and frequently had a yearly attendance of 7000 students. But this happy condition of things was soon to undergo a melancholy change. In consequence of the religious disturbances, and social disorder induced by the Reformation, matters shortly came to such a pass that the attendance was reduced to scarcely a dozen, and the lecture-halls of the law-faculty had to be closed for want of students.

What has been said of the universities mentioned, may, to a greater or less extent, be said of all the educational institutions, where the Reformation was able to gain a foothold. It had the same blighting effect in Holland as it had in Germany and Switzerland. The decline of science and letters followed its entrance into Scandinavia, and a protracted period of scientific drought was consequent on its introduction into England and Scotland.

"There is," said Erasmus, "a dearth of letters, wherever Lutheranism reigns." This sect dissuaded students from taking degrees and endeavored by every means in its power to divert the attention of youth from the pursuit of science and the higher branches of knowledge. "Booksellers," observes the same writer, "declare that they could more easily sell three thousand books before the introduction of the new gospel, than they could dispose of six hundred after it."

"Under the pretext of the Gospel," writes in the year 1521 the

humanist, Cobanus Hessus, "the reformers here suppress entirely the liberal arts. By their pernicious teaching they snatch from the nobler studies all the regard which is due them, in order that they may palm off on the world their ravings as so much wisdom. Our school is deserted; we are held in contempt."

"So deep are we sunken," complained the noted scholar, Camerarius to a friend, "that there is left to us only a memory of our former good fortune; the hope of ever enjoying it again, is entirely dissipated."

"To what an issue have the sciences come?" wrote Nossen, another contemporary of the Reformers. "No one witnesses without tears, how all ardor for science and virtue has disappeared." And thus continued this calamitous state of affairs during the long and troublous years that witnessed, in the countries named, the dissemination of the baneful doctrines of the "New Gospel." Had it not been for the latent spirit of the Church, which, in spite of the ban under which it was placed, still continued to exert an influence for good, and which, finally, enabled the better nature of those who had so long lain in a state of thralldom to reassert itself, a great portion of what had been Christian Europe, would have reverted to barbarism and paganism. The Reformation—contrary to what is so often proclaimed—did not mean progress; it meant regress; and regress was prevented by that very body, and by it alone, against which the Reformers fought so vigorously and persistently, the Church of Rome.

With truth, then, does the illustrious German writer, Dr. Hettenger declare that "It is a fact that Protestantism checked the development of science for centuries." And any one who wishes to acquaint himself with the evidence bearing on the case need not go far in search of it. The erudite and conscientious Janssen, in his great work on the "History of the German People," and the learned Dr. Döllinger in his exhaustive work on "The Reformation," not to mention other eminent authors, will supply the searcher after truth with all the data and witnesses he may need to form a just estimate of the Reformers, their doings and their influence on scientific progress. No one, it may safely be asserted, who carefully, and with an unprejudiced mind, reads the works just mentioned, can come to any other conclusion than that reached by the well-known Apologist, Dr. Hettenger, in the words just quoted, viz., that it is a fact which cannot be gainsaid, that the Reformation retarded the development of science, and retarded it, not for a few years only, nor for a few generations, but, "for centuries."

But the Reformation impeded the progress of sciences in more ways than one. Not only were its principles inimical to science,

not only did the Reformers discountenance and discourage the study of nature, as being something that was antagonistic to faith and piety, but, in their blind fanaticism, they went so far as to make those who devoted themselves to scientific pursuits the objects of obloquy and persecution. This may sound strange to those who have been wont to believe that liberty—moral and intellectual—was what was claimed and what was gained for our race by the Reformation. There are, however, no facts in history better authenticated than are those instances of intolerance and persecution, persistent and systematic, by the Reformers and their descendants, of men of science, on account of their researches and discoveries. It is a fact that does not admit of question that the spirit of the Reformation, not only in its incipient stage, but in every subsequent period of its history, including our own time, is a spirit of persecution, not only in matters religious, social and political, but equally so in matters intellectual and scientific.

Hallam in his "Constitutional History of England" declares that "Persecution is the deadly original sin of the Reformed Churches, that which cools every honest man's zeal for their cause in proportion as his reading becomes more extensive." This statement, however, is mild in comparison with the opinion of the historian, Lecky. He does not hesitate to say that

"Persecution among the early Protestants was a distinct and definite doctrine, digested into elaborate treatises, indissolubly connected with a large portion of the received theology, developed by the most enlightened and far-seeing theologians, and enforced against the most inoffensive as against the most formidable sects. It was the doctrine of the palmiest days of Protestantism. It was taught by those who are justly esteemed the greatest of its leaders. It was manifested most clearly in those classes which were most deeply imbued with its domestic teaching."¹

"When," says Draper, in the work quoted, the "Royal Society of London was founded [Protestant], theological odium was directed against it with so much rancor that, doubtless, it would have been extinguished, had not King Charles II. given it his open and avowed support."²

What a striking contrast between the circumstances attending the foundation of this society and those connected with the incorporation of similar scientific societies in Catholic countries like France and Italy! In these latter countries several societies that have deserved well of science were founded long before the Royal Society of London was thought of, and the first to encourage and protect, if not to join these societies, were eminent dignitaries of the Church.

The first president of the French Academy of Sciences was a

¹ *Rationalism in Europe*, vol. ii., p. 61.

² P. 307.

Catholic priest, the celebrated astronomer, Jean Picard. Subsequently, the *Journal des Savants* was founded by another priest, Jean Paul Bignon, who was also the president of the Academy. During the course of the eighteenth century the presidential chair of this learned body was filled by no less than twenty-six ecclesiastics, and its most learned and most active correspondents, not only in Europe but in other parts of the world, were churchmen.

When the calendar, now in use in all civilized nations, was promulgated by Gregory XIII, in 1582, it met with the most violent opposition on the part of the Protestant nations of Europe. It was not introduced into England until 1752, when the Royal Society took the matter in hand, and induced Parliament to pass a law prescribing the new calendar. But the members of the Society who were chiefly instrumental in effecting the change found that they had raised a storm about them which it would be difficult to quell. Some of "The Fellows," says Draper, "were pursued through the streets by an ignorant and infuriated mob who believed it"—the Society—"had robbed them of eleven days of their lives; it was found necessary to conceal the name of Father Walmesley, a learned Jesuit; and, Bradley happening to die during the commotion, it was declared that he had suffered a judgment from heaven for his crime."¹ The people of England preferred, it has been said, to be at war with the heavens to being at peace with the Pope,—the only one capable, to borrow an idea from the learned Jesuit, Petavius, of propping up the falling year, of giving it completeness and security, and, what the ancients had no idea of, endowing it with perpetuity and constancy.

In Germany, the Gregorian calendar was not wholly adopted until 1774. The Protestant theologians of Tübingen strongly opposed it, and declared that its acceptance would be tantamount to an encouragement of impiety and Popery.

"We hold the Pope," said they, "to be a horrible, roaring lion. If we take his calendar, we must needs go into the Church when he rings us in." "Shall we, then," they continued, "have communion with Antichrist? What is there in common with Christ and Belial? If he succeed, under cover of imperial authority, in forcing his calendar upon us, he will soon lead us by the nose, and it will be impossible for us to defend ourselves from his tyranny in the Church of God. Thus will he lord it over us, and do with us as he pleases. Besides, of what good is the new calendar? There is not a second deluge to fear; and summer will not come either sooner or later; and even if the time of the equinoxes should be slightly changed, there will be no husbandman dolt enough to send reapers into the fields at Pentecost, or vintagers into the vineyards on the feast of St. James. The whole thing is simply a pretext of those in league with the Pope. This Satan has been expelled from the Christian Church, and we do not wish to have him steal in again."²

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 308.

² *Les Savants Illustres* du XVI. et du XVII. siècle, par C. A. Valson, Paris—Vie de Kepler, p. 104.

But the opposition to the calendar was not confined to the ignorant populace, or to antagonistic theologians. Even those whose scientific attainments rendered evident to them the truth of the new method of reckoning, allowed themselves to be carried away by their prejudices. "With them," in the words of Hallam, "truth was no truth when promulgated by the Pope," and they long obstinately refused to receive from the Court of Rome a truth which, according to the saying of Voltaire, "they would have accepted from the Grand Turk, if he had proposed it."

In Russia, for reasons similar to those recited in the case of Germany, the Gregorian calendar has never been introduced. That country still retains the old calendar of Julius Cæsar, and "prefers to disagree with nature rather than be in accord with the ruler of the Church of Rome."

Let us, however, come more specifically to the persecution of individuals. The enemies of the Church had, until recently, been fond of bringing up the case of Galileo, as a "martyr of science," but, in the light of recent research on this subject, they have been forced to drop the case as being without foundation in fact. The truth is, that all the martyrs of science, and there have been many, have met their persecutors, and their executioners, outside of the Church. All the Galileos that authentic history tells us of, all those who have suffered for the cause of science, were those, and those only, who were brought before the tribunal of the Reformation, or who were persecuted at the instigation of men who were the upholders of principles which the Reformation endorsed and promulgated.

We have a striking instance in the case of the great astronomer Kepler. He was banished from his home by the Reformed theologians of Tübingen, who heartily hated him because he had the courage of his convictions and because he dared to speak in favor of the Copernican theory and the Gregorian calendar, against which his co-religionists so vigorously and so fanatically protested. Not only was he banished, but, during his whole life, he was made an object of persecution on the part of the Reformed theologians of Germany. The only ones that recognized his transcendent genius and the only ones that assisted him in the hour of need, the only ones that he could call his friends and who always proved themselves such—and this in spite of his religious opinions—were the Jesuits and the Catholic rulers of Catholic Austria, the country in which, after his banishment from his native land, he spent the greater portion of his life. Among those who specially befriended Kepler were Father Christopher Schreiner, S. J., a learned mathematician and astronomer, who claims with Galileo the honor of having discovered the spots on the sun, and Father Cysatus,

S. J., who took charge of printing, at Ingolstadt, the first works of the immortal discoverer of the three grand laws of planetary movement.¹

A portion of Kepler's life was spent in Prague, where he worked in conjunction with Tycho Brahe, the illustrious Danish astronomer. Tycho Brahe, like Kepler, is another "martyr of science," and, like Kepler, was driven from his own country and found friends and patrons only among those whom certain writers would have us believe must have been his greatest enemies—the Catholic rulers and ecclesiastics of his time. The distinguished Dane had erected in the land of his birth what was undoubtedly the most complete observatory of the time. He had spent full two hundred thousand dollars—an immense fortune at that time—on buildings and instruments, and by their means had enriched astronomy with the most extensive and accurate observations until then known, and which, of themselves, would have placed Tycho among the greatest of astronomers. It was by means of these same observations that Kepler was able to make his brilliant discoveries and that the way was paved for the brilliant achievements of Newton and others, scarcely less renowned. But, notwithstanding Tycho's many titles to honor and reward, he was forced by Christian IV.—the leader of the Protestant armies in the Thirty Years' war—and his underlings to leave his beautiful Uraniburg, the name he had given to his observatory; and this was in consequence of the report of the government commission which declared "that the studies of Tycho were of no value, and that they were not only useless, but noxious."²

But, not content with driving the great astronomer from the scene of his priceless labors, his ruthless enemies would not rest until they had razed the magnificent observatory of Uraniburg to the ground and had destroyed all the instruments that Tycho had been unable to take with him when he left the country. So complete was the work of destruction that a traveller, visiting the site of the observatory not long after, sums up what he saw in one sentence: "There is in the island"—the island of Huen, between Denmark and Sweden—"a field where Uraniburg was."

Kepler and Tycho Brahe, however, were not exceptional victims of persecution and fanaticism. Their renowned contemporary, the greatest genius of his age and one of the greatest geniuses of any age, and a devout Catholic, René Descartes, was another conspicuous object against which were directed the envenomed shafts of ignorance and intolerance. "When Descartes," we again quote

¹ Vie de Kepler, *op cit.*, p. III.

² See *Martyrs of Science*, by Sir David Brewster, p. 157, and Vie de Tycho Brahe, par C. A. Valson.

from Leckey, "went to Holland the Reformed clergy directed against him all the force of their animosity, and by the accusation of atheism they endeavored to stir up the civil power against the author of the most sublime of all modern proofs of the existence of the Deity."¹

But we have an instance of more systematic persecution, a case in which even history, as far as might be, has contributed to detract from, or, rather, remain silent regarding, the merits of one of the most gifted, and original, and successful investigators that England has ever produced. We refer to the second Marquis of Worcester, the inventor of the steam-engine. Savery and Newcomen, and notably James Watt, are usually spoken of as the inventors of the steam-engine, but if there is one chapter in history which, more than another, needs to be rewritten, it is the one which refers to the steam-engine and its inventor. To any one who has made a thorough and unbiased examination of the subject, he can have no doubt that Watt, and Newcomen, and Savery have long worn the laurels that have all along belonged to the Marquis of Worcester. It is a simple matter of record that the Marquis of Worcester invented a practical, working steam-engine; that he had it in operation in London for years, and that he had received a patent for it from Parliament over a hundred years before Watt was granted his first patent.

The Marquis was fully aware of the value of his invention, as he tells us in the only work of his that has been spared to us, his "Century of Inventions," and made for years every possible effort to bring his "semi-omnipotent engine," as he loved to call it, to the notice of his countrymen. But his efforts were unavailing. Learned travellers from France and Italy, among others the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Cosmo de Medici, called to see his engine and workshop, and had only words of praise and admiration for what they saw. But the learned men of England were unable or unwilling to show any appreciation of the most important mechanical contrivance of the greatest inventive genius of his own or of any age. The members of the Royal Society talked of the engine of the noble Marquis only that they might sneer at it. Dr. Robert Hooke, one of its members, went to see it only in order that he might—we use his own words—"laugh at it." "As far as I was able to see it," he writes, "it seemed one of the perpetual motion fallacies."

The secretaries and historians of the Royal Society make no mention of an invention with which, it is certain, they were acquainted, for it had been discussed in public meetings of this body.

¹ *Rationalism in Europe*, vol. ii., p. 50.

On the contrary, a studied silence is observed whenever there is question of the noble Marquis and his marvellous invention; a silence, which—barring a few depreciatory notices given at intervals by odd writers—continued until the publication, a few years ago, by Henry Dircks, Esq., of his masterly work on “*The Life, Times and Scientific Labors of the Second Marquis of Worcester.*” In this masterpiece of industry and patient research, the learned author clears up the mystery that has so long enveloped the life of the illustrious inventor, and shows why he was treated with such indifference during life, and why so little had been said of him since his death. He shows us how, “in scientific acquirements,” the Marquis of Worcester “stood grandly alone,” and tells us how he proved himself “one of the most extraordinary mechanical geniuses of the seventeenth, or any preceding century.” But, notwithstanding all this,

“He was neither understood nor appreciated in his own day, . . . while the influence of combined prejudice and ignorance served further to obstruct his rising in public estimation. The Marquis besides was a hundred years in advance of his time. He lived in an ‘age which burned and drowned so-called witches, which believed in the transmutation of base metals into gold, put faith in the curative effect of sympathetic powders, and the king’s touch for bodily distempers, saw portents in meteoric phenomena, and considered astrology as sound science.’ Books and pamphlets were constantly being published filled with mysticism, gravely recording day-dreams of fanatics and impostors, and letters lent their aid to promulgate such fables; yet here was a new agent at work—the steam engine of the Marquis, of such potent power that its like had never been seen, which, nevertheless, men saw, heard and listened to in dumb astonishment, with the infantile simplicity of the poor Indian, ignorant of the value of gold or diamonds strewn in his path.”¹

But, what, at bottom, was the cause of the unparalleled persecution of which the noble Marquis was so long made the object? Ignorance, jealousy, prejudice do not afford an explanation of the ridicule heaped on the great inventor during life, and the studied silence that has been guarded concerning him and his work for upwards of two centuries. The light of true history, which has at length been thrown upon the life of this remarkable man, explains what would otherwise remain an inexplicable paradox.

The Marquis of Worcester belonged to a hated and a proscribed people. He was a Roman Catholic.

In the brief notice of the Marquis in his “*History of England*,” Lord Macaulay, speaking of the work of the great inventor says, with no less point than truth, “But the Marquis was suspected to be a madman, and known to be a Papist. His inventions, therefore, found no favorable reception.”²

¹ *The Life, Times and Scientific Labors of the Second Marquis of Worcester, to Which is Added a Reprint of his Century of Inventions, 1663, With a Commentary Thereon.* By Henry Dircks, Esq. London: Bernard Quaritch, 1865. P. 339.

² *History of England*, vol. i., p. 408.

The cynical and supercilious Walpole, in his "Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors," in referring to the Marquis of Worcester, displayed his ignorance and bigotry by flippantly observing, "But, perhaps, too much has been said on so fantastic a man; no wonder he believed in transubstantiation, when he believed that he himself could work impossibilities."¹

Did we not have the evidence before us, we could not believe that ignorance, prejudice, bigotry, injustice could go to such lengths. But the facts in this case are undeniable, and the treatment the Marquis of Worcester received at the hands of his countrymen on account of his religious convictions, will ever remain a standing monument to the folly and persecution of a nation that has always been so loud in professions of liberty and enlightenment.

But, it may be said that the case of the Marquis of Worcester is exceptional in England, and that it should not be insisted on so strongly. We could wish that it were so; but history tells us differently. It tells us that the vaunted liberty, promised by the Reformers and their followers, was only a delusion and a snare, and that it has never had any existence in fact, either in England or anywhere else. A few more instances, bearing on this subject,—numberless cases of similar import might be cited,—must suffice to prove to the most skeptical the truth of the position here assumed.

"In 1772," says a Protestant writer, in speaking of the attitude of "Protestant England" towards men of science, "sailed the famous expedition for scientific discovery, under Cook. The greatest, by far, of all the scientific authorities chosen to accompany it, was Dr. Priestly. Sir Joseph Banks had especially invited him; but the clergy of Oxford and Cambridge intervened. Priestly was considered unsound in his views of the Trinity; it was expected that this would vitiate his astronomical observations; he was rejected, and the expedition crippled."²

He also quotes for us authorities who tell us how, in Scotland, at the beginning of this century, the use of fanning-mills for winnowing grain was denounced as contrary to the text: "The wind bloweth where it listeth," and "As leaguering with Satan, who is prince of the powers of the air, and as sufficient cause for excommunication from the Scotch Church."

In referring to the opposition which geologists met with in their investigations, the same writer, reiterating what Sir Charles Lyell had so forcibly stated before him, declares, "that, of all countries, England furnished the most bitter opponents to geology at first, and the most active negotiators in patching up a truce on a basis of sham science afterward."

¹ Quoted by Dircks in his introduction to *The Century of Inventions*, p. 349.

² *The Warfare of Science*, by A. D. White, p. 69.

English churchmen felt called upon to denounce geology as "a dark art," as something which "was not a subject of lawful inquiry," as something that was positively "dangerous and disreputable." And those who devoted themselves to geological research, were regarded as "invading a forbidden province," "as attacking the truth of God," and as "impugners of the Sacred Record." How different the attitude of these men from that of our illustrious Cardinal Wiseman in reference to the subject in question. "The conduct of this pillar of the Roman Catholic Church," says the Protestant writer whom we have been quoting, "contrasts nobly with that of timid Protestants, who were filling England with shrieks and denunciations."

But it is in the science of medicine that we find the most striking instances of ignorance, prejudice and persecution. The lives of Harvey, Jenner, Simpson and other distinguished masters of medical science, show what opposition they had to encounter even when conferring upon poor afflicted humanity the greatest boons in the giving of the healing art. The illustrious Harvey had his house torn down over his head, had his papers and books destroyed, and was so harassed on all sides, that, after making known his discovery of the circulation of the blood, he had not the courage to do further original work.

Those who discovered and introduced inoculation, vaccination and anæsthesia, were made the victims of similar assaults. And those who were the most violent denunciators of these noble benefactors of our race, were precisely those who had set themselves up as teachers of men, and who were, in their time, regarded as the representatives of the Established Church of England. From the pulpit of Canterbury—the seat of the primacy—and that of Cambridge—the stronghold of English science—and from numerous other pulpits also, anathemas without number were hurled against Jenner and Simpson and their co-laborers. They were charged with practices contrary to the law of God, and of introducing methods for preventing or counteracting disease, that were characterized as "diabolical operations," and as attempts to bid "defiance to heaven itself."

The same opposition in Protestant countries was manifested to that wonderful tonic and febrifuge—that most remarkable of specifics—quinine. This valuable drug is one of the constituents of the bark of the Cinchona tree, indigenous to the slopes of the Bolivian and Peruvian Andes. It was first introduced into Europe by the Jesuit missionaries, and, from this circumstance, was long known as Jesuits' bark. In the Catholic countries of Europe,—in Spain, Portugal, France, Italy, especially—the great remedy was received with joy and thanksgiving. But Germany and England

would have naught to do with it. It was looked upon as a dangerous Papal device; as some lethal woorara more potent than the poison of the fabled upas tree, with which the crafty Jesuits and their abettors designed to execute fierce vengeance on their enemies. In England—to such an extent had distrust and fear taken possession of the public mind,—quinine was not accepted as a remedial agent until after the distinguished physician, Sir Roger Talbot, had introduced it under a fictitious name, and had proved its efficacy by numerous and striking cures.

A similar violent opposition was manifested both in England and in our own country against the use of Franklin's wonderful invention—the lightning-rod. It was gravely asserted by the Protestant religious doctors of the day that the lightning-rod disturbed the equilibrium of the elements; and, when in 1775, a severe shock of earthquake was felt, it was at once credited to the diabolical invention of the American philosopher. A Boston preacher even went so far in 1770 as to denounce lightning-rods as “impious contrivances to prevent the execution of the wrath of heaven.”

And all this was during the time that several eminent ecclesiastics, in France, Spain, and Italy, were making special efforts by their writings and experiments to make known the merits of Franklin's remarkable invention, and have it brought into general use. The famous Abbé Nollet lectured on the subject in Paris; the Abbé Mazeas made experiments connected with the same matter at the Chateau de Maintenon, while their compatriot, the learned Father Paulians, distinguished himself both by writings and inventions in the field of electricity. During this time the Abbé Toaldo and other ecclesiastics, in Austria and elsewhere, were at work showing the practical application of Franklin's invention, and urging its adoption.¹

As a matter of fact, the first lightning-rods used in Austria were put up under the direction of Abbé Toaldo. What has been said of the ecclesiastics just mentioned, may be reiterated regarding Fathers Bartear and Berand, the Abbés Berthelon and Poncelet, and others of their confrères in religion, whose investigations and experiments contributed not a little towards the dissemination and development of knowledge concerning the then mysterious phenomena of atmospheric electricity.

But why multiply examples? It were easy to adduce other instances similar to those given, but it is unnecessary. Those just referred to are abundantly sufficient to substantiate all that has

¹ See *Histoire de la Physique*, par Ferdinand Hoeffer, chap. iv., and *Contestacion a la Historia del Conflicto entre la Religion y la Ciencia*, de Juan Guillerino Draper, por el P. Fr. Tomas Camara, Valladolid, 1880, cap. xi., sec. ii.

been said regarding the illiberal and intolerant principles that have ever characterized the Reformers and their successors, and show, alas! too clearly, that the spirit of persecution which Luther and his colleagues let loose nearly four centuries ago is still dominant, wherever it is in a position to exercise its power.

The same spirit that moved Calvin to burn Servetus at the stake, impelled the brutal mob to guillotine the illustrious chemist Lavoisier, and provoked the infamous Dumas—then president of the revolutionary tribunal—to declare that “the republic has no need of chemists.” It was the same spirit, too, that persecuted Harvey, that destroyed his property, and forced him to desist from making many contemplated contributions to science.

And Harvey must have noticed the contrast that impresses itself so forcibly on ourselves, although such distant spectators of occurrences that so closely concerned him. In Italy, almost under the shadow of the Vatican, he quietly, under the direction of his distinguished master, Fabricius of Aquapendente, pursued those researches that have made him famous, and there under the eye of the Popes he met with that appreciation, and received that encouragement, that was denied him in his own country, until it was forced by very shame to recognize his ability, and give him the credit which was so richly his due. But Harvey's case is not an exceptional one.

While the Reformers of Germany under Luther, of Switzerland under Calvin, of Scotland under John Knox, of England under Henry VIII., were carrying on their work of destruction, and burning at the stake all those who dared to differ from them, the sons of Holy Church, headed by learned Religious of various Orders—the Jesuits, the Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Benedictines, and others, were carrying on the work of scientific research and discovery in the various departments of science, in every part of the Old and of the New World. They occupied, not only the foremost places in the lecture halls and laboratories and observatories of Europe, but were equally distinguished in the Orient, and in the newly discovered lands of America. Not only as zealous evangelists, but as scientists, they were to be found in the palace of Peking, instructing the learned men of the Celestial Empire in the science of astronomy, while awaiting an opportunity to impart to them a knowledge of the Gospel of Peace. And, whilst traversing the plains of Tartary and the steppes of Siberia, and feeling their way through the jungles of India, they ever showed themselves as much devoted students of nature as they were always zealous ministers of the Word. And so, too, was it when pushing forward through the snows of Canada, or wending their way through the forests or over the prairies of what is now known as the United

States. And the same was it, likewise, when they conducted those marvellous explorations that have made them famous the world over, when they were carrying on the work of discovery connected with our great lakes and rivers ; when they were making surveys of the abysmal cañons of our boundless West ; when they were reconnoitering the table-lands of Mexico, and the pampas of South America ; when they were penetrating the dark defiles and climbing the steep declivities of the Andes and the Cordilleras ; when they were carrying the banner of the Cross to the isles of the Pacific, and bearing it in triumph to the heart of the " Dark Continent." Everywhere they were recognized, not only as the messengers of the good tidings of the Gospel, but as reverent and industrious investigators of the wonderful works of God ; of works which they were the first of civilized men to behold, and the first to make known to the learned of the Old World. It was thus that, until comparatively recent times, the knowledge that was possessed of the flora and fauna, of the languages and races of men, of the topography and civilization of the world, was obtained through those who are so often characterized as being indifferent to, if not opposed to, the advancement of natural knowledge.

There is scarcely a museum in Europe that is not more or less indebted to these same indefatigable missionaries for some of its most precious collections. The archives of the various academies and learned societies, filled as they are with their communications, memoirs and *relaciones* on almost every branch of human knowledge, testify in the most conclusive manner to their tireless activity and to their intelligent and well-directed methods of research:

And what these studious and accomplished missionaries did for the museums and learned societies of Europe they did for its botanical gardens, and for agriculture and horticulture. It is simply a matter of botanical history that the most useful vegetable products, now so extensively used for food, medicine and as articles of luxury, and the most prized plants and herbs, now the ornaments of our gardens and conservatories, were brought to the knowledge of the people of the Old World by the priests and monks, who were sent to evangelize the peoples of the distant lands of America, Asia, Africa and Polynesia.

The poet-priest Martin del Barco was the first to describe the flora of Paraguay and the first to bring to the notice of Europeans the beautiful Passion Flower, a plant that has since been introduced into every part of the civilized world. A knowledge of the Cochineal cactus and the insect found on it, of Tolu balm, of the Agave plant and other wonders of vegetation is due to Father F. Lopez de Gomara.¹

¹ *Histoire de la Botanique*, par Ferdinand Hoeffer, Paris, livre iii.

But it is unnecessary to go into details. Were we to do so it would be tantamount to giving whole chapters of the history of botanical science. It may, however, be said, in this connection, that not a little of the reputation of the English botanist, Ray, rests on his description of floral collections sent by Catholic missionaries from America. But the one who was best able to appreciate the value of the contributions made by these missionaries to the science of botany was the very one who was ever ready to acknowledge the debt that was due them. He was no other than the illustrious botanist, Carl von Linnæus.

In order that we may more fully realize how much has been done by ecclesiastics, not in any one department only, but in every branch of knowledge, we may take as an illustration the manifold contributions, on every subject, they have made regarding the history, products, language, antiquities and people of Mexico. To such an extent are modern investigators indebted to ecclesiastics respecting what is known of the past history of this interesting country, that it would be scarcely too much to say that if we were to eliminate what they have done there would be little more for the historian to consult than myths and the fictions of his own imagination.

Father Antonio de Solis, the distinguished Spanish historiographer, gives us the first readable and reliable history of Mexico as it was at the time of the conquest. Las Casas, a Dominican, offers us a more detailed account of the country and its inhabitants as they were seen by Cortez and his gallant band. Clavigero, a Jesuit, spent thirty-six years in collecting and collating materials for his great work, the "*Storia Antica del Messico*." He mingled with the people, inquired into their traditions, studied their languages, examined their monuments, manuscripts and paintings, and carried his arduous undertaking to a more successful issue than any one who had preceded or who has succeeded him in the same fertile field of inquiry. Of the learned French archæologist, Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, scarcely less can be said than what has been declared of Clavigero. His works on Mexico, especially on Yucatan, are more voluminous, and more thorough, and have thrown more light on many disputed points of Mexican history than any similar productions of modern times. Indeed, one can say without any fear of being contradicted, that had it not been for the writings and researches of the illustrious authors just mentioned, and others of their brethren, Prescott would never have thought of his "*Conquest of Mexico*" and Humboldt would never have attempted his masterly "*Vues de Cordilleres*" or his "*Essai Politique sur le Royaume de la Nouvelle Espagne*." Both of these distinguished writers are constantly obliged to refer to the authori-

ties just mentioned—except Brasseur de Bourbourg, who comes long after them—and Humboldt, particularly, is frequently forced to admit the accuracy of their accounts and to bear testimony to their indispensableness in the preparation of his own works.

Let these instances suffice. It were easy to adduce many others of similar purport. But the ones given may serve as types of the others, and will confirm what has been so strongly insisted on during the course of this article, viz., the eminently practical character of the work accomplished in the various departments of science by the sons of Holy Church, and by those, who, although outside of her pale, have always been, more or less, under her influence, and who owe to her inspiration, most, if not all, of the success they have achieved in the study of nature.

The examples cited will also show how much of the science usually ascribed to certain lauded professors and much over-rated naturalists, men who should be known rather for their professions of irreligion than for their scientific achievements, is in reality due to those quiet, persevering, successful workers, whose names scarcely ever reach the public ear, but who, in every instance, are the ones, and the only ones, who have laid the foundations, broad and deep, of the beautiful structure of science. Your modern scientific theorizers who are so much talked about, your scores of scientific speculators, to whom an ignorant public still attributes all the advance made in the natural and physical sciences, are simply so many parasites that live on the labors and the discoveries of others; men, who appropriating the observations of the thousands of reverent minds who in their study of nature never fail to see nature's God, work these same observations into the warp and woof of their fantastic and godless theories; men who spend their lives in day-dreams, and in imagining, no less than the benighted multitude that renders them homage, that their useless hypotheses are, and must be, accepted as so much veritable science.

The illustrious Catholic chemist, J. B. Dumas, in speaking of this subject, pertinently observes that

“ People who only exploit the discoveries of others, and who never make any themselves, greatly exaggerate their importance, because they have never run against the mysteries of religion which have checked real savants. Hence their irreligion and their infatuation. It is quite different with people who have made discoveries themselves. They know, by experience, how limited their field is, and they find themselves at every step arrested by the incomprehensible. Hence their religion and their modesty. Faith and respect for mysteries is easy for them. The more progress they make in science, the more they are confounded by the Infinite.”

The history of all genuine science demonstrates the truth of these observations. Every Catholic, every Christian, scientist is a living example of their accuracy. All the great scientists of the

world have been, are, and ever must be, men of faith, men of religious instincts, men who have felt on them the spell of Christian teaching.

"Unless," says Cardinal Manning, "men of science, the Atomists and the Dynamists ascend to the Creator and see Him in all atoms, and forces, and points, as the sole intelligible reason of the Cosmos, they speak but half-truths, which the reason rejects as inadequate."

It is, then, a mistake to suppose, as is popularly imagined, that the eminent scientists of the world, it matters not to what age they may have belonged, have been men without faith, without religion. On the contrary, they have all been God-fearing, God-serving men.

The famous mathematician, Euler, was always conspicuous for the love and veneration which he ever cherished for the Sacred Scriptures.

"The day is near at hand," writes Kepler, "when one will know the truth in the book of nature as in the Holy Scriptures, and when one will rejoice in the harmony of both revelations."

Sir Isaac Newton, whose modesty was equaled only by the magnitude of his discoveries, was so impressed with his own littleness in the contemplation of the wonderful works of God, that he declared, a short time before his death: "I seem to have been only like a boy playing on the seashore, and diverting myself in, now and then, finding a smoother pebble or a prettier shell than ordinary, while the great ocean of truth lay all undiscovered before me."¹

"The true chemist," observes the illustrious Sir Humphrey Davy, "sees God in all the manifold forms of the external world."

The great Linnæus exclaimed, in a spirit of rapture: "I have traced God's footprints in the works of His creation, and in all of them, even in the least, and in those that border on nothingness, what power, what wisdom, what ineffable perfection!"

"As astronomy," declares the distinguished savant, J. Mædler, "comes from heaven, so does she show herself worthy of such an origin. She claims on her side a knowledge of God, while she unfolds truths that make us acquainted with His great works, and unfolds laws, which bear the name of laws of nature, and with right, not because nature has given laws to herself, but because God has written them out for her."

And to the witnesses just quoted, may be added the testimony of one who has most deeply penetrated the many mysteries that

¹ *The Life of Sir Isaac Newton*, by David Brewster, New York, Harper, 1831, p. 301.

ever present themselves to the student of nature, and who, by a life of profound study and fruitful research, was specially prepared to appreciate the utter worthlessness of the numerous theories that are sprung upon the world in the name of philosophy and science. We would refer to the eminent physicist and mathematician, the late James Clerk Maxwell. "I have," he observes, "looked into most philosophical systems, and I have seen none that will work without a God."

No, it is not true,—let us repeat it,—it is not true, that the great scientists of the world have been atheists, or men of irreligious bias. Their writings and their lives prove the contrary. They have been Catholics, or men who have ever been under the benign and inspiring influence of Catholic teaching. From Leonardo da Vinci, and Copernicus, and Galileo, and Pascal and Descartes, all devoted Catholics, to Volta, Ampere and Galvani, their co-religionists, and down to Father Secchi, Barrande, Chevreul, Van Banneden and Pasteur, of the same glorious household of the faith, the torch-bearers of science have always been as distinguished for the ardor of their religious convictions as they have been eminent for their attainments in the various branches of natural knowledge.

No; atheists have not been, intellectually, great men, or they would have been able to accomplish more than they have accomplished and to have wielded a greater influence than they have wielded. Atheism is sterile, and always has been; and rejecting, as it does, the Author of nature, it is inevitable that it should be sterile. It is only when atheists go counter to their professions, that they are able to effect anything of importance, or of lasting value. And then the results they attain are reached, not in consequence of their professed atheism, but in spite of it.

They achieve success, in virtue of having followed, unconsciously and unintentionally, it may be, the methods of Christian teaching and of Christian philosophy. All that is done in opposition to this teaching and this philosophy is false, changeable, ephemeral.

Where, now, are the proud unbelievers of the last century, who fondly imagined that, by their science, they had demolished the Church, and had proven the fatuity of her doctrines? Swallowed up in oblivion; "unwept, unhonored and unsung." The same fate awaits the boasting unbelievers, the proud, would-be scientists of our own day. A just retribution will, in a few short years, expose the shallow pretensions of the Hæckels, the Vogts, the Büchners, the Strauses, the Berts, the Moleschotts, the Huxleys, Darwins and Tyndalls, who are now making so much noise, and creating such a stir among their credulous worshippers. Yes; in a few short decades hence, their names will scarcely be remembered

and their cherished theories, to which so much importance is now attached, will, like the vain imaginings of their unbelieving and materialistic predecessors, give way to speculations and systems that may then, for a time, commend themselves to the folly of those who say in their hearts, "there is no God."

But, with all these changes of theory and system, the works of Christian savants will remain,—ever extending the domain of mind over matter,—always adding to the magnificent treasure of human knowledge, and contributing to the well-being and happiness of mankind.

A few words now as a *résumé* of what we have gone over and we conclude.

We have seen how intimately the inductive sciences are connected with philosophy and revelation, and how a successful cultivation of the former depends on the light and assistance afforded by the latter. We have seen, too, how the Catholic Church is the only institution on earth which can render to scientists groping after truth the aid and intellectual illumination that alone can prevent them from lapsing into error. We have noted how those who are popularly reputed as the representatives of modern science have given themselves up to the pursuit of *ignes fatui*, and have allowed themselves to be carried away by vagaries of every character conceivable. We have found that this straying away from the truth, this wandering after phantoms, is the inevitable consequence of their anti-Catholic attitude, of their materialistic and atheistic creeds, of the principles promulgated and propagated by the so-called reformers of the sixteenth century. We have examined these principles and the doctrines inculcated, and found them illiberal, intolerant, and radically opposed to scientific progress. We have considered instances of bigotry and persecution in matters of science that would seem incredible were they not perfectly attested by the seal of authentic history. We have observed how eminently practical Christian scientists have ever been, and how, thanks to their faith, and the principles of a sound philosophy, they have been able, whilst reconnoitering the vast expanse of nature, to avoid the quicksands of error, and attain to the veiled sanctuary of science and truth. We have learned that the great savants of the world, are, and have ever been, men of the most ardent faith and of the loftiest religious sentiment. They have been men, who, like the illustrious Barrande, tell us of what they "have seen,"¹ and not of what they have imagined; men who have made themselves useful by enlarging the sphere of positive knowl-

¹ Joachim Barrande, the ablest Palæozoic naturalist of his age, puts the words "*C'est ce que j'ai vu*," at the head of all his writings. See an interesting account of his life and scientific labors in the *Revue des Questions Scientifiques*, Juillet, 1884.

edge ; men who have steered clear of the fogs of unbelief and the rocks of materialism, which have been the destruction of many who might otherwise have deserved well of science and of their race.

"Science is the handmaid of religion," and the two are united by bonds that may not be severed. Religion can dispense with science, but science cannot progress without religion ; cannot ignore revelation. Only under the fostering care of the religion of our fathers ; only under the patronage of the Catholic Church, therefore, can science find that stimulus, or experience that energizing influence that favors the development of which she is capable, and which alone can prepare her for those glorious triumphs for which she is destined.

A SAD CHAPTER FROM THE STORY OF IRELAND.

DO many of the readers of the CATHOLIC QUARTERLY allow themselves occasionally the pleasure and distraction of a good novel ? To such we may recommend Walter Besant's "For Faith and Freedom" ; very much for its own intrinsic merits, but more for another reason they will afterwards understand.

Many may be surprised to hear it is an historical novel. For, Mr. Besant has earned his loudest fame in another very different field, as the delineator of the sad condition of the working and lower classes in London, and the author of some successful schemes for improving and brightening their lives. Philanthropists are rather popular people just now,—admiration for them has become quite a fashion,—consequently, Mr. Besant and his social novels have captured an unusual amount of the world's attention. But, probably, he does not forget that fashions change perpetually in this fickle world, and in his historical novels we imagine he is building himself a monument of more enduring fame. "All Sorts and Conditions of Men" has served its purpose and most effectually ; when social conditions change a little, or when a new fashion in philanthropy is invented, its interest and its fame can hardly survive. "For Faith and Freedom" speaks, not to one age, or for one order alone ; its interest and charm are universal, and will be lasting.

The story is intended to show the causes which prompted and

VOL. XV.—42

gave an ephemeral success to Monmouth's mad rebellion, and to describe its consequences to his unfortunate adherents. It is told almost entirely by Alice Eykin—its central figure—who walked with the maids of Taunton when they presented the flags and Bible to King Monmouth. In her quaint, simple style she tells of her happy life at Bradford Orcas, before the rumors of rebellion came to disturb its peace. Her father had been rector of the village church, but holding to his old Puritan ideas, and refusing compliance with the act of uniformity, he was driven forth from his home and from his church, protesting still that his business was to proclaim the Word, and that business he would do in season and out of season, whatever be the law. He was but one of two thousand, who, giving up as he did, for conscience sake, ease and comfort and plenty, kept before the people in their persons and in their secret preaching a living record of the treachery and the tyranny of the Stuarts. Twenty-six years later, the seed thus sown by Charles II. sprang up armed men who drove his family and his name forever from the throne of England.

We are surprised to find the ejected minister and his family in most friendly relations with Mr. Boscorel, his reverend supplanter in the rectory, and son-in-law to Sir Christopher Challis, the simple, honest, village squire. In the beautiful summer days, leaning on the churchyard wall, Sir Christopher talks to Alice and the boys of God's love and the happiness unspeakable that awaiteth God's saints. But Mr. Boscorel is reminded of Virgil and Theocritus, and the shepherds of Mantua and Sicily, who nowhere even in sunny Italy could have found a scene more sweetly pastoral to describe. A travelled scholar, Mr. Boscorel loved to talk of music, painting, poetry. Alice, Puritan that she is, is astonished to find that he quotes Shakespeare and Ben Jonson more readily than the Word of God, and looks on the Pope with as much toleration as he bestowed upon an Independent.

The gentle narrator describes lovingly the happy, humble home of her girlhood where she sat beside her mother at the spinning-wheel which earned them bread; and her second home, the manor house, where Mr. Boscorel delighted to instruct her in the music and the arts he loved so well. She traces, too, with charming sympathy, the boyhood of her young companions who play so prominent a part in her story. In her pages we feel the glow of enthusiasm for Monmouth's person excited by his triumphal progress through the west of England in 1680, during his father's lifetime,—a glow which soon burst forth into a belief in him as the champion of religious liberty and the rightful heir to his father's kingdom—and the consequent consternation in Somerset and Devon, when, on the death of Charles, James II. quietly ascended

the throne. Monmouth thinks his time has come. He lands at Lyme Regis to claim his kingdom, and Bradford Orcas sends its full complement of recruits to his standard.

Dr. Eykin sees again religious liberty and a chance of plying his one and only trade of preaching in Monmouth's camp. "I have been muzzled—a dumb dog, I say—though sometimes I have been forced to climb among the hills and speak to the bending tree-tops. Now I shall be free again, and I will speak and all the ends of the earth shall hear." He will not be turned from his purpose, though his son, Barnaby, the hearty sailor, tells him that the cursing of the soldiers will scare him out of his cassock. He even insists that his wife and daughter shall accompany him, dedicated with himself to the great cause of the Lord.

We need not dwell on the fortunes of the rebellion. Alice Eykin at Taunton learns of the disastrous defeat at Sedgemoor, where she has a father, a brother and a lover among the rebels; and, after many anxious days and much personal danger, she knows that all are prisoners, waiting trial before Judge Jeffreys at the Bloody Assizes, and yet she is hardly in the beginning of her woe. She is cruelly deceived, and makes a dreadful and useless sacrifice to save them. Finally, on board ship at Bristol, the captain declares her sentence: "You have been given by the king to some great lord or other, and by him sold to the man Penne, who hath put you on board this ship, to be conveyed with a hundred prisoners, all rogues and thieves, to the Island of Barbadoes, where you will presently be sold as a servant for ten years; after which period, if you choose, you will be at liberty to return to England."

The fate of Alice Eykin, a white slave in Barbadoes, the reader will best learn from Mr. Besant's book.

We have come to the point where we may disclose our chief reason for noticing "For Faith and Freedom." Why have we no Irish writers who will do for our country and our history what Englishmen and others are proud to do for theirs? Are our history and traditions so dull, are our habits and character so common-place as to offer no subject worthy the exercise of Irish genius? Why must our Irish writers go elsewhere for plot and character to develop? Have we not stories to tell, as tragic as that of Alice Eykin? She was not the first white slave, nor the first lady, sold to the West Indian planters. Before her, thousands of Irish girls were decoyed and dragged away from home and friends, to suffer the horrors Mr. Besant describes, and many worse he does no more than hint at. How is it that all our Irish writers have passed by such a subject?

Yet we may hardly blame them. Our Irish historians (if we have any who deserve the name) barely mention the fact, giving no de-

tails to arouse the slightest attention or interest. These details the perusal of Alice Eykin's story attracted us to search for. We have gathered together such as we found scattered here and there; nothing that is original, much that was new to us, and, probably, will be to many of those who may honor our sketch with their notice.

The execution of Charles I. seemed likely to unite the conflicting armies in Ireland against their common enemy. Such a coalition would make them formidable, and a real danger to the leaders of the Commonwealth, who immediately saw the necessity of sending their best general and army to crush them once for all. Cromwell was not anxious for the task; but he had no choice and, after much preparation, arrived in Dublin in August, 1649. He came, determined on a real war of extermination, and proclaiming that the Irish should be dealt with by him, as the Canaanites had been by Josue. His Jericho was Drogheda, believed by Ormond to be impregnable. The town was taken, and no quarter given to age or sex. For five days "the whole army executed all manner of cruelty, and put every man who belonged to the garrison, and all the citizens who were Irish, man, woman and child, to the sword.¹ Thirty alone were spared to suffer a harder fate as slaves to the West Indian planters.

It was probably Cromwell's object, by sheer terror of his butcheries, to break down all idea of resistance. The fate of Drogheda spread alarm and horror through the island, and other towns and cities which offered the slightest resistance were treated with equal barbarity. Quarter was seldom given; when given, was seldom respected.

The general horror of the nation was voiced toward the end of the year, in December, 1649, by twenty-six Irish prelates assembled in council at Clonmacnoise: "We order and decree, as an act of this congregation, that a declaration be issued from us, letting the people know how vain it is for them to expect from the common enemy, commanded by Cromwell by authority from the rebels of England, any assurance of their religion, lives or fortunes."² And in another document, they declare: "We cannot, in our duty to God and discharge of the care we are obliged to have for the preservation of our flocks, but admonish them not to delude or lose themselves with the vain expectation of conditions to be had from that merciless enemy."³ The prelates have fathomed Cromwell's designs and, appealing to his own words as evidence, say, "We hereby declare as a most certain truth that the enemy's resolution

¹ Clarendon's *Rebellion*, vol. iii.

² *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, vii., 42.

³ *Idem*, ii., 39.

is to extirpate the Catholic religion out of all His Majesty's dominions. It is notorious that the estates of the inhabitants of this kingdom are sold; and it is intended to root out the common people also, and plant this land with colonies to be brought hither out of England, as witness the number they have already sent hence for the Tobacco Islands, and put enemies in their places. And, in effect this banishment and other destructions of the common people must follow the resolution of extirpating the Catholic religion which is not to be done without the massacring or banishment of the Catholic inhabitants."¹

It was Cromwell's policy to excite dissension amongst the Irish; he was not at all confident of subduing them, if united. Therefore, from his winter-quarters at Youghal, he issued an answer to the Bishops' Declaration, "for the undeceiving of deluded and seduced people." It was a characteristic and audacious piece of lying, so far as it contravened the Declaration which unfortunately, subsequent events proved only too correct. About the massacring and banishment, he writes: "Give us an instance of one man, since my coming to Ireland, not in arms, massacred, destroyed or banished, concerning the massacre or destruction of whom justice hath not been done or endeavored to be done. And as for the banishment, it hath not hitherto been inflicted upon any but such as, being in arms, might justly, upon the terms they were taken, have been put to death; as those who are instanced in your Declaration to be sent to the Tobacco Islands."

However it was then about the banishing—and, in view of what he says of the massacring, we can place no reliance upon his word—soon at least this pretence of defending it as the banishment of criminals deserving death was abandoned.

Cromwell's massacres had probably attracted uncomplimentary notice even in England; he saw that banishment would be just as effective for his purpose, less unpopular, and more remunerative. The West Indian islands, many of them, had lately been colonized from England, and the planters, in need of labor, were crying out for slaves. Many of them too, those of Barbadoes in particular, loyalists in politics, had taken the king's execution very badly, and were muttering treason against the Commonwealth; anxiety to provide them slaves might appease a most rising and lucrative colony. Why might he not send them the captured and conquered Irish? The planters would pay well for them, would turn them to some use, and might be trusted to dispose of them when no longer useful, in the most satisfactory manner. No fear of their returning to trouble him in Ireland. An admirable plan, at once

¹ *Spicil. Ossor.*, ii., 38.

adopted and put into execution when he commenced his campaign in 1650. The Most Rev. John Moloney, Bishop of Killaloe, writing in that year to the Secretary of the Propaganda, who had been Auditor with the Nuncio in Ireland, and giving him a sad account of Catholic reverses since their departure, of war, famine, and pestilence devastating the country, and of towns and fortresses taken by the enemy, adds that those whom they do not kill they send away in chains to the islands of St. Christopher and Barbadoes.¹ The good bishop did not long survive to witness these horrors. He died in Limerick during the siege in 1651, mercifully spared the harder fate of his colleague, the Bishop of Emly.

In May, 1650, having broken the strength of the Irish resistance, Cromwell departed for England where fresh troubles were arising, leaving his lieutenants to complete the work of conquest and extirpation. In two years after the conquest was finished, the last Irish army surrendering in September, 1652. Then came the extirpation, in preparation for which the disbanded Irish soldiers were first to be gotten rid of. They were easily induced to take service in Spain, France, and Poland. "The chiefest and eminentest of the nobility and many of the gentry have taken conditions from the King of Spain, and have transported 40,000 of the most active spirited men, most acquainted with the dangers and discipline of war."² If they had died at home for their country instead of dying abroad, unthanked and ill-treated, for foreign princes, how differently the story of Ireland might have been written! They left their country in her agony, "bound and bleeding 'neath the oppressor," with nothing to save her but her faith and constancy, and her trust in the strong right hand of God.

Everything was arranged in London in the most business-like manner for shipping off the Irish to the West Indies. Hitherto it had been done a little and at random. New and improved methods were now adopted. Bristol chiefly traded with the islands, and the Bristol merchants, slave dealers by habit and tradition for centuries,³ were willing for a consideration to pay the State twenty shillings apiece for Irish captives,⁴ and have all the trouble and expense of shipping them across the sea. That consideration was permission to sell their captives as slaves to the planters. The British Government quite willingly granted it, and moreover agreed to give them every help and facility in secur-

¹ *Spicil. Ossor.*, i., 355.

² Gookin's *Great Case of Transplantation in Ireland*.

³ It is curious that Ireland itself was long their best and favorite slave market. St. Wulstan made a great effort to convert the Bristol slavers from their barbarous traffic, with only very temporary success. See *Month*, April, 1890.

⁴ *Spicileg. Ossor.*, ii., 135.

ing their prey in Ireland. These excellent Puritans, of course, saw no injustice in their action; quite the contrary. The measure was beneficial all around, said the government; to the West Indian planters who needed help, to Ireland relieved of unprofitable and unnecessary inhabitants, to the slaves themselves, who might, they were told, become thereby English and Christians. "I think it might be of like advantage," wrote Henry Cromwell later on, in 1655, concerning Irish boys to be sent to Jamaica, "to your affairs there and to ours here, if you should think fit to send one thousand five hundred or two thousand young boys of twelve or fourteen years of age to the place aforementioned. We could well spare them, and they would be of use to you; and who knows but it might be the means to make them Englishmen, I mean, rather, Christians."¹ The advantages being so manifest, there was no necessity of asking or obtaining the consent of the intended slaves, and even if they foolishly resisted, force might be most lawfully employed to coerce them. "Although we must use force in taking them up, yet it being so much for their own good, and likely to be of so great advantage to the public, it is not in the least doubted that you may have such number of them as you shall think fit."²

The merchants and their agents soon appeared in Ireland. Unlike the African slave traders in this alone, they came furnished with credentials from the English Government. "The Commissioners for Ireland in London gave them orders upon the governors of garrisons to deliver to them prisoners of war, upon the keepers of gaols for offenders in custody, upon masters of work-houses for the destitute in their care who were of an age to labor, or if women were marriageable and not past breeding, and gave directions to all in authority to seize those who had no visible means of livelihood, and deliver them to these agents of the Bristol sugar merchants."³

Press-gangs were formed and regular slave hunts organized through the country. The quality of persons designated in the orders were sufficiently elastic. Every Catholic was, or might be at any moment an offender in custody, and, in the actual condition of the country, devastated by more than twelve years' warfare, few could show visible means of livelihood. The unfortunate captives in order to claim legal release had to prove to the satisfaction of their captors that they had such settled profitable employment as yielded them means of their own to sustain them. The fable of the wolf and the lamb at once suggests itself. The slave hunters were practically at liberty to seize and sell whom they could—a liberty they had no conscientious scruples against using.

¹ *Thurloe*, iv., p. 40.

² *Thurloe*, iv., p. 23.

³ Prendergast's *Cromwellian Settlement*, p. 89.

But while only the Irish suffered no one minded. At last even the daughters of some of the English themselves were kidnapped, and attention became directed to the fearful excesses of the slave agents. In December, 1653, orders were issued to hold and search the slave ships leaving Ireland for Barbadoes and other English plantations, and to deliver such captives as there was no warrant for arresting. This order proves the shocking abuses committed; there is no proof that the English officers could or would execute it very exactly. On the contrary, every presumption points the other way. We know well their feelings towards the Irish enemy. In Cork, the "merciless Broghill" directed that no one once apprehended should be released except by special written order of his own. How was a poor Irish captive or his friends to obtain that against the influence of his rich captors, and the prejudice and hatred of Broghill and men like him. Some of the English officers and governors were slave dealers themselves. Colonel Stubber, Governor of Galway, made frequent excursions by night with armed troops into the country, and seized upwards of a thousand people, without regard to rank or condition, all of whom he shipped to the West Indies and there sold as slaves.¹ This same Stubber was also a dealer in marbles which he tore from the churches in Galway and sold in England.

Once captured the slave had no escape, and capture it was difficult to avoid. Not only force, but every form of fraud and treachery was employed. The government order of the 4th of March, 1655, forbidding further seizures by the merchants, mentions that they employed persons to delude poor people by false pretences into by-places and thence they forced them on board their ships. The persons employed had so such apiece for all they so deluded, and for the money's sake they were found to have enticed and forced women from their husbands and children, children from their parents who maintained them at school; and they had not only dealt so with the Irish, but also with the English; which last circumstance no doubt was the true cause why the concessions made to the merchants were revoked.

This order affected the slave trade only as carried on by private merchants, and did not at all put an end to it generally, as Mr. Prendergast would seem to believe. The government itself had been sending out slaves all along, and still continued the practice for many years after. In the end of the same year, 1655, it sent out two thousand Irish, boys and girls from Galway to Jamaica.² None of them were above fourteen years old, and quite incapable of supporting the hardships of slavery in such a climate, they must

¹ Hardiman, *History of Galway*, p. 134.

² *Thurloe*, iv., p. 100.

have perished there at once ; nothing was ever heard of them afterwards.

The repeopling the conquered country with English settlers was not carried out so successfully as the government had hoped. There was no inclination amongst the honest and industrious in England to embark in such an enterprise. The majority of the new settlers were quite useless for good, being the very dregs and offscourings of the English cities ; and, such as they were, numbers of them died of the plague before many months. The retention of the Irish peasantry became an absolute necessity to the new land owners, and on their representations, the extermination policy was abandoned. The government was pleased to allow the Irish peasants to remain at home to till the land for its English owners, yet only on condition of their becoming perverts from their ancient faith. Persecution for conscience's sake was added to the other sufferings of the unfortunate people. The priest who ministered to their spiritual needs did so at his life's peril. Five pounds his head was valued at ; if he was a bishop or dignitary it was worth ten. If the people assisted at his Mass, or gave him help, or home, or hiding place, their danger equalled his. Their's indeed was the greater, for it did not fall on themselves alone. The Irish priests cared little for themselves ; they had no greater trial or trouble than the constant danger their presence caused to their devoted flocks. We find continually in their letters the deepest distress on this account. One example may stand for all—the letter of Fr. Francis Magruairk, a Franciscan, in 1655, to one of the Roman Congregation.¹ Beginning with a sad picture of the state of the country under the persecution, he declares that he is deputed by the surviving clergy, secular and regular, of the province of Armagh, hiding amidst the rocks and in caverns of the hills, and in constant danger of capture and death, to lay before His Holiness their doubt and perplexity, which was their most pressing duty, to remain in Ireland or to leave it. If they remain they will occasion the destruction of the entire nation and of its religion with it. Death is the punishment equally of the priest who celebrates Mass, of the clerk who assists him, and of the friend who shelters or helps him in any way. And not only is the latter put to death, but in addition his property is confiscated and his wife, children, and domestics, now destitute, not to be a burden to the country, are sold for money to be transported to Barbadoes or Bermuda. On the other hand, if they leave it, they fear God, abandoning His people to devouring wolves, the youth to heresy, the old to an unprepared and miserable death. And, in conclusion, he begs the

¹ *Spicil. Ossoriense*, i., 412.

Cardinals to obtain for him from His Holiness advice and help in his difficulty.

The good friar did not in the least exaggerate. A painful story, told by Morison,¹ confirms his worst fears. In 1657, when the persecution had moderated a little its first violence, a priest obtained shelter in the house of Daniel Connery, whom Morison styles a gentleman of Clare. His retreat was discovered, and the vengeance of the law fell upon his host. Daniel Connery was arrested and sentenced to banishment, and his property was seized for the crown. His wife died in poverty, "three of his daughters, beautiful girls," Morison says, "were transported to the West Indies to an island called Barbadoes, and there, if still alive, they are miserable slaves." But the slavery, I fear, was their least suffering. Dangers worse than that awaited them in Barbadoes, as the reader of Alice Eykin's story may understand. "Hide that face, child! Hide that face. Let him never see thee. Oh! there are dangers worse than labor in the fields—worse than whip of overseer!" She sprang to her feet and clasped her hands, 'You talk of the Lord's will! What hath the Lord to do with this place? Here is nothing but debauchery and drinking, cruelty and greed. Why have they sent here a woman who prays?'"²

But not the priests alone, and those who sheltered them were exposed to death or slavery—the common people were equally at the government's mercy.

For the better destruction of the Catholic religion, an oath of abjuration was proposed to the people in 1656. It included a denial of the mystery of Transubstantiation, of the doctrine of Purgatory, of the adoration due to the Most Holy Sacrament, of the veneration of the Crucifix and other images, of the efficacy of good works to salvation, of the authority of the Supreme Pontiff, in short, of every distinctively Catholic article of belief. For refusal to take the oath the punishment was the loss of two-thirds of one's property, and each subsequent refusal was subject to the same fine. And if a person still refused compliance, and had no longer means to pay, slavery in the West Indies was the final sentence.³ And now people did refuse to the last, braving for their faith hardships worse than death. The letters of that time are full of praise of their courage and devotedness. Life and property they no longer valued when they could preserve them only as perverts from their ancient faith. They faced slavery and death with the calm joy of the early martyr, knowing that they had not here a lasting dwelling, but, as children of saints, looked forward to

¹ *Threnodia Hiberno-Catholica*, p. 287.

² *For Faith and Freedom*, c. 36.

³ *Spicileg. Ossoriense*, i., 424.

another inheritance. And surely once again as of old from the blood of martyrs sprang a church as devoted and as faithful as were they.

Under Elizabeth, says an account of the state of Ireland in 1656, the persecution had never been so violent. Then ecclesiastics only suffered, now all are persecuted, men and women, peasants and nobles. Women may be seen running after their exiled husbands and rushing into the sea in vain endeavor to accompany them on board ship; children in search of their mothers and dying on the highways; men wandering about insane with grief and terror; whole villages transported to Barbadoes; homesteads abandoned a prey to any comer; maidens outraged; infants slain; inhabitants exiled in troops. No wonder Fr. Talbot, S.J., could write in 1654:¹ "In that kingdom there is nothing but wailing and lamentation and cursing. They curse Ormand, they curse the king, and the Pope and his Nuncio and the clergy, and they curse themselves that they were ever born. May God give them consolation."

Another contemporary account of Ireland in 1654² describes the scenes of horror which the slave trade was making of daily occurrence throughout the island. After alluding to the violence of the persecution, it goes on: "Another scourge is added, that most dreadful plague, which for many months has mowed down almost the entire island, Ulster alone being spared, which mercy not alone the people of Ulster, but many others consider the reward of their devotion to the Nuncio. After the war and pestilence came famine, such as hardly another land has suffered since the creation of the world. And then in addition, exiling and banishing more dreadful than death itself, continued unceasingly since Cromwell's arrival in 1649. English ships laden with clergy and people are sailing to the islands of America and other regions lately colonized by the English, where our countrymen are to serve them in bitterest slavery. Others are being carried off to fight under the Catholic king and under Condé in Spain and Belgium. Those who are being sold in America into worse than Turkish slavery, are chosen without regard to age, the tenderest or the most advanced; or to condition, be they priests, religious; or to sex; so that with barbarous cruelty wife is torn from husband, husband from wife. Nothing is sadder than to see them put on board ship. Father is separated from son, brother from brother, sister from sister, kindred from kindred, husband from wife, the most savage and cruel heretics of England trampling on the dearest ties of nature. The whole island re-echoes with the moaning of the Catholics, lamenting their property lost, their

¹ *Spicileg. Ossoriense*, ii., 135.

² *Spicileg. Ossoriense*, ii., 130.

dearest dead or imprisoned, their friends exiled or in slavery. Youths there were, of the highest families, the hope and comfort of aged parents, delicately reared and liberally and becomingly educated, not only deprived of all hope of their ancestral estate, but stripped of their rich garments and clothed instead in vile rags, with bruised limbs and wounded bodies, driven in herds like cattle on board these infamous galleys. Most respectable maidens were to be seen, piously, chastely, and religiously educated in their father's home, for the most part of noble birth, and of an age to contract becoming nuptials, who having in one week seen their parents murdered, their rich relations hurried to the gallows, and their patrimony a prey to the heretical butchers, were themselves dragged away on shipboard, almost naked, crying to heaven. There were most loving consorts, who, having seen their children, some slain in battle or on the scaffold, the rest dispersed in miserable exile, and living only in the hope of being allowed to pass their old age together and share their common sorrow, have been driven forth in chains from their homes, and, while the wife was cast into prison in Ireland, the husband condemned to slavery was shipped to the English colonies in America. Amidst all which English barbarity, the saddest of all was their weeping as they cried out that they would bear all most patiently if only they were sent, not separated from each other but both together, no matter where, even as exiles or as slaves." "I have seen," says the writer, "in trustworthy letters written to Rome, that in this year, 1654, scarcely a sixth part of the nation is surviving, and out of this sixth part that fifty thousand of our countrymen are exiles, sent away either to the aforesaid English colonies in America, or to Belgium and Spain."

"The American poet, Longfellow," writes A. M. Sullivan, in his "Story of Ireland," has, in the poem of *Evangeline*, immortalized the "Story of Acadia." How many a heart has melted into pity, how many an eye has filled with tears, perusing his metrical narration of the "transplanting" of *one* little community "on the shore of the basin of Minos?" But, alas! how few recall or realize the fact—if, indeed, aware of it at all—that not *one* but *hundreds* of such dispersions, infinitely more tragical and more romantic, were witnessed in Ireland in 1654, when, in every hamlet throughout three provinces, "the sentence of expulsion was sped from door to door." Longfellow describes to us how the English captain read aloud to the dismayed and grief-stricken villagers of Grand Prè the decree for their dispersion. Unconsciously the poet merely described the form directed by an Act of the English Parliament to be adopted all over Ireland when, "by beat of drumme and sound of trumpett, on some markett day within tenne days

after the same shall come unto them within their respective precincts," the governor and commissioners of revenue, or any two or more of them within every precinct, were ordered to publish and proclaim, "this present Declaration, to wit, that all ancient estates and farms of the people of Ireland were to belong to the adventurers and the army of England, and that the parliament had assigned Connaught for the habitation of the Irish nation, whither they must transplant with their wives and daughters and children before the 1st of May following (1654), under penalty of death, if found on this side of the Shannon after that day."

Though the death penalty was thus threatened for the crime of not giving up lands and home and moving away to Connaught, and was frequently inflicted, yet, says Prendergast¹ "wholesale executions for this crime seem to have been thought inexpedient but the government had no scruple to sending them to the West Indies." One excellent officer writes to London, in March, 1655: "The officers are resolved to fill the gaols and to seize them"; by which this bloody people shall know they (the officers) are not degenerated from English principles; though I presume we shall be very tender of hanging any except leading men, yet we shall make no scruple of sending them to the West Indies, where they will serve for planters, and help to plant the plantation of Jamaica which General Venables, it is hoped, hath reduced."² And thus, in December of the same year, the Commissioners for Ireland write to the Governor of Barbadoes, notifying him of the sailing of a ship containing a cargo of proprietors deprived of their lands and then exiled for not transplanting. The ship also, amongst others, contained three priests, and the significant hint is given that they are to be so employed that they may not return again to do mischief in Ireland.³

Other examples there are in plenty of Irish proprietors sentenced to slavery for not transplanting; but the action of the government in this respect can be sufficiently understood from what I have already given.

It is really wearisome, counting all the charges under which one might have been then condemned to slavery. An example of one other charge only I shall quote from Prendergast.⁴

"Denis Brennan and Murtagh Turner, persons lately in the army and pay of the State, troopers of Colonel Hewson (probably conformers to the English religion), being engaged near the castle of Lackagh, in the same county of Kildare, repairing houses of some of the transplanted inhabitants, were barbarously murdered,

¹ *Cromwellian Settlement*, p. 145.

² Letter quoted in *Cromwellian Settlement*, p. 128.

³ *Cromwellian Settlement*, p. 323.

⁴ *Cromwellian Settlement*, p. 338.

to the great terror of the rest of the peaceable inhabitants of the county. All the Irish of Lackagh of the Popish religion (except four who were hanged for the benefit of the rest), to the number of thirty-seven—being three priests, twenty-one women and thirteen men—were on the 27th of November, 1655, delivered to Captain Coleman, of the Wexford frigate, for transportation to Barbadoes. The names of the priests were James Tuite, Robert Keegan and John Foley. There were, also, the wife of Blind Donagh, and the whole family of Mr. Henry Fitzgerald, of Lackagh Castle. Mr. Fitzgerald's case was one of great hardship. He and his wife, Mrs. Margery Fitzgerald (both of the house of Kildare) were fourscore years and upwards, and no one could charge them with being Tories, or countenancing them, and they could scarcely be deemed guilty of not running after them with the hue and cry. The Tories, too, had frequently despoiled them. Yet they, with their son Maurice, their daughters Margery and Bridget, Mary, the widow of their oldest son Henry, with their man-servant and maid-servant, had to lie in prison till the ship could be got ready to carry them with the rest of this miserable cargo. They were assigned to the correspondents of Mr. Norton, a Bristol merchant and sugar-planter, who was to be at the charge of transporting them to Barbadoes."

These are some of the deeds that have raised up a wall of hatred between two nations which might have dwelt together in friendship; and by deeds as like them as better times will sanction, are many still striving to strengthen its yielding and tottering foundations.

It is hardly possible to make an accurate estimate of the numbers of Irish destroyed or banished during these dreadful years. The population of Ireland, in 1641, was reckoned by Sir William Petty, at 1,466,000.¹ Of these he considered 260,000 were Protestants, to whose numbers we must add 200,000, the quantity of new colonists introduced during the subsequent years.² So that there are altogether about 1,200,000 Catholics, and almost 500,000 Protestants to be accounted for. After the devastation of the country by the Puritans, Sir W. Petty considered it impossible to make any approximation to a census of the inhabitants, but thought the proportion of Catholics to Protestants to be about eight to one. Now Cardinal Moran thinks there were about 500,000 Catholics surviving,³ with whom, according to Petty's proportion, there would be 62,000 Protestants. I do not know if this be more accurate than the statement I have lately cited which declares that only a sixth part of the nation survived in 1654, which would be no more than

¹ *Political Anatomy*, p. 13.

² *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, ii., 75.

³ *Memoir of Dr. Plunket*, Introduction, Sec. 9.

250,000, out of which should be taken 50,000 who were in exile. But, at the best, it would appear that Ireland lost 700,000 Catholics and 400,000 Protestants, or two-thirds of its population during, principally, the period of the Commonwealth in England. Pestilence chiefly, and perhaps abandoning the country in disgust account for the Protestant diminution. I need not assign the causes which effected that of the Catholics.

How many Catholics were banished to the West Indies alone, directly concerns my present sketch. Prendergast,¹ giving 6400 as the number seized by the Bristol slave-dealers, before March, 1655, and 2000 as subsequently in the same year sent to Jamaica, would appear to make the total number 8400. But, manifestly, such is not his intention, for he mentions many other companies of slaves which he has not included in that amount.

Bruadin² says that, altogether, 100,000 exiles were, about that time, banished from the country. About 40,000 of these were soldiers who took service in various parts of Europe, and Cardinal Moran³ mentions a contemporary document which proves that 20,000 Catholics sought refuge from persecution among the Scottish islands. If we suppose Bruadin, whose book was published at Prague in 1669, to have known of these latter, which may well seem doubtful, then his statement may warrant us in putting the West Indian captives at 40,000. This would be more than confirmed by a private letter written in 1656, which Dr. Lingard⁴ had in his possession, and which declared that 60,000 Irish had been sent to Barbadoes and the American islands. An earlier letter of Fr. Gearnon, a Franciscan, written about 1653, gives the number already sent to Barbadoes as 14,000.⁵ An Irish priest, Fr. John Grace, who visited the West Indian islands as a missionary in 1666, and whose report I shall give later on, puts the number of Irish then surviving there at 12,000. Any one who reflects on the treatment and condition of the white slaves, as described in Mr. Besant's book, must agree that hardly one in four had a chance of surviving beyond ten years. Such a calculation would make the number which reached the islands close on 50,000, which may not be far from the truth.

We may well understand that the treatment the wretched captives received on their voyage to the West Indies was on a par with the fate which awaited them there. Neither the government nor the Bristol slave traders were tender of the health or lives of their captives. The merchants were supposed to make every provision for them for a voyage which in the fairest weather lasted over six

¹ *Cromwellian Settlement*, p. 92.

² *Memoir of Dr. Plunket*, Sec. 2, note.

³ *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, i., 404.

⁴ *Propugnac. Cath. Relig.*, p. 692.

⁵ *History of England*.

weeks. But they did so most inadequately; it was so much cheaper to lose a few than to procure clothing, sound provisions, and medicine for all. Alice Eykin's fellow prisoners "were huddled and crowded together below the deck; they were all sea-sick; there was no doctor to relieve their sufferings, nor were there any medicines for those who were ill. Fever presently broke out amongst them, so that we buried nine (one-tenth of all) in the first fortnight of our voyage." Their food was of the coarsest and they had planks, for sleep, of the hardest. No wonder they were a sorry sight when they arrived and stood before their future owners. "He read the first name on the list, 'Robert Bull, stand forth.' Then arose from the deck where he had been lying a poor wretch who looked as if he could hardly stand, wasted with fever and privation, his eyes hollow. The planters shook their heads."

Mr. Swinburne in his last volume has a sad poem, the lament of a Jacobite exile in France, whom no beauties of that kind strange land, and no tenderness of its people could console for the sea banks fair and the sweet gray gleaming sky of Scotland, and his friends and kindred afar ayont the foam.

The Antilles islands, "which stand like a string of emeralds round the neck of the Carribean Sea,"¹ have been blessed by nature with more than ordinary beauty and fertility; and perhaps even an exile, weary of strife and persecution, leaving a land which strangers were rending asunder, might find rest and peace and comfort amidst their luxuriant valleys. But a slave—in despair, hearing already the crack of the whip and the curses and jeers of the drivers, where was his rest or comfort but in death, "the mighty consoler?" A strange, cruel land they were to him, until deep in their bosom they gave him a grave to bury his sorrows and hide his broken heart.

The different islands were colonized by different nations, some earlier, some later. Many of them owned English authority and belonged to English subjects, Barbadoes, for instance; St. Christopher's and others to the Earl of Carlisle until 1663, when they were acquired by the crown. The two we have mentioned were first colonized about 1624. Barbadoes flourished rapidly, having in 1650, 20,000 of a white population. In 1670 there were 50,000 whites and 100,000 blacks. But afterwards these numbers decreased considerably, and about the beginning of the present century there were no more than 15,000 whites and 65,000 blacks. Its present population, says Mr. Froude, is 200,000, of whom nine-tenths are black—about 1200 to the square mile!

St. Christopher's had a harder struggle. A French colony settled in one part while the English occupied another, a source

¹ Froude, *English in the West Indies*, c. iii.

of constant quarrelling, till in 1713 it was all ceded to England. The first English colonists were ruined by a hurricane, and the Earl of Carlisle had others sent out, amongst whom there must have been many Irish Catholics. Transplanting was going on then also in Ireland; probably the dispossessed natives volunteered or were forced to emigrate. But they found no more peace and justice there than they had experienced at home, and in 1632 persecution became so unendurable that many of them, leaving almost all they had, passed over to the neighboring island of Montserrat and there founded a new colony.¹ There must have been considerable emigration from Ireland to these islands. In a petition received from them in 1643² asking that priests should be sent to them, their number in all the islands is said to be twenty thousand. In 1648 in Montserrat alone there were more than one thousand families, all Irish and Catholics. One of the largest hills in St. Christopher's received the name of Ireland's national saint. Catholics must have continued to predominate in Montserrat, though under difficulties, for about 1668 an Irish Catholic was appointed governor of the island.³

But however well these islands may have been known to many of the Irish, Barbadoes seems to have been quite unknown to them. Would to God it had remained so! It was then the great centre of slavery in the West Indies, and the condition of the slaves there, and of the white slaves in particular, was the most wretched upon earth. The Barbadoes planters had a sad character as slave owners. The slaves, fed on insufficient and unhealthy food, labored all day under an intolerable sun, with eyes well-nigh blinded, head aching, every limb tortured, and a terrible thirst tormenting them which only rest, such as it was, at night in their suffocating pig-sties, could assuage. And for the least skulking the whip was laid on, and if there was a word of impatience or murmuring, it was called stark mutiny, for which the miserable slave, man or woman, was tied up and flogged with incredible barbarity. "On the least symptom of insubordination," says Froude,⁴ "they were killed without mercy; sometimes they were burnt alive, or were hung up in iron cages to die." In the French and Spanish islands, he says, the souls of the slaves were cared for, but not in the English. No wonder the white slaves seldom lasted long. Few survive, says Mr. Besant, beyond five or six years, and most of them, reduced by the miseries of the voyage and exhausted by the hard labor to which they were put, quickly fell ill and died like rotten sheep. "Like rotten sheep, I say, they die, without a word of Christian exhorta-

¹ Edward's *West Indies*, iii., c. iv.

² *Spicileg. Ossor.*, i., 286.

³ *Spicileg. Ossor.*, i., 487.

⁴ *English in the West Indies*, c. iv.

tion, and like brute creatures who have no world to come are they buried in the ground."

What a life, and what a death for our poor Irish Catholics with their lively spirit of faith, abandoned on the threshold of an unknown world, eternity opening out to receive them, God's dreadful judgment looming dark and terrible before them, and no minister of their beloved faith beside them to comfort them, no sacraments to purify and strengthen their souls! But God's hand is not shortened, and He, for whose honor they had given up home, and liberty, and kindred, knew how to shed upon their dying eyes the peaceful happy light of the kingdom they had so well deserved.

Providence did not leave the Irish slaves in the West Indies altogether without religious consolation. Many priests were sent out amongst them after a few years when persecution was less violent, and slavery was substituted for death. A choice was given to the captured priests—exile to France or Spain for those who would promise never to return to the country, slavery in the West Indies for those who refused. An account of the state of Ireland in 1656¹ mentions that ninety-six priests and religious were collected together at Carrickfergus and shipped thence as slaves to Jamaica, or to Barbadoes, as Prendergast says, quoting a state paper.² And the "*Spicilegium Ossoriense*" gives us on page 434 of the first volume one solitary instance of a ransomed Irish slave, a Jesuit Father, who, after five months captivity in Dublin, was sold in Barbadoes and, after much suffering there, was ransomed and returned home. Fr. James Phelan, a priest of Ossory, returning from Paris to Ireland, writes in 1656 to the Secretary of the Propaganda³ that in Ireland he must lodge with Protestants, lest, found with the Catholics, he be arrested and transported to Barbadoes. The practice, therefore, must have been common.

But the fate of the priest in Barbadoes was not different from that of his people, and not all of them shipped for the West Indies ever reached them. Again, the "*Spicilegium*" gives us an example: "I have learned for certain," writes a Capuchin, 14th March, 1656,⁴ that Fr. Fiacre has been taken by the heretics, condemned to life-long slavery to the English in America, and sent thither for that purpose." Another letter (p. 422) completes Fr. Fiacre's story. "Fr. Fiacre Tobin was a native of Kilkenny, who labored so successfully in God's vineyard that I am in doubt, writes his brother Capuchin, when he did most for God and the salvation of souls, whether when free or when in prison. Free, he

¹ *Spicil. Ossor.*, i., 415.

³ *Spicil. Ossor.*, i., 421.

² *Cromwell, Settl.*, 323.

⁴ *Spicil. Ossor.*, i., 419.

labored unceasingly in Kilkenny during the plague and siege (by Cromwell in 1650), and in the sad days after the capture of the city. But he was quickly arrested and cast into prison. Through God's mercy the faithful had free recourse to him there, an opportunity he and they turned to the best advantage. After some months, he was released on the petition and under the bail of a rich Catholic, and under promises not to leave the city. Fearlessly he used his liberty in God's service, aiding his brethren in every possible way. His zeal offended the heretics, who again seized on him, and, sparing his life for the prayers of his friends, banished him to France. But he could not rest in exile, knowing the spiritual destitution of his people in Ireland, and he availed himself of the first opportunity to return to his country. After three years of hard but fruitful labor in his ministry, he was again captured, and this time his sentence was slavery for life in Barbadoes. Put on board a ship at Dublin, in the first few days he was robbed of everything he had, and the privations to which he was subjected, brought on a fever. Violent weather drove the ship into Waterford, where, deprived of every comfort, half-starved and exposed to the cold of a most severe winter, he died a real martyr on the 6th March, 1656. His life and his death I have quoted as a type of many others."

The exiled priests who reached the islands did what best they could for their fellow-captives, and what they could do at the best was little. Slaves, themselves, they had no liberty of action, and religious persecution was as bitter there as at home.

But not exiled priests alone were there to help. Wherever the Irish go, their priests follow in their footsteps, and the West Indies were no exception. I have mentioned how Irish colonists settled in St. Christopher's and Montserrat. Irish priests followed them. We find in the "*Spicilegium Ossoriense*"¹ a letter dated December, 1639, from Dr. Malachy O'Queely, Archbishop of Tuam, deploring the death of the priests whom he had sent there and asking special faculties from Rome for others whom he was sending out. The same unhealthy climate and fierce inhabitants must have made a quick end of them also, and the Archbishop, a central figure in the war which followed the rising of 1641 (in which he lost his life, slain in battle in 1645), being unable to attend to the interests of the colonists, they sent the petition I have already mentioned through the French Admiral, who placed it in Paris in the hands of Fr. O'Hartegan, a distinguished Jesuit, who was then agent for the Confederation at the French Court. In a letter to Rome, Fr. O'Hartegan strongly urges his own fitness for that mission: "I

¹ i., 246.

entreat you to be pleased to send me thither. I shall soon have finished the business intrusted to me at this Court ; my health is sufficiently robust, and I know thoroughly the French, English and Irish languages which are commonly spoken there ; my zeal for souls by God's grace is intense, and I ardently desire this or a similar mission."¹

Who were sent out we have not found recorded, but Fr. O'Hartegan was then too useful at home, and soon after we find him acting as Chaplain-General to the Irish army in Ulster, and in June, 1646, bringing to Limerick news of the great victory of Benburb, and thirty-two captured flags, a present from Owen Roe O'Neill to the Nuncio.

It is curious that Mr. Lenihan² dates the reception of this petition in 1650, and indicates that it came from Irish slaves. What we have said about the early colonists of St. Christopher's, and the two letters we have just quoted, convince us that he is mistaken in the date of the petition, and the condition of those who sent it.

We hear nothing afterwards of Fr. O'Hartegan, at least under his own name. It may be believed that he obtained his desire of serving his countrymen in the West Indies. The Jesuit house in Limerick looked on that mission as their own, and attended to it as well as reduced numbers would allow them for a century after. In 1650, an Irish Father, De Stritch (under which Limerick name Fr. O'Hartegan is supposed to have concealed his own as too well-known to his enemies) arrived at St. Christopher's, to the great joy of the Irish there. Having heard the confessions of three thousand of them, he went, disguised as a timber-merchant, to Montserrat, employed numbers of Irish as wood-cutters, revealed his real character to them and spent the mornings administering the sacraments and the day in hewing wood to throw dust in the eyes of the English. Probably, his condition and mission were discovered, for religious persecution again became active in St. Christopher's, and the state of the Catholics there, a second time, became desperate. Three hundred of the chief among them were seized and carried to a small island or rock near, where they were abandoned, without provisions or the means to procure them. All perished there by starvation, except two who desperately attempted to swim across to the mainland, in which attempt one perished ; the other succeeded.³

In consequence of this outrage, Fr. De Stritch collected as many Catholics as he could persuade to accompany him, and succeeded in escaping with them to the French island of Guadaloupe, where he

¹ *Spicileg. Ossoriense*, i., 286.

² *History of Limerick*, 668.

³ *Spicileg. Ossor.*, i., 411.

lived a long time amongst them, now and then going in disguise to visit the Irish in the adjoining islands.¹ It may be supposed that the Irish slaves in Barbadoes received some of his attention. Later, in 1699, Fr. Garganel, S.J., Superior of the Jesuits in Martinique, asked for one or two Irish Fathers for that and the neighboring islands which were full of Irish; for, he says, every year, ship-loads of men, boys, and girls, partly crimped, partly carried off by main force for purposes of slave-trade, are conveyed by the English from Ireland.²

The next record of a mission to Barbadoes, occurs in a letter of Dr. Burgatt, just named Archbishop of Cashel, to the Secretary of the Propaganda, in which he encloses a letter and report of Fr. John Grace, a priest of Cashel, who had been sent as missionary to the West Indies.³ He writes from Paris, in July, 1669, and says: "I send the report of Fr. John Grace, the missionary to the American islands, who has been compelled to return for the reasons which he mentions, and which I am confident are true, for I know the character of the heretics amongst whom he had to work, and I know also his own candor, zeal and piety. If I cannot find him companions here, he will come with me to Ireland where I hope to find some who will undertake that mission. Nor is there anything that tortures me more than to think of so many of my fellow-countrymen in so great misery and spiritual danger, and I call God to witness that if my age allowed me, I would myself more readily and more eagerly go to them as a simple missionary than even as archbishop to Ireland."

The following is Fr. Grace's letter: "Advised by my Ordinary, the Most Illustrious and Most Rev. Archbishop of Cashel, to give you a report of the mission I undertook to the islands of Western America, I most humbly obey and give it as follows: So watchful is your lordship's charity and zeal in the preservation and spreading of the faith that you are not ignorant that many islands lie along the coast of Western America subject to many and different nations, but chiefly to the French and English, and that in those which are subject to the English there is a great multitude of Catholics who, under the Government of Cromwell and other cruel enemies of the Catholic Church and faith, were conveyed there from Ireland to cultivate the land for the English, and who are most wretchedly and cruelly treated, not only materially, but most of all spiritually; inasmuch as the benefit of the sacraments and of all Catholic instruction is forbidden them, and the priests of this Church are not allowed to approach them; nor where the

¹ Lenihan, *History of Limerick*, p. 669.

² Lenihan, *l. c.*, p. 669.

³ *Spicil. Oss.*, i., 482.

English prevail could any one without danger to his life settle down or remain for such a purpose, so that none were found willing to face the danger and undertake the labor, notwithstanding its extreme necessity. Moved by these miseries and encouraged by some devoted men of our nation residing in Paris, though destitute of almost everything necessary for so long and dangerous a journey, I set out for the place in the beginning of 1666, in company of some French merchants, and discovered on arriving that rumor had not exaggerated the wretched condition of the Catholic inhabitants. I began at once to catechise, hear confessions, administer the Blessed Eucharist and Extreme Unction and bury the dead; and so by God's favor did I spend more than two years with much success. About thirty even of the English abjured their heresy before me, as is shown by many letters of well-known persons which I have brought back with me, one of which, given me by the Jesuit Fathers when I was leaving St. Christopher's, I send to your lordship as a sample of all. They show that the salary paid to me by the pious charity of the S. Congregation was not uselessly or badly expended; for which and for your other kindness to me I offer my best thanks, and beg your lordship to excuse me if you have not had letters from me, as I have frequently written to those who advised my going and obtained your charitable help for me, as my Most Illustrious Lord Elect of Cashel well knows. I am now going to Ireland, intending always to return, when the opportunity offers, to these most wretched islands, if it so seem good to my Ordinary and if fit companions in such a labor can be found. For one or two are not enough for such a mission, owing to the great distances to be traversed and to the great numbers of the Catholics, who are not less than twelve thousand. On the last occasion I expended whatever I had of my own or could beg or borrow from my friends, until by the peace and a treaty between the kings the captured islands were restored to the English, so that I could no longer remain in them, or pass over to the other English islands. For the English will visit all their losses on the Irish Catholics and on myself in particular, although I was not there at all when the war commenced, so that I thought it better on the advice of my friends to leave the islands for a time so as not to suffer the fate of a thief or a robber."

With his letter Fr. Grace sends the following report which gives further particulars about the Irish then there.

"The first of the American islands at which the French and other nations also call, is named Martinique, in which before the recent troubles there were some few Irish, whose numbers have been lately increased by those cast out from the other islands, so that I consider there are there now about two hundred. Their

spiritual necessities are not so great as those of the others who live in the following named islands, for, being amongst French Catholics though ignorant of their language, they can when necessary use signs and gestures and receive the sacraments from the ecclesiastics who labor there in the Lord's vineyard.

"Sailing thence to the south about sixty leagues we meet the celebrated English island called Barbadoes, which contains at least forty thousand inhabitants" (he does not include the blacks, of whom there were close on a hundred thousand then there), "amongst whom there are at least eight thousand Irish Catholics. Destitute of every religious help, their constancy in the faith, notwithstanding the heavy fines, threats, promises and other means by which the heretics endeavor to pervert them, is wonderful and miraculous. To the north, thirty leagues distant from Martinique, is another large island, Guadaloupe, in which in the same, or in a worse spiritual state there are living amongst the French at least eight hundred Irish, dwelling in the barren and remote parts of the island. And although the island is Catholic, that is little or no advantage to them on account of the distance, the difficulty of access, and scarcity of priests on the island. On the way from this to St. Christopher's, thirty leagues distant, are two English islands; to the right, Antigua, in which are four hundred Irish, and to the left, Montserrat. This is almost wholly inhabited by Irish, of whom it contains about two thousand. They have recently received there an Irish governor, a Catholic, who will afford a secure protection to priests going thither.

"In the island of Menis (should be *Neris*) near St. Christopher's, and in St. Christopher's itself in which now French and English live together, there are four hundred Irish, who, if they go on Sunday to hear Mass in the French churches, or take their children to be baptized, are fined or flogged by the English.

"In the smaller islands scattered around these, as Tobago, St. Eustatius, St. Martin's, etc., there is a smaller and uncertain number of Catholics living amongst the heretics, who are all in the most imminent danger of perversion, unless by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, laborers are sent into the harvest of the Lord."

Dr. Burgatt's efforts to help his abandoned countrymen were attended with slight success. This result he declares in a letter to the Internuncio dated 5th February, 1673.¹ "I have been trying for more than two years by desire of the S. Congregation, conveyed to me through Card. Barbarini, to find some priests suitable for the mission to the American islands, where many thousands of our countrymen are living miserably without pastors or help of

¹ *Spicil. Oss.*, i., 511.

sacraments. And I have only lately and with much difficulty, such is the scarcity of priests here, found one capable of undertaking that work."

Here ends what we have been able to find recorded of our first Irish emigrants to America.

Some very few other records there are of them, one here and there in Barbadoes, sad enough to have drawn something like sympathy even from such a national enemy as Froude. In the porch of the old-fashioned parish church of St. John's, one is seen which he describes.¹ "At the porch was an ancient slab on which was a coat of arms, a crest with a hand and sword, and a motto, '*Sic nos, sic nostra tuemur.*' The inscription said that it was in memory of Michael Mahon 'of the Kingdom of Ireland,' erected by his children and grand-children. Who was Michael Mahon? Some expatriated, so-called rebel, I suppose, whose sword could not defend him from being Barbados'd with so many other poor wretches who were sent the same road—victims of the tragi-comedy of the English Government in Ireland. There were plenty of them wandering about in Labat's time" (Labat was a French priest who visited Barbadoes about 1700, and wrote an account of the island), "ready as Labat observes to lend a help to the French should they take a fancy to land a force in the island." Little wonder indeed if they were! The tragi-comedy was unevenly cast—for them all the tragedy—for their masters the comedy.

Writers note with surprise that in Barbadoes there is a numerous class between the descendants of the great planters and the people of color, who preserve no record of their ancestors coming to the island, nor any tradition of an earlier home beyond the ocean. Our Irish race has a good memory, and turns ever towards Ireland with longing eyes of love. Irish fathers and mothers have ever taught their children to reverence the mother-land they might never hope to see. Might they have kept silence—they could not have forgotten—in Barbadoes, lest mention of Ireland should recall a story of woe—the dark disgrace of slavery—which a proud race desired that its children should never know or remember?

¹ *English in the West Indies*, c. 9.

THE TIMES THAT LED UP TO DANTE.

TO read the "Divina Comedia" with a due appreciation of its full scope and meaning, requires a preparation in many directions beyond the diligence of the bulk of readers. Not a few sin by this omission, and so lose the purport of the one poem which, above all others, embodies the divine genius of Christianity. Dante's great work is as truly the product of the times which saw its birth as the cathedrals of the Middle Ages are the expression of the thought and aspirations of the peoples who built them. To comprehend the work we must know the materials used in its construction, and this we can only arrive at by an acquaintance with the history of the centuries from which the sombre Florentine quarried them. But here our investigation cannot stop short without losing the one thing which elucidates the obscurities that would otherwise depreciate its just valuation. The Middle Ages will ever remain an enigma to the reader who contents himself with the narrow knowledge of the cycle of events in which they moved. To estimate them at their true proportion we must ascend further up the stream of time, and trace the currents of human affairs to those sources whence issued the varied and intense life of mediæval Christendom. The space at our disposal forbids us from giving, except in large outline, the social and political movements which developed, and ran into, an epoch nowhere else so faithfully pictured in all its vigorous life as in the "Divina Comedia."

Where to begin presents little difficulty, for, if anywhere in the course of their history, a markedly visible change began to take place in the national and social life of European peoples, it was shortly after the seat of empire had been transferred from the West to the East by Constantine the Great. The motive that may have prompted the Roman Emperor to this course need not concern us. But it is evident, in the course of events which followed, that change was of immense moment to the welfare of the Western World. From the date of the founding of the Byzantine Polity, the storm-cloud which had so long hung on the outskirts of the Empire grew ominously in dimensions. The menace became daily more dangerous, and at last in the reign of Valens, not fifty years from the death of Constantine, we see the barbarian Goths, pressed forward by the Huns in their rear, break through the barriers of the weakened Empire, and at Adrianople strike

from without the first mortal blow to Roman greatness. This was the outbreak of the tempest destined to eclipse the splendor of that mighty civilization which Roman genius, through twelve centuries of conquest, had elaborated to the limits of the then known world. From this time forward, the West was abandoned to its fate by Constantinople, and the line of its emperors, succeeding Theodosius the Great, was but an exhibition of impotent figure-heads, who neither adorned nor guided the vessel of state.

In the reign of Trajan the Empire had reached its greatest extent, and the policy of the emperors thenceforward, ceasing to be aggressive, assumed the defensive. The Roman state had attained the limits of its expansive power. The force which had pushed its conquering arms to the furthestmost ends of the earth, had finally spent itself. On the east, Syria stayed the onward march of its victorious eagles, while to the north and northeast multitudinous tribes of barbarians, only held in check by the experienced discipline of legions fast relaxing their hardihood, hovered like swarms of locusts, ready to enter upon the fair regions before them to consume and devastate. Rome at last learned that she no longer possessed the energy of aggression. For two centuries forced to stand on the defensive, she merely held her own against a power which was, at last, destined to sweep her, the sceptred tyranny, from the face of the earth. In 410 A.D., the Goths, under Alaric, poured like a devouring flood into Italy, and the Imperial city itself was given over to the savage lust of its brutal conquerors. Scarcely had the fury of this storm spent itself, when the Huns, under the leadership of Attila, burst in all their unbridled rage upon the enfeebled Empire. As his uncountable hosts passed through the fated regions of their march, a wilderness behind them marked their awful course. Prosperous cities lay smouldering in their ruins, and whole populations, decimated by the barbarian sword, dwindled to a hopeless handful. The fields, for want of cultivators, were changed into silent deserts. Solitude and death were the only harvests reaped from Attila's sowing. It was, indeed, as if the wrath of an offended God had swept the face of a once fair earth.

The final catastrophe came about in the reign of Romulus-Augustus, a befitting diminutive for the last Roman emperor, when the decrepitude of age had made the Roman name a mockery. Upon the ruins of ancient Rome, Odoacer, chief of the invading Heruli, founded a short-lived kingdom, to be succeeded by another barbarian dynasty almost as fleeting. But the end was not yet. Italy, though exhausted and dismembered through two centuries of invasion, endured the visitation of a foe more cruel, rapacious, and stubborn than any that had yet afflicted her with

predatory wars. In the middle of the sixth century, the Lombards swarmed down from the north, and, in the upper half of the peninsula, founded a monarchy which endured until the time of Charlemagne, and from whose loins sprang that network of Italian republics whose enmities and distractions, in Dante's day, so disturbed the exile's hopes. Meanwhile, France, Germany, Spain, and Britain were the theatres of like events. The numberless tribes that had been surging against the barriers of the Empire for so many centuries, after the first irruption, poured out over the whole of Europe in irrepressible multitudes. As the waters of a mighty sea, held in check for a time by a system of powerful dykes, but at last bursting through the impeding barrier, rush in an angry torrent over the unprotected country, this untamed and uncouth flood of humanity spread impetuously over the rich provinces of the once invincible Empire. So great was the force of this outburst, that its furthestmost wave washed even the shores of Africa, and we find the Vandals establishing a powerful kingdom upon the site of ancient Carthage. Gaul falls a prey to the Franks, Spain is subdued by the Visigoths, Britain is seized upon by the Saxons, first its allies and then its masters, while the shores of the Baltic, and the regions of the east still remain nurseries of barbaric valor and future invaders.

In the first quarter of the seventh century the Saracenic power, terrible as the simoon, rises like a phantom from the desert, and rapidly matures to the formidable dimensions of an empire almost equal to that of ancient Rome itself. The Greek emperors are forced to bear the brunt of the zeal of conquest. Although the removal of the seat of empire to Byzantium has been criticised adversely as the abandonment of the West to the ravages of the fierce invaders, on the other hand, when we regard the terrible dangers which threatened Europe in the sudden and unparalleled rise of Mahometanism, we are forced to appreciate the providence that placed the only disciplined and solid power of the civilized world on the eastern frontiers of Europe as a bulwark against the rude but overwhelming fanaticism of Islamism. This is especially visible at a later period when the Suljukian Turks, issuing from the savage and inhospitable deserts of the north, pour the fiery torrent of their volcanic zeal over Asia-Minor, only stopping at the walls of Constantinople, where Greek ingenuity held them at bay until the fifteenth century. If the full power of the Empire had not been massed and centralized around the Bosphorus to stem this destructive torrent, while the Western nations were forming and consolidating into something like unity, it is not at all improbable that European civilization would have been retarded for several centuries. Had the stream of barbarism from the North

and the flood of fanaticism from the South met upon European soil, as they must have met without Constantinople between, Europe might now be what Asia-Minor now is.

As it was, with the lower Empire standing as a bulwark against Islamism up to the fifteenth century, the adolescent nations of Europe had sufficient time to develop that unity of power which enabled them, moved by the mighty impulse of a common religious faith, to precipitate their pent-up martial ardor upon the Moslem in his lately acquired home. The desertion of the West by the Greeks, although the admitted source of many deplorable evils, in this light was the salvation of Europe. The lower Empire not only served to check Islamism, than which no greater foe to our civilization can be imagined, but by abandoning the Western nations, gave them an opportunity, charged as they were with the fresh blood of their conquerors, to bring forth that vigorous and independent life which has ever since characterized and so strongly marked them off from all other peoples of the world.

Goth, Frank, Vandal, Saxon, Lombard and Norman seemed, indeed, to be the locust plagues of civilization. When we look upon the Empire in the period of its prosperity, and then upon it in its desolation after those withering blasts of barbarism had swept over its fair provinces, the contrast stands out in ghastly relief. See it as Tertullian writes of it in the second century: "The world," he says, "has more of cultivation every day, and is better furnished than in times of old. All places are opened up now; all are familiarly known; all are scenes of business. Smiling farms have obliterated the notorious wilderness; tillage has tamed the forest land; flocks have put to flight the beasts of prey. Sandy tracts are sown; roads are put into shape; marshes are drained. There are more cities now than there were cottages at one time. Islands are no longer wild; the crag is no longer frightful; everywhere there is a home, a population, a State, and a livelihood."¹ Such was imperial Rome, the mistress of the nations, in the plenitude of her power. Listen to another witness, at the opening of the seventh century, when her glory was a tale of the past, and the cup of humiliation proffered by barbarian hands to her imperial lips, had been drained to the dregs. Hear St. Gregory the Great raise his voice in lamentation over the degraded form of one who had fallen from such high estate. "Sights and sounds of war," he cries, "meet us on every side. The cities are destroyed; the military stations are broken up; the lands are devastated; the earth depopulated. No one remains in the country; scarcely any inhabitants in the towns; yet, even the poor remains of human

¹ Newman's translation in *Idea of a University*.

kind are still smitten daily and without intermission. Before our eyes some are carried away captive, some mutilated, some murdered. She, herself, who was once mistress of the world, how fallen now! worn down by manifold and incalculable distresses, the bereavement of citizens, the attack of foes, the reiteration of overthrows, where is her Senate? Where are her people? We, the few survivors, are still the daily prey of the sword, and of other innumerable tribulations. Where are they, who in a former day revelled in her glory? where is their pomp, their pride, their frequent and immoderate joy? Youngsters, young men of the world, congregated here from every quarter, where they aimed at secular advancement. Now no one hastens up to her for preferment; and so it is with other cities also; some places are laid waste by pestilence, others are depopulated by the sword, others are tormented by famine, and others are swallowed up by earthquakes.¹

Such, as described by an eye-witness, were these ages of anarchy. Confusion had eaten into the very vitals of society. The sword, famine, rapine and captivity were daily visitations to the afflicted peoples of those fearful centuries. Calamity became their bed-fellow and life merely an escape from death. Writing to the Emperor of Constantinople, Pope Agatho describes the deplorable condition of the West in these grievous words; "In these parts the fury of our various heathen foes is ever breaking out afresh, whether in conflicts or in inroads and rapine. Hence, our life is simply one of anxiety of soul and labor of body: of anxiety, because we are in the midst of heathens; of labor, because the maintenance which used to come to us as ecclesiastics, is at an end; so that our faith is our only substance; to live in its possession, our highest glory; to die for it, our eternal gain."²

From the opening of the seventh to the ninth centuries, we see the mingled populations of Europe, consisting of the remnants of Roman peoples and their barbarian invaders, tossed about in confusion like the waves of a vast sea under the impetuous fury of contending winds. The hostile forces of heterogeneous peoples are in perpetual collision. Tribe contends with tribe for the privilege of settling the conquered territory, and the old population, although prostrate beneath the heel of the invader, yet by mere force of being on the ground, offer a passive resistance to the encroachers. The antagonism arising out of disputed interests amongst the conquering and the natural antipathy of the conquered against their aggressors, loosens the very framework of human society. Order is shaken to its foundations, and the bonds of the old discipline are rent into a thousand shreds.

¹ Newman's translation in *Idea of a University*.

² *Ibid.*

At length, in the dawn of the eighth century, arises some semblance of unity out of the wreck. Pepin the Short, King of France, invited by Pope Stephen into Italy, in order to check the victorious career of the Lombards, lays the foundations of Charlemagne's empire. The latter, crowned by Pope Leo III. as Emperor of the West, brings about a unity which seems like a breathing-spell to a man, long spent with unremitted toil and battle. But Charlemagne's unity is by no means tranquility, and his reign is crowded with wars at home and abroad. Shortly after his death the empire is dismembered, and the old strife renewed; not, however, with the same hopeless violence and disorder, for a new principle, which had been gradually leavening the masses of barbarism for the last three centuries, has entered into the social structure. It has laid hold of the vitals of social existence and, slowly reducing chaos to order, develops out of confusion a system and a unity. In Charlemagne's empire we may perceive the first tentative expression of this new order. Let it be noted, that he is crowned emperor by the Spiritual Power, and receives the imperial dignity and title from the hands of Pope Leo III., without solicitation on the part of the Frankish king.

Christianity has been penetrating by degrees into the social life of the period, moulding its barbaric elements by the unity of a common faith into a coherent form. The task is not, of course, perfectly accomplished, for the material is not yet plastic enough to shape into perfect form. It is both too brittle through the indomitable pride of barbarism, and too fluid through the fierce heat of its unbridled passions, to model readily under the hands of the artist, however skilful. Still, the rude outline is sufficiently indicated there to make the impress of a dominant new idea visible.

During this same period we see the embryonic formation of the national life of European peoples. The line of demarcation, for a long time, keeps advancing and receding, and only becomes definitively fixed, after some three centuries. But, even now national affinities begin to show themselves, and group into the different nuclei of the distinct bodies, into which they are later developed. Thus, while unity is being attained in the mass, a separation into homogeneous groups begins to manifest itself; while Christendom is being fashioned, national Europe is first being realized. A unity and an independence are simultaneously shaping themselves into a common channel, under a common impulse,—a subordination to one dominant idea, and yet an autonomy of action, such as the world had never before witnessed in combination. Society at this period does not consciously realize what is going on within its bosom, nor can it yet scientifically appraise it. But a new

principle has entered into its constitution, destined to build up an ampler and higher structure than any that has yet preceded it.

Rome had founded and elaborated an institution beyond comparison in all antiquity, a State of colossal proportions and universal power in the epochs of its duration. This institution was the visible expression of the dominant idea of the Roman people carried out with a tenacity of purpose and an energy unique in the world's history. The Roman stamp was impressed relentlessly upon all peoples who came under her yoke. The supremacy of the State, as conceived and wrought out by the Romans, was the end of all human endeavor, the goal of all human aspirations, the embodiment of the highest ideal man might conceive. The individual under the dominion of this ideal, was only an insignificant part of the whole. His life was a mere breath in the balance against the supreme right of the State. The individual citizen lived simply for the State, whose greatness completely overshadowed him.

In Judea, during the reign of Augustus, One had taught, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's," and had founded a sect with a fundamental doctrine that every individual soul was infinitely precious. This sect had penetrated every department of the empire, propagating this new doctrine, in spite of the completely organized power of the Roman State directed against it ten distinct times. Well might Cæsar fear for the safety of the Roman State before the irresistible force of the Nazarene's teaching that "it avails a man nothing to gain the whole world and lose his own soul." For the first time the Roman State found that there was something it could not control, something beyond the reach of its jurisdiction and its might. The State might condemn and destroy without mercy the followers of this new creed, but it failed to break down their conviction, and, to its astonishment, learned that there was something in a poor weak individual, which could brave the most atrocious terrors of the Roman law. This was a blow, indeed, to the majesty of Rome, and the emperors felt it instinctively. In their hands was placed the supreme power of earth, and in the presence of the Christian martyr they saw that power broken and shattered.

Rome died a natural death—the death of decrepitude when the vital forces have wasted away. Christianity seized upon and worked through the decaying forms of pagan Rome as best it could, and witnessed the tottering steps of her senility to the grave. But there was no redemption for the empire. It had fulfilled its destiny; the corpse could not be resuscitated. Nor was this desirable, for ancient Rome and mediæval Christendom were incompatible. The old forces were worn out, and no artificial

stimulus could repair them. But out of the north and the northeast came fresh blood, a new vigor, an irresistible energy, young hearts, strong though crude intellects, to be built up into powerful nations upon the ruins that strewed the path of ancient greatness. A Christian empire was to take the place of the Roman, and it was to be fashioned upon an entirely new principle. Its ruling idea was to be, not the supreme power of State, but the eternal value of the subject. The foundations of Christendom were laid on the lines that the State was henceforth to be the servant of the citizen. It was to subserve the individual as he worked out his eternal destiny. The institution was henceforth to be subordinate to the interests of the individual. The individual's rights were to be estimated in the light of his final end, and the State was to be the temporal medium of his immortal welfare. Such a principle was necessarily and radically opposed to the Roman conception of the State. The value of the individual had been wiped out in the Roman world by the intense emphasis which the Roman people had placed upon their institutions. The Roman State developed out of the Roman nation could never become, therefore, the vehicle of the Christian idea. A new framework must be elaborated by the Christian consciousness to embody the new idea which had seized upon human society. The barbarians, who had inherited by conquest what Rome had left behind her, knew nothing of the State in the Roman or, in any other, sense. They were a multitudinous embodiment of lawlessness. The bonds which held the members of a tribe together, were of the weakest character, and could be broken up at the slightest provocation. The first irruption of passion was sufficient to throw their loosely constructed confederations into confusion. License was the ruling force of their lives, and the restraining elements of their nature were swept away like straws when the passion of the hour was upon them. Discipline among such peoples was out of the question, and unity a mere shadow. Restless and nomadic, they wandered about in a state of perpetual conflict. The stable life of a settled community was unknown to them, and the Roman notion of a dominating State utterly repugnant. But in this lay their future strength. They never could have been assimilated into the Roman polity, where the supremacy of a despotic government ruled the individual's life with an iron rigor, moulding it mercilessly to the Titanic ends of the State. But they were amenable to a principle, which could construct a State, wherein the individual's rights, based on a spiritual sanction, was the first solicitude of the law. Christianity, therefore, found them a pliable, if not a prepared, material, out of which to build the Christian commonwealth. But first, the lawlessness of their uncurbed natures

must be restricted, and the barbarian tamed to a state of submission which could guarantee the working of the common law. The ore must be crushed and the metal fused before it can be moulded. This was the process which we witness through that period of the world's history, known as the dark ages.

First of all, we see a strongly centralized spiritual power rising on the very spot, whence Roman genius issued to subdue the world. Rome went forth to her universal conquest with the sword in her right hand and the marvellous discipline of her legions to direct it. Christianity went forth to her universal dominion with spiritual weapons in her hands and the wonderful unity of her faith to make them efficacious. At the same time it must be remembered that the conquest was not an easy one, and often more apparent than real. Human nature is not moulded to a principle except with an effort and a persistence, which often takes centuries to be effective. The barbarian conquerors of old Rome were not to bend their stubborn necks to the yoke of new Rome without a struggle. Long centuries of unrestrained independence had developed their passions to a strength and a ferocity, which would not submit with patience to the assuaging hand of correction. In the persons of the German emperors of the Holy Roman empire, this contention takes a definite and colossal shape in their long warfare with the Papacy. It had been waged in many shapes before it assumed the terrible proportions it first presents in the times of Henry IV. and Gregory VII.

Barbarism cropping out in unrestrained pride and brutal force, had ever been putting forth its strength against the spiritual element rudely and imperfectly accepted in those times by the bulk of northern peoples. In the German emperors it assailed the Christian principle with the concentrated force of several centuries and with an organization of power with which Christianity itself had endowed it. Nevertheless, the principle of material force and the independence of the material man from all spiritual control had never before been weaker than when the German emperors, in their persons, made it a matter of contention. The only condition of society, in which it could thrive successfully, was passing away beneath the inspiring breath of Christianity. It is only in a state of barbarism, such as Christianity had found the German populations sunk in, that this principle of material independence can obtain. Christianity had unified the peoples of Europe, gathering them together under the dominating influence of a spiritual idea, given them an established form of government and laid the basis of a freedom for the individual, which should be protected and fostered by the just hand of the law. Not all at once, be it understood, but by slow degrees, step by step, ap-

proximating to this ideal, were the rude masses of Europe being formed. In proportion, therefore, as barbarism waned, Christianity grew, and the power of the Papacy increased. This it was that enabled the peoples of the Middle Ages to brave with impunity the desperate rage and stubborn pride of the German Kaisers. This it was, that gave their spiritual thunderbolts such tremendous efficacy against the sovereign, who had perverted the exalted duties of his office.

Already as early as the first half of the ninth century, the Canons of the Council of Aix-la Chapelle declared that "Kingdoms were lost through default of justice."

"Princes learned, moreover," says Frederick Ozanam, "what antiquity had ignored, that political obedience had its limitations; that, all formidable as they were, their swords could never efface a single one of God's commandments, and that the temporal power had no jurisdiction in the domain of conscience. There was much to do for the future in thus preserving the principle of equality; in assuring the subject the freedom of practising virtue, which is the first of all considerations; in establishing justice in the will, whence sooner or later, it must descend into institutions; and in maintaining finally, in the midst of violence and tyranny, the idea of duty, from the fulfilment of which are derived all rights."

In times such as we have been describing, the necessity of some bond of union was obvious. Such a bond could not be found in the perpetually colliding interests of a number of alien races struggling for mastery upon the same soil. When we consider the rise of the feudal system during this same period, the need of the domination of some universal power, whose authority could be allowed by all and disputed by none with impunity, becomes still stronger. As a natural result of the disruptions in society, brought about by the barbarian invasions, men gathered together in groups to better defend themselves against a daily aggressor. The weaker sought the protection of the stronger, and in return yielded vassalage to the one who was thus able to succor him. The result of this was the development of the feudal system, where group formed within group, the smaller within the larger, and out of which arose that relation of dependence of the vassal on his liege lord. The unity thus afforded, was at best precarious, and while it welded the few together in the common cause of protection, severed the many by wide gaps. One powerful feudal lord had nothing in common with another, and distrust, jealousy and habitual warfare grew out of their daily differences. A common authority, whose power should be spiritual, was necessary to hold in check the mutually destructive tendencies of a system whose evils were only less imperfect than its benefits. In the Papacy such a spiritual

power arose. For this reason we find the Popes of these ages the spiritual sovereigns of all Europe, acknowledged universally as the arbitrators in disputes between temporal lords. Out of this condition of affairs sprang up what has been appropriately termed the public law of the Middle Ages.

The Holy Roman Empire was founded on the implicit notion that the temporal power should be brought into the service of the spiritual authority in order to accomplish that unity among the nascent States of Europe which was so necessary for the preservation of law and order. It was desirable that a universal temporal authority should receive the sanction of the spiritual power in order to preserve peace and further justice, where otherwise the rights of men would be lost in chaos and riot. The reason of the empire's existence lay, therefore, in its good will to second the Church in establishing concord among men and nations. The imperial power was only valid when used for this purpose, and only received the sanction of the spiritual authority when wielded to that end.

Under the sceptre of Charlemagne, the empire nobly served its purpose. But the German Kaisers, finding the spiritual so effective in confirming the temporal authority, sought to assume it to themselves for the aggrandizement of their power. The right and power of investing bishops with the ring and crozier, the symbols of their spiritual jurisdiction, was claimed by the German emperors. As a result of this assumption, abuses and scandals heavily burdened the hierarchy. Simony grew apace; Sees were sold to the highest bidder, and creatures only too pliant to their temporal lord's will, filled some of the most important spiritual offices of the Church. Gregory VII., as soon as he had ascended the Pontifical throne, determined to root out the evil once for all. For a layman to confer spiritual authority upon bishops of the Church was simply to subvert the whole purpose of Christendom. As a layman does not himself possess spiritual authority, he cannot confer it. To grant such a function to the temporal power would have been to admit that the spiritual office was to be wielded in the interest of temporal things, a proposition not only opposed to the principle upon which the empire had been established, but fatal to the constitution of the Church itself. To yield to the claims of the German Kaisers was to deny the controlling idea of Christianity, and to return either to the Roman notion of State supremacy or to that lawless barbarism out of which the Church had lifted the peoples of Europe. It would have been to acknowledge that both the civil polity and the individual citizen were entirely independent of the spiritual law. It was just this notion of false independence which had led the ancestors of the

German people to be perpetual and restless wanderers over the face of the earth. To admit the validity of their claim was to give up all that Christianity had accomplished. Gregory VII. placed the issue clearly and immediately before the world, and Henry IV. put forth all his energies and powers to combat it. But so vividly had the idea of spiritual supremacy seized hold of the minds of men, that the emperors played a losing game from the very beginning. As each successive Imperial claimant entered into the contest, so each retired from it weaker than his predecessor, and on the death of Frederick the Second, their spurious cause virtually collapsed.

Dante lived in an age when Europe was just emerging from this momentous struggle, and its echoes still disturbed men's peace of mind. The poet of the "*Divina Comedia*" was an inhabitant of one of the most powerful cities of northern Italy, where the brunt of the conflict had been borne, and out of which first emerged the spirit of Italian nationality. These cities of the northern peninsula took an important part in the struggle, and were divided more than once upon the issue. The Guelphs, or that party opposed to the emperor, predominated amongst them, and, in the famous Lombard League, made powerful opposition against the imperial master. Their independence triumphed in the result. But, like all other states of mediæval times, the evils of feudalism distracted and divided them. Factions rent them asunder, and the jealousy of power made them implacable foes. Out of the strife between the Papacy and the Empire issued a spirit of nationality which had never before appeared amongst them. It was through their contest with the German Emperors that the Italian cities began to realize, not only their own native independence, but also that unity which was to be the root of their national life. In Dante's day, however, the dust of the battle still obscured the real issue. Partisan feeling was yet too hot to permit the exercise of cool judgment, and the tremendous effects of the long struggle lay still too far in the future to be grasped by the participants. The tradition of the old empire had entered as another element to confuse the minds of men. The new empire was confounded with old Rome. The revival of the study of Roman jurisprudence in the twelfth century largely contributed to this notion, and the Hohenstaufen was not slow to seize upon this posthumous evidence as a witness to his own claims of supremacy. As the legitimate successor of Cæsar, and lord of the earth by divine right, he made pretensions to universal dominion. This was Dante's view, and hence we find in him such an ardent advocate of the empire. But the claim was baseless. The historical genesis of the Holy Roman Empire was entirely overlooked, and

the principle upon which it had been founded was utterly repugnant to the idea out of which had sprung the universal sway of the Cæsars. If anywhere, that right and title belonged to the Court of Constantinople, but the Greek Emperors had long ago forfeited their rights in the western world by abandoning them.

The strongest objection to this assumption of the Imperialists lay in the fact that the mediæval empire could not have possibly reconstructed the world upon the old Roman basis. The ancient forces had been exhausted, and the Roman type had disappeared forever. A new principle had entered into the social organization, and was constructing a new political fabric as different from old Rome as the Gothic cathedral from the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. This fact, as well as its historical genesis, the advocates of the empire's supreme jurisdiction utterly ignored. In old Rome, the State had been supreme, the individual but an ignoble part of the machine. In the new Empire, the State had been established to subserve the higher interests of the subject, whose eternal end had been made visible by the Christian dispensation. The supreme jurisdiction of the temporal power was, in the light of the new teaching, out of the question, and no State could henceforth rise to the absolute position which old Rome had occupied. The claim of the mediæval emperors to the independent and despotic rights of the dead Cæsars was not only illogical but totally opposed to the new order of things. The historical genesis of the new empire was an unquestionable witness to the hollowness of their pretensions to be the successors of the Roman Cæsars. There had been no Cæsar in Rome from the time of Romulus Augustulus. Outside of all considerations of what Charlemagne had represented, through the imperial dignity, and how he had entered upon its possession, it was practically absurd to suppose that a dynasty dead four hundred years could be lineally or legitimately revived in the person of a barbarian king of foreign extraction.

While the movements which we have been describing were going on within the body social and political, human thought also began to feel the effects of the change. When barbarism first took possession of the empire, the results to intellectual life were inevitably disastrous. A people plunged in the horrors of war, when life and property were as unstable as the weather, could of necessity have little time to devote to the pursuit of letters and science. We have seen how full of anxiety of mind and solicitude of body were the times of Pope Agatho, when ecclesiastics, who of all others in those days cultivated learning, were forced to do manual labor for their daily sustenance. If such adverse conditions to the pursuit of knowledge held in the case of churchmen, we can im-

agine how little opportunity there could have been for the progress of learning at all. Indeed, with the invasions of the barbarians seemed to come the total eclipse of light, not only in the social but in the intellectual order. What interest would these rough nomads, whose lives were passed on the battlefield, take in the peaceful domain of letters? What time could the distracted people of the demolished empire give to the cultivation of learning, when the perpetual effort of their lives was to defend themselves from the formidable foe spread over Europe from end to end. Under these blighting influences the decline of letters was inevitable. As a natural consequence, these centuries, speaking generally, are devoid of intellectual life; not, however, so completely benighted as is commonly supposed, but sadly crippled by the terrible circumstances which had seemed to wreck the social body. A notable exception to this must be made in favor of England and Ireland, which then enjoyed the security of a happy isolation. Separated from the mainland, these two islands of the North escaped the full stress of the storm which swept over the Continent, and thus enjoying a comparative immunity, were enabled to produce a galaxy of scholars who might have done credit to any age. But on the continent there had been a practical abandonment of letters, as the struggle for existence was sufficient to absorb the entire time of life. If it had not been for the zealous care of monasticism, in preserving the old learning during this turbulent period, we would now in vain deplore the loss of the Roman classics. Fortunately, monasticism, in spite of the almost overwhelming obstacles which confronted it, was able to shelter the precious treasures from the fury of the tempest, and like another ark carry the rich freight of ancient learning safely over the waters of the barbarous inundation.

As in Charlemagne's time we discover the first attempt towards unity in the political life of Europe, so, also, under the same great monarch, we see the first effort towards the systematizing of learning. But the intellectual life of Europe had taken into itself a new element. A new principle had entered into the thought of mankind. The pitiful doubt of Tacitus, so chastely mourning the departed Agricola, as to the future existence of the human soul, had become a living reality to the peoples of Europe. The ethical basis of human conduct had become totally changed. In the light of the Christian dispensation man had assumed larger relations than with the State and his fellow-man merely. He had entered into a direct relationship with a Personal Creator, to whom he was accountable for every act of his life, and the possession of whom, in a life beyond the bourne of time, was to constitute his eternal happiness. It had been revealed to man that there were

three Divine Persons in the One Godhead, and that the Second Divine Person of the Holy Trinity had assumed human flesh in order to redeem fallen human nature. A literature had grown up around these truths as its motive and its inspiration. It was the leaven of these new truths that had quickened mediæval Christendom into life, and as soon as mediæval thought awakened to intellectual consciousness, it was natural that it should turn its attention to these new factors in man's mental life. As a result, we have what has been called the Scholastic System of philosophy, so little known in modern times as to be ignorantly ignored.

It was not to be supposed that Christianity, which had been so vigorously assailed in the political and social world, would escape like attacks in the intellectual order. Its opponents argued, that if what claimed to be truth in the supernatural order, could be shown to be opposed to truth in the natural order, the foundations of its credibility would therefore be destroyed. On the other hand it was incumbent upon Christianity in the face of these objections to show that the truth which it taught, as divinely revealed, was not inconsistent with the sure and certain principles of natural reason. Just as Christianity had seized upon the imperfect human elements around it, through which to work its mission in the world, and in renewing them, build for itself the Christian State, so in its intellectual life it seized upon the imperfect materials of Pagan philosophy, out of which to elaborate, after purifying them, the new structure of Christian thought. With the light of the new revelation to guide them, the Christian thinkers of mediæval times set about their Titanic task. Although Scholasticism as a philosophy is supposed to begin with Scotus Erigena, it may be said that its roots struck back far beyond the ninth century. Yet it was not until the beginning of the eleventh century that it began to assume the vast proportions that afterwards made it architectonic. Through Roscelin, William of Champeaux, Anselm, Abelard, Peter the Lombard, the Schools of St. Genevieve and St. Victor; through Albertus Magnus, and finally culminating in its integrity in St. Thomas of Aquin, the Scholastic movement grew into a perfect system. Dante was yet a boy when Scholasticism came intact from the hands of the great Dominican. He had studied in Paris when the voice of the Master yet re-echoed within its walls. St. Thomas was still a fountain of light to the University, and his fame had flooded Europe. There was still another great Doctor, the bosom friend of the Angel of the Schools, one, whose words also yet resounded within those famous precincts, and whose impress was visibly stamped upon the mind of the Florentine; this was St. Bonaventure, termed in those ages of distinctive titles, the Seraphic Doctor. The Dominican and the Fran-

ciscan represented, each in his way, a School of Philosophy, in doctrine one, in method distinct. St. Thomas was Aristotelian; St. Bonaventure, Platonic. In Dante is to be found the double, but harmonious impress of both, blended and fused by the divine ardor of the poet's genius; for the Divine Comedy is but the artistic embodiment of Scholasticism. In architecture we see its expression blossoming in marble in the Gothic cathedral, in theology in the colossal Summa of St. Thomas, and in poetry in the Divine Comedy. Each embodies the same aspiration heavenward, each in its details exquisite, subtle and delicate, and each in its full proportions massive and solid as the earth itself. Each is built upon the same idea, the upward struggle of the human soul to its final end in God. Each in its own order the complete summation of mediæval Christianity, voicing the Christian principle which had created it. The destiny of the human soul, measured by the standard of its final end, may be called the central thought of the Divine Comedy. This was the new principle which Christianity had introduced into the world, this the factor out of which had been builded the mediæval Christian State, this the intellectual element which had elaborated Scholastic Philosophy, and this the motive, around which revolves the wonderful machinery of the Divine Comedy.

The impress of this great principle had stamped itself indelibly upon the mind of the Florentine poet, and lent wings to his genius to explore the topmost heights of being. His was an age pregnant with this inspiration. It had seized upon the lives of men, builded them into a society which laid the foundations for the world's future freedom. It was this period of the world's political and social existence which bridged the gap between the tyranny of the old and the liberty of the new civilization. The scope of man's life had been infinitely enlarged by being made eternal. The human act had become clothed with a super-excellent dignity and a priceless value. No longer limited by the narrow walls of time, in which the old heathenism had prisoned it like a captive bird, the human soul had learned to wing its flight to the unbounded regions of the infinite good. Death was no longer an impenetrable darkness, or at best, the gloom of a doubt, but the portal to the imperishable light of Eternal Truth. Doubt and fear had been disarmed by faith and hope. The unity of the race had been reaffirmed and cemented by Christian charity, lifting the human heart above the petty interests of space and time. Man had been regenerated, for the Light of the world had come into it.

This new relationship of man to his Creator is the theme of Dante's sublime work. If, as a rational creature, endowed with all the means of nature and grace to attain his final beatitude in union with the source of all being and all good, he refuse to seek

the bliss for which he was brought into life, his then is the place of outer darkness, his will forever fixed in the evil he has freely preferred; if repentant he seeks reconciliation with Divine justice, then his is the state of expiation and purgation; if victorious in his contest with the powers of evil, responsive to the graces which Divine Love has poured out upon him, confirmed in virtue through a steadfast and sanctified will, then his is the ineffable and unfailing joy of the possession of Infinite truth, beauty and goodness face to face with his God. This is the mighty and tremendous theme of the Divine Comedy; the human act measured by its last end.

WAS SAINT PAUL MARRIED?

CANON FARRAR'S ANSWER.

I.

EARNEST men must feel with Dr. Lightfoot that: "The first requisites in a historian are accuracy in stating facts and sobriety in drawing inferences." Even though a book of history "be not written for the minute examination of small details," but "with almost exclusive reference to broad human interests" and "with no pretentious claims to be either exhaustive or absolutely original," yet, this principle cannot be played fast and loose with.

It has struck the writer more than once that Canon Farrar in the historical work he has done has been wanting in accuracy and sobriety. There has been no lack of glow and feeling in his work, and who would have the historian deficient in either? History-writing is no longer naked chronicling. Chronicles have gone out with the age of monks, to whom alone skeletons were "merrie companie." The Past must have flesh on it, plump parts and a winning face, if it is to be made at home with the Present. Therefore, have glow and feeling, place and part in historical writing. But much as these are to be desired as enliveners, is it fair to masquerade them for argument or fact? Or if not put forward precisely in place of these, is it still lawful that they should hold the latter in leading strings, maybe use them as mere repeaters or

emphasizers? In the interests of truth should not positions be reversed?

The careful reader of Farrar's writings will find more than one subject in the treatment of which glow and feeling have taken the reins from judgment. If we have read him rightly, what he feels, and would like to have been the case, at times takes the place of what is more likely to have actually happened. Of this failing, his answer to the question in the title of this article is an instance. Indeed, on the whole question of marriage and the Catholic notion of the excellency of celibacy, he has very strong and constantly recurring feelings, which impress themselves uniquely on matters only in an indirect way connected with these subjects. Hence it has resulted that were the Canon's dicta the only information at hand, the reader would not be apt to conclude that matrimony was valued by Catholics as a sacramental boon; and such a reader must necessarily believe that celibacy in the eyes of Catholics, is as arid in motive and performance as in the ascetic code of Cakyamuni. All this will not appear from what shall be quoted of Farrar's words in this paper; the reader who tests is, however, if he wishes proof of the broader allegation, confidently referred to the Canon's works. For the writer, the task is a narrower one. He intends to show that this prominent English churchman's answer to the question: Was St. Paul married? is lacking "in accuracy in stating facts and sobriety in drawing inferences." He will put together whatever of his bears directly on the question, afterwards taking up in detail the different statements.

On page 45 of "The Life and Works of St. Paul" (Dutton & Co., N. Y.), the Canon writes: "It is only indirectly that we can expect to find an answer to the question as to his marriage. If indeed he was a member of the Sanhedrin, it follows that, by the Jewish requirements for that position, he must have been a married man." That the persecutor, Saul, was a member of the Sanhedrin he takes to be proved, "if we attach a literal meaning to the expression, 'when they were being condemned to death I gave a vote against them (Acts xxvi., 10)': this implies that Saul was a member of the Sanhedrin. If so, he was at this time by the very condition of that dignity, a married man (p. 95)." The reliability of this last assertion is established by a note, the contents of which can be better handled by keeping it over for a few pages. That St. Paul's marriage may be inferred as probable from passages in his Epistles is thus shown: "In I. Cor., ix., 5, he asks the Corinthians, 'Have we not power to lead about a sister, a wife, as well as other Apostles, and as the brethren of the Lord and Kephas?' This passage is inconclusive, though it asserts his right both to marry and to take a wife with him in his missionary journeys if he thought it

expedient. But from I. Cor. vii., 8, it seems a distinct inference that he classed himself among *widowers*; for, he says, 'I say, therefore, to the *unmarried* and widows, it is good for them if they *abide* (μεινωσιν) even as I.' That by the 'unmarried' he here means 'widowers'—for which there is no special Greek word—seems clear, because he has been already speaking, in the first seven verses of the chapter, to those who have never been married. To them he concedes, far more freely than to others, the privilege of marrying if they consider it conducive to Godliness, though in the present state of things, he mentions his own personal predilection for celibacy, in the case of all who had the grace of inward purity. And even apart from the interpretation of this passage, the deep and fine insight of Luther had drawn the conclusion that Paul knew by experience what marriage was, from the wisdom and tenderness which characterize his remarks respecting it. One who had never been married could hardly have written on the subject as he has done, nor could he have shown the same profound sympathy with the needs of all, and received from all the same ready confidence. To derive any inference from the loving metaphors which he draws from the nurture of little children would be more precarious."

If Luther's insight and the Canon's revelation that "One who had never been married could hardly have written on the subject as he (Paul) has done," be sufficient interpretative rules, what a superior chance there is for a work *sui generis*, "Paul's Family Life" let us call it. The Epistles are just brimful of hints, which along the lines spoken of, could be worked up into a complete and, at the same time, minute account of the Saint's experience in housekeeping. Surely in one of the historical series room can be found for a book of this kind! However, it is not Luther's insight, acquired through broken vows, nor the Canon's revelation that the writer has to deal with. It is the asserted facts and interpretation given in the quotations from "The Life and Works of St. Paul," which he intends to meet.

The first point in dispute is the Apostle's Sanhedrinic membership. This, Canon Farrar considers proved, "if we attach a literal meaning to the expression 'When they were being condemned to death I gave a vote against them (Acts xxvi., 10).'" A *literal meaning* is an exact translation; the exact translation of the original line "ἀναίρουμένων τε αὐτῶν κατήνεγκα ψῆφον" is something like this, "And they being put to death I gave a vote against (them)."
What necessary connection is there between "κατήνεγκα ψῆφον," and official connection with the Sanhedrin? Did the Sanhedrin have the power of life and death at that time, or was it the only council wherein votes were cast? Unless it can be shown that "I

gave a vote against them," was the technical phrase descriptive of voting in the Sanhedrin and as a member of it, it cannot be said that attaching a literal meaning to the expression is one with proclaiming Paul a Sanhedrinite. To read into the line Farrar's version, "I as a Sanhedrinite voted," would be a startling performance in the eyes of more than one Greek scholar. In support of this view let me quote from the Rev. J. Paton Gloag, who in his commendable little work "The Life of St. Paul" (Bible Primer Series, edited by Prof. Salmond, Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark) thus treats the question, "Was Paul married? The affirmative has been maintained by many eminent writers. The ground on which they go is the hypothesis that Paul was a member of the Sanhedrin, it being essential that every one who was so should be married. This supposition they found on the words of St. Paul when, with reference to the Christians, he observes, 'When they were put to death I gave my vote against them,' which they take to mean that he gave his vote as a member of the Sanhedrin. But this is introducing more into the words than they contain. The simple meaning is that he coincided with the views of those who put the Christians to death. And it is extravagant to suppose that a Tarsian Jew, a Hellenist by birth and comparative stranger in Jerusalem, would be admitted into the august body of the Sanhedrin, which numbered among its members the most influential men in Jerusalem—the chief among the Jews. The reason then given for affirming Paul's marriage falls to the ground; he himself, when engaged in his missionary labors, declares that he was unmarried; and there is not the slightest indication, either in the history or in the Epistles, leading us to infer that he was a widower." This extract reaches beyond the immediate object, which was to show that a literal version of the disputed passage would not *ipso facto* finish the dispute, a conclusion the following consideration may strengthen. Paul's part in condemning Christians to death is twice described by the word "consenting." When Stephen, falling on his knees cried with a loud voice saying, "Lord lay not this sin to their charge," and having said this fell asleep in the Lord, St. Luke's comment is: "And Saul was consenting to his death, Σαυλος δὲ ἦν συνευδοκῶν τῇ ἀναίρεσει αὐτοῦ (Acts vii, 60)." And Paul himself in his apologetic before the men of Jerusalem declares "and when the blood of Stephen, thy witness was shed, I stood by and consented, Καὶ ὅτε ἐξεχέττο τὸ αἷμα Στεφάνου τοῦ μαρτύρου σου, καὶ αὐτὸς ἡμῶν ἐφῆστως καὶ συνευδοκῶν (Acts xxii, 20)." We find that the speech before King Agrippa is also an apology for his conversion, and that the expression "I gave my vote" exactly corresponds with the "I was consenting" in the previous speech. Unless such a correspondence be admitted, the Apostle will have omitted in this last ora-

tion reference to the act which of all others haunted his contrite heart, an omission, in face of what we know of Paul's disposition, not easily to be accounted for. In the affair of Stephen, however, it must be admitted there was no question of a court decision. The crowd infuriated by the Saint's utterance, simply "took the law into their own hands and then and there dragged him off to be stoned outside the city gate" (Farrar's *Life*, etc., p. 93). Therefore, if the word "I gave my vote," as the word "I was consenting," does include the persecutor's part in Stephen's murder, and in all probability it does, it cannot refer to a vote cast in a session of the council, but to the stormy scene with the rabble.

How purely a matter of supposition Saul's membership of the council is, the hypothetic nature of the statements of commentators eager enough to establish it, convincingly manifest. In reading the following excerpts from Conybeare and Howson's "*Life and Epistles of the Apostle Paul*" (Scribner), p. 78, vol. 1, let the reader emphasize the "ifs," and then add up his positive results. "There are strong grounds for believing that *if* he was not a member of the Sanhedrin at the time of St. Stephen's death, he was elected into that powerful Senate soon after, possibly as a reward for the zeal he had shown against the heretic. *If* this inference is well-founded, and *if* the qualification (marriage) for a member of the Sanhedrin mentioned in the last chapter was a necessary qualification, Saul must have been a married man and the father of a family."

The writer, on his own part, would submit that unless years of such number that they could be included within the ordinary sense of the term, *νεανίας*, "a young man," and hot-headed, wilful, fanatic zealotry were qualities looked for in candidates for judgeship, it may not be taken for granted that Saul was a lawgiver in Israel. But, what information on the subject we have, must needs make us confess that old men, patriarchs in their way, the heads of large and well-governed households, in whom the fires of youth's capricious enthusiasm had burned out, whose words were slow, and habits of thought formalized by a life devoted to rabbinic lore—that these, in the Jew's mind, were such as might worthily take on their shoulders to give judgment as "of the seventy men of the ancients of Israel," of those known "to be ancients and masters of the people." (Num. xi., 16.)

Granting, however, that because of exceptional reasons, Saul, the young zealot, was "of those chosen out of many," must we also allow that he was a married man? In treating the problem, the *ad hominem* method will best serve the exigencies of a magazine article. It will be the writer's purpose to show that the documents quoted in the case by Canon Farrar either prove nothing or prove

too much ; so that, in the circumstances of Saint Paul, the regulations they lay down must be either conditioned by unverifiable and entirely groundless suppositions, or openly admitted not to have been in force.

By way of preface let it be noted that Lewin, who is a thorough Pauline scholar, holds out for the Apostle's membership of the Sanhedrin, but refutes with emphasis the marriage notion ! Nevertheless, Canon Farrar categorically declares : " By the Jewish requirements for that position, he (St. Paul) must have been a married man." In the subjoined note, allusion to which has been previously made, he safeguards the dictum : " In the Mishna, the only qualifications mentioned for membership of the Sanhedrin are, that a man must not be a dicer, usurer, pigeon-flyer, or dealer in the produce of the Sabbatical year ; but in the Gemara, and in the later Jewish writers we find that, besides the qualifications mentioned in Exod., xviii., 21., and Deut., i., 13-16, a candidate must be free from every physical blemish, stainless in character, learned in science, acquainted with more than one language, and with a family of his own, because such were supposed to be less inclined to cruelty, and more likely to sympathize with domestic affections. Whatever may be thought of other qualifications, it is probable that this one, at any rate, was insisted on, and it adds force to our impression that St. Paul had once been a married man." (I have taken the liberty to omit the abbreviations referring to various authorities in support of the Note's contents.)

It will be noticed that the Mishna makes no mention whatever of marriage as a *conditio sine qua non* for belonging to the Council. The Gemara, on the other hand, will not be satisfied with marriage ; fatherhood it is, which is insisted upon as a condition, and this for the reason that fatherhood was believed "to insure the spirit of gentleness." A gloss of Conybeare and Howson (N. 6, p. 71, vol. i.) is to the point : " One of the necessary qualifications of members of the Sanhedrin was, that they should be the fathers of children, because such were supposed more likely to lean towards mercy. See Selden, quoting from Maimonides : ' In nullo Synhedriorum cooptabant quempiam cui proles deesset unde fieret misericors.' And again from the Jerusalem Gemara : ' Is qui non vidit sibi liberos, judiciis pecuniariis idoneus est, at vero non capitalibus.' II., ix., 4, f. 1422. If this was the rule when Stephen was tried, and if Saul was one of the Judges, he must have been married at the time."

These premises can lead to only one conclusion—that St. Paul could not have been one of the Seventy, unless he was the father of children, *i.e.*, as Conybeare and Howson admit, *if* the rules they bring forward were in force at the time when Stephen was tried.

To assume that St. Paul had children is to play at hide and seek with criticism; to ground dogmatic statements on a postulate of this nature, may be permissible under the canons of fiction or what is known as "the historical novel," but is hardly commendable in serious biography.

But the qualification for the Sanhedrin which the Gemara demands, carries along with it, in Paul's case, obstacles not to be overlooked—a fact evidenced by Conybeare and Howson's explanations (n. 1, p. 78, vol. I., "Life and Epistles," etc.) that if the Apostle was married, "it is probable that his wife and children did not long survive, for otherwise some notice of them would have occurred in the subsequent narrative, or some allusion to them in the Epistles. And we know that, if ever he had a wife, she was not living when he wrote his first letter to the Corinthians." (I. Cor. vii.) Lewin expresses a thought which, in the present connection, is hintful: "If Paul was not married at the time of his conversion he would naturally, from that time, preserve celibacy that he might not burden the Church, for he could scarcely hope to support a wife and family by the labor of his hands while he was making his circuits." ("Life and Epistles of St. Paul," p. 382, n., 349.) Canon Farrar himself realizes how cogent a difficulty there is in the way of the Gemara's requirement: "It is hardly possible," he concedes (page 45, "Life and Works," etc.), "that Paul ever had a child who lived. Had this been the case, his natural affection could hardly have denied itself some expression of the tender love which flows out so freely to his spiritual children. Timothy would not have been so exclusively 'his own true child' in the faith, if he had had a son or daughter of his own. If we are right in the assumption that he was married, it seems probable that it was for a short time only, and that his wife had died."

Up to this no word has been said questioning the trustworthiness of Talmudical extracts quoted by Farrar, a matter critics would deem well-worthy of inquiry since in regard to many regulations, of the Gemara especially, there exists a solidly-grounded uncertainty as to when they were introduced, for how long a period they were insisted upon, or when they became dead letters. This is a reason why building arguments on passages such as those quoted, frequently is, in a sense, building on sand. Anyhow there is no such thing as accepting the laws enunciated, and applying them literally to St. Paul; in his instance they must be conditioned by unverifiable and groundless suppositions, such as those of Conybeare and Howson already before the reader. For himself the writer considers it a warranted assertion, that only determined special-pleading can give a plausible appearance to any argument in favor of the Apostle's marriage based on his conjectured

connection with the Sanhedrin and the conjectural requirements of such connection.

II.

It is now in order to take up the passages of the Saint's Epistles, from which Canon Farrar judges "his marriage may be inferred as probable." The first verse adduced is the 5th of the 9th chapter of the I. Epistle to the Corinthians, in which Paul "asks the Corinthians, 'Have we not power to lead about a sister, a wife, as well as other Apostles, and as the brethren of the Lord and Kephas.' This passage is inconclusive, though it asserts his right both to marry, and to take a wife with him in his missionary journeys if he thought it expedient."

A called-for side remark is that the inconclusiveness of the passage is not so evident as the Canon's words would lead one to imagine. In the 15th verse of the chapter, the Apostle positively and without limitation proclaims "But I have used *none* of these things," and that the *ταύτα* "these things," includes what is spoken of in the 5th verse is the opinion of commentators too weighty to be overcome by an assumption. One among these authorities is Lange. It would repay the student to look the matter up that he might the better comprehend how the verses after the 15th (especially the 25th and 27th) are devitalized, unless therein Paul dilates on his *more* than apostolic abnegation.

There is, however, more serious fault to find with Farrar's way of handling this 5th verse. It is one of the flagrant cases in which Protestant commentators, with some few notable exceptions, do not give a fair hearing to the interpretation of Catholic scripturists. "A sister, a woman," or "a woman, a sister," it matters little which way the line runs, is understood by these to mean a matron, such as one of the holy women who followed the Lord, and who receive prominent mention in the Evangelical history of the Judean Church. This is a point that demands and merits development. Taking into account the beginning of Christianity, the Galilean friendships, and in some cases the ties of blood or affinity which bound together its earliest and foremost members, we are not surprised at the family-like arrangements of this first Church—arrangements which give to Jewish Christianity a complexion that distinguished it for many years. As a consequence of this economy, it is in this Church that we see rise the Ecclesiastical supervision of temporalities, which took form in the institution of the Diaconate, and it is in this Church that "all they that believe were together, and had all things in common. Their possessions and goods they sold, and divided them to all, according as every one had need. And continuing daily with one accord in the temple, and breaking

bread from house to house, they took their meat with gladness and simplicity of heart," etc. Acts ii., 44, *et seq.*

This community life was fashioned after the Saviour's. He and his Apostles had their support from a common purse: Judas portabat sacculos. The ministry of the holy women, the custom of present interest to us, was another outgrowth of this family-feeling, and it had also the approval of our Divine Lord's example; whither He went the women accompanied, and the nearer we come to His death and glorious ascension, the more we hear and see of them. So this procedure came to be looked upon by the Disciples, if it were not a national custom, as a Christian one; hence, after the ascent of Jesus into heaven, we find the most familiar and respectful association between the Christian teachers and pious Christian women. Moreover, the propagation of Christianity, the necessity of baptism—the two facts of baptism by immersion and of female seclusion in the East, these and various ceremonial exigencies called devout women to a new and all important religious avocation. To these origins we owe certain of the Apostolic injunctions anent widows and the early appearance of the order of deaconesses. Now scant consideration will enable us to understand that, however much as matter of course the company of venerable women with the Apostles would be regarded in Judea, outside of that country such a manner of acting would take on a new and not to be desired phase. For Paul and Barnabas, when they set out for work among the Gentiles, to take along pious women was out of the question; inconvenience, scandal, a hundred drawbacks would *ipso facto* here have been created, because of which they could not do as did the Twelve. Because they did not in this particular act as did the Judean Apostles, converted Jewish Formalists, sticklers for custom and precedent, found a mark for their venomous barbs. "Paul and Barnabas had no matrons with them! Paul, therefore, was not doing as did the men appointed by the living Master; he was not an Apostle of the right sort!" It need not surprise us that, in the organized and determined effort to destroy Paul's influence, which we know to have been set on foot, so trivial a matter was made much of. Let us remember that his refusal to live off his converts and resolute determination to earn his living by tent-making, were turned into damning proof of his want of orthodox Apostolicity!

In the case of the verse with which we have to do, Catholics rightfully insist on the facts and considerations just gone over as a solid basis for their interpretation, which, besides, they claim to be borne out by purely textual considerations. Even if the word *γυνή*, they urge, in its first sense meant "wife" (and this it does not), it would be most unfortunately placed should its strict translation

depend on its position in the disputed verse; for broad, loosely-used terms characterize this passage. "Sister" no one thinks of making out to be a child of the same parents as the preacher she accompanied; but such is the first meaning of "*αδελφή*." Likewise, the term "Apostles" is used in a free sense; it is stretched to include Barnabas, and Cephas is spoken of apart! The title "brethren of the Lord" has been too well canvassed for any man to say that in the present instance it *must* refer to flesh and blood children of Mary. In spite of all this, take up a Protestant commentator and see how patronizingly the Catholic interpretation is ruled out of court by him.

The second text that Canon Farrar lays stress on, as pertinently bearing upon the point at issue, is also from this I. Epistle to the Corinthians: "But, from I. Cor., vii., 8," he writes, on p. 45 of the "Life and Work of St. Paul," "it seems a distinct inference that he (St. Paul) classed himself among *widowers*, for, he says, 'I say, therefore, to the *unmarried* and widows, it is good for them if they abide (*μεινωσιν*) even as I.' That by the 'unmarried' he here means 'widowers'—for which there is no special Greek word—seems clear, because he has already been speaking in the first seven verses of the chapter to those who have never been married."

It is strange, that if Paul's widowry be so distinctly inferable, withal, so few have been struck by the inference! To the writer's mind, in these first seven verses of the chapter there is anything but the distinct inference advertised—unless one bolts at a gulp, with unquestioning avidity, at least two extremely bold declarations of Farrar. This the writer refuses to do. That his position may be understood, he would call attention to the nine verses which make up the first part of this chapter. "Now, concerning the things whereof you wrote to me: It is good for a man not to touch a woman; but, for fear of fornication, let every man have his own wife, and let every woman have her own husband. Let the husband render the debt to the wife; and the wife also, in like manner, to the husband. The wife hath not power of her own body, but the husband. And, in like manner, the husband also hath not power of his own body, but the wife. Defraud not one another, except, perhaps, by consent, for a time, that you may give yourselves to prayer; and return together again lest Satan tempt you for your incontinency. But I speak this by indulgence, not by commandment. For I would that all men were even as I myself: but every one hath his proper gift from God: one after this manner, another after that. But I say to the unmarried, and to the widows: It is good for them if they continue, even as I. But if they do not contain themselves, let them marry. For it is better to marry than to burn."

To justify this disagreement with Canon Farrar, the writer would ask: How do I know that in the first seven of these verses the Apostle has been addressing himself to those who never were married? Can I find it out from the letter itself? One might hazard the remark that if in the verse which runs, "Defraud not one another," etc., Paul be not talking to those already married, then that verse calls for very special commentation. Over and above this, however, it is the boldest of *petitios* to say he addressed the unmarried. The Apostle writes: "Now concerning the things whereof *you* wrote to me." Was it the *unmarried* who wrote the letter alluded to? To whom does the "*you*" refer? It runs all through the previous chapter, up to the first verse of the second chapter, wherein it stands for all the Christians of Corinth. "And I, brethren, when I came to you, came not in loftiness of speech or of wisdom, declaring unto you the testimony of Christ." From this verse we can follow it up through the first chapter, until it becomes identified with "the church of God that is at Corinth, them that are sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be Saints." Does not this excuse our unwillingness to swallow one of the Canon's assumptions? Plainly, his promulgation is one of the varied unprovable hypotheses many Protestants have found it necessary to adopt in order to explain away the evident meaning of these first verses of the chapter. But if, in giving out assumption as down-right probability, Farrar but keeps equal pace with certain other scripturists of his creed, in one assertion, certainly, he outstrips his competitors, namely, in unqualifiedly declaring, "there is no special Greek word to mean widower." The like of this is not to be found in Lightfoot, in Ellicott, in Edwards, in Olford, in Lewin, in Shore, or in Conybeare and Howson. The pronouncement startled the writer. He knew that *χηρα* was the feminine form of the adjective *χηρος*, α, ον (bereft); and if *χηρα* meant widow, why could not *χηρος* mean widower? The Greeks needed the latter word. Could it be that they who prided themselves on terminological precision, let their language go limping rather than do in the case of *χηρος* what they did in the case of many another adjective, use it substantively as it stood, or give it a substantive termination? On investigation, the writer found that he was not startled without reason. Hesychius and Suidas both define *χηρος*; the latter's definition being particularly clear: *χηρος, ο, μετα πρωτης στερησιν, δευτερα, μη συνεζευγμενος γυναικι*—he who after the loss of a first, is not joined to another wife. These lexicographers (or those who had part in getting up their works as they have come to us) might be objected to as of little critical authority. But *χηρος* was no innovation of theirs. The first aim of the American reviser of Dr. Donnegan's "Greek and English Lexicon," was to reject all words from this work supported by no better authority than

that of Hesychius and Suidas. Nevertheless, in this lexicon appears the following definition: “*χηρος, χηρα; χηρον*, adj., bereft; separated from, or deprived of, anything; reduced to widowhood; that is, in the state of a widow or widower; *ο χηρος*, a widower; *η χηρα*, a widow; etym., *χηρος*, according to Lennep, may have been derived from *χαιω, χητιζω*, through a form *χαιρος*, contract, *χηρος*, the verb and noun bearing to each other an analogy similar to that of ‘viduus’ and ‘viduo’ in Latin,” etc. In the standard dictionaries, and most valued thesauruses—old and new—*χηρος*, meaning widower, is treated with the respect due to a legitimately begotten Greek term.¹ Is it too much to ask that Canon Farrar expunge, or limit, his very broad assertion that for widower “there is no special Greek word.”

III.

It remains to examine the Canon's handling of what tradition there may be in regard to St. Paul's marriage: “It is not true, as has been said,” he writes, in a note on the much-quoted forty-fifth page of his work on the Apostle, “that early tradition was unanimous in saying that he (Paul) had never been married. Tertullian (*De Monogam.* 3) and Jerome (*Ep.* 22) say so; but Origen is doubtful, and Methodius (*Conviv.* 4), as well as Clemens Alex. and Ps. Ignatius, say that he was a widower.” It is certainly amazing that, in the face of so many witnesses against them, reputable commentators should assert that early tradition was unanimous, or nearly so; especially since it would not be an unlawful deduction from the turn of the sentence that, out of the six early Fathers who touch on the point, three are of one mind with the Canon, and a fourth doubtful! There could be no more fallacious conclusion. It will pay to take up the references, one by one.

First. “Origen is doubtful.” This is not at all impossible; but from what is known of that Father, the chances are, he is rather obscure than uncertain. Farrar gives no directions by means of which the passages in Origen, which lead him to affirm his uncertainty, could be located. In the places where the writer thought it probable that the sought-for information would be run across, nothing was discovered which could vindicate the opinion expressed. Anyway, the tradition of Origen's day was not in harmony with the Canon's views (*vide* Tertull. *loc. cit.*), and one may not see why our

¹ The writer asked a teacher in a first-rank classical school, without hinting at the reason of his inquiry, if it could be truthfully said that there was no word in Greek for widower; if *αγαμος* (the expression of St. Paul in the disputed verse) was wont to be used in that sense by the Greeks, or, if there were a specific term, would he please to mention it. The teacher answered: (a) It could not be truthfully said that there was no word in Greek meaning widower; (b) “*αγαμος*” was not used ordinarily in this sense, but there might be some rare cases in which it thus occurred, though he knew of none; c) “*χηρος*” was the specific term asked for.

failure to know what Origen meant in a particular passage, should excuse his being quoted in evidence that tradition is not unanimous. Are not the rules of criticisms rather in favor of settling the doubt by appealing to the general belief of his day?"

Secondly. "Clemens Alex. says he was a widower." Up to this it has not been the custom to quote an egregious mistake, a blind error, on the part of this or that Father, as proof positive that the universal belief of his time was not harmonious. Clement of Alexandria mistook the "*γῆσις συζυγε*," "true yoke-fellow" of Philip, iv. 3, and read it "*γῆσις συζωγε*," "my wife" (a meaning that would be only one out of many possible, had we this form); and so, because he understood *the Apostle himself* to say he was married, the Alexandrian said so too.

Thirdly. "Methodius says he was a widower." This is another *canonical dictum*, which calls for restriction. Combesis, this Father's scholarly annotator, goes no farther than saying: *Ipse Methodius, potius insinuat, explicatione Paulini textus, quam aperte asserit*—and critics acknowledge that a line is to be drawn between an open assertion and an intimation. At this moment, the words of Methodius are before the writer. May he be allowed the statement that they will not, in his opinion, support the Canon's *bare* declaration. The truth is that, if there be difficulty as to the text of Paul itself, like difficulty exists for the words of this Father.

"But I say to the unmarried, and to the widows, it is good for them if they so continue, even as I," are the words of St. Paul.

Methodius, after quoting these very words, writes: "Here also he (the Apostle) assigns the place of honor to continency (*priores partes continentie assignat*—Combesis's version). For, putting forward himself as the best example, he urges his hearers to imitate his restraint, arduous as it may appear, teaching that the widower's better choice is to contain himself even as he himself was doing. But if this, on account of natural weakness, was a too hard task, the man thus constrained was permitted *secundum indulgentiam* to marry again. Not that thereby the Apostle judged second marriage to be commended, but to permit this were better than that *quis libidinum æstu ardeat*. . . . Thus, truly, here also the Apostle had first declared that it pleased him (*aptare se*) that all would continue chaste, as he himself was," etc,

The rub still is—granting that *αγαμοι* means "widowers": In what does this Apostle propose himself, or, in what does the Father propose him, as an example? In widowhood, or in continency? If in the latter, then neither the Apostle's nor Methodius's words can be quoted as proving that St. Paul himself was a widower. The ambiguity of the passage, from the Father is likely the reason able commentators have paid scant attention to it (see Ellicott, *infra*).

Fourthly. "Ps. Ignatius says he was a widower." "Ps. Ignatius" stands for "pseudo-Ignatius," *i.e.*, a writing which pretends to be, but is not, by this Father; in blunter words, a forgery. It is remarkable what weight, in the instance before us, the interpolation has for Cannon Farrar, when, as a general rule, he classes such productions as "romance." The worth of the Canon's reference may be more fairly appreciated when the results of the learned Combesis's researches among the Ignatian codexes for the passage referred to ("ως πετρου και παυλου και των αποστολων των γαμοις ομιλησαντων"), are taken under consideration: "Nihil horum," *i.e.*, the words just quoted, "veteres codices Anglicani, in quibus exstat versis antiqua epistolarum Ignatii, qualis fere Græcus textus nuper prodiit ex codice Florentino, qui ipse verus purusque Ignatianus haberi potest, ac qualem antiqui habuerunt Eusebius, Hieronymus, Theoderetus, etc., quibus mirum si præscribat post tot sæcula Calvinus tinctus veneno, uniusque discipulorum, calamus. Ex vero itaque Ignatio de Pauli nuptiis nihil haberi potest."¹

"Unus ergo," continues this savant, "erit auctor ejus (*i.e.* Pauli) conjugii, Clemens Alexander, cujus verba recitat Eusebius," etc., So that the Catholic Combesis and the learned Anglican bishop Ellicott, meet on common ground. In his Commentary on the First Corinthians (chap. vii., v.-8), Bishop Ellicott delivers himself thus: "In regard of the question, whether the Apostle had ever been married or not, it seems enough to say that a mistaken interpretation of Phil. iv., 3 (Clem. Alex.) cannot be accepted as outweighing the tradition of the Church as expressed in "Tertull. de Monogam, Cap. viii. *al.*"

The case is before the reader; it is for him to decide whether, in the matter examined, Canon Farrar has been lacking "in accuracy in stating facts and sobriety in drawing inferences." The problem treated may be *per se* of little moment, but it acquires importance when considered as an illustration of an historian's methods. Mere slips in the premises of an argument often vitiate wide-reaching conclusions. The days of the Apostles are the premises of historical Christianity, and the least misstatement or oversight in their regard is deserving of lengthy and most thorough investigation. For this reason it is hoped that the present article will not have appeared in vain.

¹ "There is nothing about Paul's marriage in the old English Codexes, in which the ancient version of the Letters of Ignatius—as like as may be to the authoritative Greek text lately issued at Florence, and the same in contents as the copies seen by Eusebius, Jerome, Theodoret, etc.,—appear; to which versions, in a surprising way after many centuries, a pen, dipped in the gall of Calvin, and guided by the hand of one of his followers, made the addition." Archbishop Wake, if memory can be relied upon, left the words out of his edition of *The Genuine Epistles of the Apostolic Fathers*.

FATHER DAMIEN.¹

"Lives there not—still replaced as time goes by—
Some man who wears the wide earth's crown of woe,
Pain's Victim-Priest, a shadow cast below
By Him that Victim-Priest enthroned on high?
Mounts not that man-elect his Calvary,
By Christ-like choice not doom?"

—AUBREY DE VERE.

IT happens occasionally even now—in this sad, lack-lustre prosaic nineteenth century whence all fire of youth and enthusiasm seems well-nigh burnt out—that some thrill of irrepressible emotion, some touch of passionate hero-worship, surges up for a brief while and touches with its living flame all hearts and sympathies, lifting them into a momentary forgetfulness of the toils and cares and sordid mill-round of daily life which makes up the sum of modern human existence within the boundary of what we call civilization. Such was the impassioned glow, the trembling, indignant cry which burst from thousands of lips when Gordon fell; such again, if in more limited area, has been the long low sigh of almost fraternal or filial feeling which in 1889 greeted a few brief lines in every newspaper and journal throughout the Christian world, telling that "Father Damien" had passed to his reward.

Perhaps to many of us modern Western or rather Northern peoples the gospel stories of cleansed lepers, the Hebrew purificatory legislation, the pictures of outcast ones touched with a foul disease from which priest and sinner alike turned shudderingly away as the stricken wayfarer hastily covered his mouth and shrank from sight, have come to our ears familiarly since childhood with but little realization of their dread significance. To none of us has it ever befallen to watch in trembling silence for

¹ Scarcely had the body of the heroic martyr of charity, Father Damien, been laid away to rest in the midst of his beloved lepers at Molokai, when a vile attack was made against his moral character by the Rev. Dr. C. M. Hyde, a Protestant missionary, residing at Honolulu, who accused the venerated dead of having contracted the leprosy by his licentiousness. All the world remembers the indignant answer, written by the famous novelist, Mr. R. L. Stevenson, who knew Father Damien's life, and had himself visited the leper colony. It is true that the reply of the famous author of *Hyde and Jekyll* was merely a negative one, and could not well be any other. Dr. Hyde's own letter contained not one iota of proof. He makes a most odious charge, but brings forward no facts to substantiate it, and then calls on the friends of Father Damien to prove the negative. This vile and malicious calumny rests on no other

signs and tokens, almost imperceptible at first, yet surely and fatally developing, upon the face or form which embody all that is most dear to us on earth; to mark the falling hair, the slight discolorations of skin, the numbness of limbs, which all too surely tell their own tale; and shudderingly, with the passionate clasp of despairing love, to hide for days and weeks such fatal knowledge from those who must needs interpose the cruel kindness of legal banishment on those afflicted with so fearful a curse. To hide it for a time if it may be—for surely such parting must be a separation worse than death—aye, a thousand times worse than even that supreme hour which counts the latest pulsations of the blood and notes each struggling breath, and then leaves the beloved form within our clasp to receive all last and tenderest ministrations which sorrowing love may lavish on the pale and flower-strewn form—still faintly imagining its first creation with features chiselled into an infinite calm. It is heart-rending, indeed, to whisper to that silent form a last “good-bye,” but what must it be to bid fare-

ground than “it is believed,” “it is said”; he does not show by whom, or on what authority. Now, against this, the unsupported assertion of a cowardly maligner, we have the express denial of the calumny, made by the Catholic Bishop of Honolulu, after a careful and secret investigation into the character of the dead missionary. We give this letter, as found in the *Catholic News*, of August 13th, last.

HONOLULU, June 7, 1890.

Mr. Editor: In your issue of May 27th, I notice an article signed “Fair Play,” in answer to Mr. R. L. Stevenson’s open letter to the Rev. Dr. C. M. Hyde. My object in addressing you, is not to discuss the relative merits of Mr. Stevenson’s letter, and “Fair Play’s” reply. Neither do I care to analyze the “compliments” paid by the Doctor to the memory of the late Father Damien. If “Fair Play” and others are pleased with them, it proves their taste. There is one point though in the whole controversy which I consider it my duty to take up—and that is the moral character of Father Damien, because “Fair Play” seems to suppose, as an undeniable truth, the bold and odious assertion by Dr. Hyde, that Father Damien contracted leprosy by his vices. When Dr. Hyde’s letter became known here, by means of foreign papers, the Catholic Mission held its peace, awaiting the expression of public opinion. Up to that time I had never heard of any slur cast upon Father Damien’s moral purity. I immediately made secret but serious confidential inquiry about the matter, and I learned from reliable sources, that the damaging rumors had no other foundation than a malicious interpretation of charitable acts performed by him with childlike simplicity. Public opinion does not credit those foul rumors here, though there are a few people that take stock in the scandal, for reasons best known to themselves.

In your last issue, you published an interview of Dr. Hyde with the examiner, in which the Doctor sustains his original letter on Father Damien. Further, a clipping from the Liverpool *Courier*, which I received lately, contains Dr. Hyde’s letter to Mr. Beta, and in this letter the Doctor again maintains his original statement and he even adds: “The Catholic Mission here makes no denial of the truthfulness of my testimony.” Now, as head of the Catholic Mission here, further silence on my part would give the color of truth to Dr. Hyde’s slanderous attack on the late Father Damien, and, therefore, I beg you to publish the following declaration which I make as head of this Mission: I do most emphatically deny the truthfulness of Dr. Hyde’s testimony against the moral purity of the late Father Damien.

Respectfully yours,

† HERMAN,
Bishop of Olba, V. Ap.
[Eds. A. C. Q. R.]

well to a living, palpitating presence, and know it condemned to live out, far from home and friends, a long, long death agony; to picture all the horrors of disfiguration and loathsomeness which day by day must creep over the beloved features; to look onward to a lonely, struggling, uncared for deathbed, whose last hour per chance delays too long to come, while the parched lips and starting eyeballs plead almost desperately for the relief of the grave.

And yet this life—this fear, and its realization, are the portion at this moment of hundreds of homes, in the islands to which our thoughts are drawn to-day. It is not so long ago, as the world counts time, since all Europe was infested with the same fell disease; since the leper lay at the rich man's gate, as Lazarus at that of Dives, and the lazar-houses provided by Christian charity to afford them a last refuge and shelter were scattered in gruesome profusion over the land. We learn that France alone, the land of the Crusaders (who doubtless helped to propagate this Eastern malady) possessed three thousand of them; England, some two hundred and fifty or more, one at least in each large town, where the lepers were gathered together, isolated so far as might be and provided with food and clothing. The principal lazar-house of all England was called Burton-Lazars, near Melton-Mowbray, in Leicestershire, and was "a rich hospital, to the Master of which all the lesser lazar-houses in England were in some sort subject, as he himself was to the Master of the Lazars in Jerusalem. It is said to have been built in the beginning by the Normans by a general collection throughout England, but chiefly by the assistance of the Mowbrays, about which time the leprosy did run by infection over all England, and it is believed did then first come into this island from Egypt, which more than once had spread itself all over Europe; first in the days of Pompey the Great, afterwards under Heraclius, A.D. 601; at other times also, but never before this in England."¹

Thankful, indeed, may we be to reflect that, whether by precautionary measures, by the progress of medical and hygienic science, or by other means, leprosy in England has now come to be a thing of the past; in France it still exists to a slight extent, principally in southern provinces and ports having direct communication with the East; while the Franciscans, who hold spiritual sway over the Holy Land, are but too well acquainted with its presence and versed in the preparation and administration of such simple remedies or alleviations as have from time immemorial been found availing in its treatment.

But the fell scourge of mediæval times, on whose disappearance

¹ Camden's *Britannia*.

from our midst we are congratulating ourselves, seems but to have quitted our shores to enter on a new phase of fuller development elsewhere. Not much more than fifty years since, some cases of leprosy, introduced as usual from its old source, the East, appeared in the hitherto healthy Hawaian islands, and soon spread with such rapidity that the government was forced to take prompt measures for allaying the evil. Accordingly a corner of one of the islands was portioned off and converted into a lazar-house or leper establishment, and here every unfortunate creature in whom the dread taint had appeared was immured by the necessary severity of the law. Heartrending scenes are described as of frequent, almost daily occurrence; the police go round to every street and house, seize all suspected persons and carry them off to the police station, where they are examined by a physican and their doom pronounced. Should the malady have declared itself, there is no respite possible; mothers are torn from their children, sons and daughters from their parents, husbands from wives, all are placed on board the earliest sailing vessel or steamer, and in company with the weekly supply of provisions, are landed, for their life-long exile, on the island of Molokai. Small wonder that loving relations seek despairingly to hide their afflicted ones—that the doomed will sometimes turn at bay, and, as in the case of one of whom we read, stand pistol in hand defying the officers of the law until overpowered by force of numbers and dragged away.

When landed on those shores, which, like the entrance to Dante's hell, "leave all hope behind," the poor wretches, some idolaters, some Protestants of every sect, some Catholics,—a motley throng,—seemed (we speak of the first years of the settlement, ere their apostle came among them) to give up all effort after decent life, and indulged for the most part in every excess. They are described as passing their time in drinking, dancing, card-playing and all kinds of revelry and licentiousness as long as their failing strength and varying energy would allow them to do so. We need hardly say that this state of things lay heavy on the hearts of Catholic pastors, who yearned over the stricken souls thus passing unblest into eternity; but "the harvest truly is plenteous but the laborers are few;" and a few days' or perhaps weeks' visit, from time to time, was all that bishop or missionary could give to the "leproserie" of Molokai. At first the Catholic lepers had not even a chapel in which to pray other than some rude thatched huts like their common dwellings; but by the aid of the Propagation of the Faith and such like subscriptions a chapel was built, and thenceforward they met together every Sunday to say the Rosary, the prayers of the Mass and some hymns, thus uniting themselves in intention with the Holy Sacrifice throughout the world.

One day the bishop of the diocese, Monsignor Maigret, came to consecrate a newly-built church in the island of Maui, and the ceremony naturally drew together not only large crowds of spectators, but also an unusual gathering of missionaries, who, scattered by ones and twos over the various islands, hard at work in their toilsome ministry, had come together on this occasion to enhance the ceremonies by their presence, and to enjoy a few days of mutual intercourse. The church was consecrated, the festival was drawing to a close, and the venerable prelate, in the course of a long conversation with his fellow-workers on the duties and the needs of their field of labor, was lamenting the pitiable condition of the lepers imprisoned within their lazar-house, their numbers increasing daily, with no priest to minister to their needs in life, or bring the Sacraments to their dying beds.

Among his auditors was a young Belgian priest of thirty-three years, who had already spent ten years of his life, hard at work, under his pastorate. As the bishop paused, the youthful missionary stepped forward, with sparkling eye and eager gesture; "Monsignor," he exclaimed, "remembering that I have already lain under the funeral pall at my religious profession, to learn that voluntary death is the beginning of a new life, I am here ready to enter a living tomb with those afflicted ones, many of whom I am already acquainted with."

Full of glad surprise, the good bishop turned his beaming face full upon his young disciple. "I would not have asked from anyone so difficult a task," he exclaimed; "but, as you offer it, I accept with pleasure."

Almost as they spoke, a steamer lay in the harbor on the point of starting for the leper-settlement, laden with a provision of bullocks for their use. The bishop and Father Damien stepped on board, just as they were, without money, luggage, provisions or even a change of raiment, and were borne across to the leproserie of Molokai. It was thus that the missionaries of the Pacific, like their apostolic predecessors, went, and still go forth, to their evangelical labors. To them, as to His first followers, Jesus says: "Carry neither purse nor scrip nor shoes," and they go forth *lacking nothing*.

It must have been a scene never to be forgotten by those who witnessed it. The aged bishop, active and vigorous as if in the prime of manhood, landing with his youthful companion unexpectedly in the midst of the lepers. It was a Saturday, and doubtless the hearts of many among them leaped with joy at the thought of Holy Mass upon the morrow. What was their astonishment when the bishop, advancing, presented his young companion to them with the announcement that he had come to live and die

amongst them. The news spread, not only through the lazaret-house, but inland, and to all the neighboring islands. The English and local papers wrote enthusiastically of the devoted hero, and their words were echoed to all parts of the world.

But we must now look backward for awhile upon the early life and training of the youthful apostle. Joseph de Veuster, called in religion Father Damien, was born at Tremeloo, in Belgium, on the third of January (the feast of St. Genevieve the shepherdess), 1840, of poor but pious parents, who earned their bread by laboring in the fields, and brought up a numerous family "in the fear of the Lord." Joseph was the youngest of several brothers and sisters, and we are introduced to him as a lively, manly little fellow, going daily to the village school with his elder brothers and sister, and destined by his parents to follow in his father's steps as a field laborer. This they purposed the more that the child was robust and vigorous, and seemed to delight in all kinds of open-air employment: running in the fields; playing with the sheep upon the common (he was called "the little shepherd" from his love for them); skating for hours together in frost and fog, an exercise of which he was even more passionately fond than are most of his countrymen; and risking, as he relates himself, serious accidents by his almost reckless daring on the ice. As he grew older, however, he evinced a taste for study; and his parents, though having one son studying for the priesthood, they neither expected nor desired a second vocation in the family, sent him to a middle-class boarding-school, at Braine-le-Comte, to learn French, and receive a solid education. While here, he became so absorbed in his studies that he grudged every moment taken from them, and was particularly vexed at the necessary interruption of holiday seasons, which sent him home for a summer vacation.

When he was eighteen, he, for the first time in his life, saw and assisted at a Mission, one given by the Redemptorist Fathers at Braine-le-Comte; it was during this mission that he received his call to the religious life. His parents were reluctant at first to yield to his wishes; they had already given two daughters and a son to the cloister and the priesthood, and they hoped that this, their Benjamin, would remain to be the staff and comfort of their old age. But God had other designs for him. From time to time he wrote to his parents, begging them not to oppose his wishes, and at length, one day when the father took Joseph to pay a visit to his elder brother at the Seminary of the "Picpus Fathers" at Louvain, the youth begged so hard to be allowed to remain and try his vocation, that his father reluctantly yielded and returned home alone.

Although young Joseph was received into the Seminary at

Louvain by its Superior on probation, he was not upon the same footing as his brother, Father Pamphile. The latter was, as we have said, in training for a priest; his younger brother, like the saintly Curé d'Ars, for whom he had afterwards a special devotion, was found not sufficiently educated for such a position, and the Superior soon announced to him that, if he stayed there, it must be as a lay-brother. The youth replied, that, so long as he fulfilled his vocation and thus ensured his salvation, he cared not in what position he gained it, and, accordingly, the Superior, while inwardly approving his humility, placed him among the lay-novices, and quietly watched his progress. Now, it so happened that, occasionally, during their recreation time, the two brothers, Pamphile and Joseph, amused themselves and each other, by the elder teaching, and the younger studying, a little Latin, and the pupil proved himself so apt at his task, that the Superior took up the question, and proposed to him to study it in earnest. He did so and, at the end of six months, was able to read any ordinary book in Latin; so that, much to his joy, he found himself promoted to the noviciate for priesthood, and took the name, hereafter to become so celebrated, of Damien.

The Congregation of "Picpus Fathers," so called from the street in Paris where their mother-house is situated, is an order founded by a French priest, Father Coudrin, at the time of the French Revolution. Its object is to honor the mysteries of our Lord's life on earth, as follows: His Infancy—in the instruction of youth and the training of the priesthood; His Hidden Life—by the devotion of the Perpetual Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament; His Public Life—by preaching and giving missions; and His Crucified Life—by the practice of self-mortification. As missionary priests, the following districts have been assigned to them: the Sandwich isles, the Taïti district and the "Marquises" Vicariate. It has been remarked by their own writers, that, although often in grievous perils and dangers of death, not one of their missionaries has ever perished, and Father Damien was thus the first victim—the first martyr, as doubtless we may call it, of the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts. The congregation possesses three principal noviciate houses: one at Louvain for the northern province; one at Miranda, in Spain, for the south of Europe, and a third at Valparaiso for the province of South America.

After passing about eighteen months at Louvain, Damien was sent on to another noviciate house at Issy, near Paris, and pronounced his vows there on the 8th of October, 1860, as "Brother of the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary."

Several letters have been gathered together from fellow-students and superiors of the young novice, which bear graceful testimony

to his zeal in study and his ardor in prayer; his former companions love to recall many saint-like traits of docility to superiors, charity towards equals, and fervor in all practises of piety. One of them relates how "during his noviciate, I noticed that, every day, at the same hour, he repaired, alone, to the tribune of the chapel. As no devotional exercise required this practise, I wondered, and asked him his reason for doing so. He answered quite simply, that he went to kneel before a picture of St. Francis Xavier which was there, to ask of that saint to obtain for him grace to consecrate himself some day to the work of the Apostolate."

This appears to have been the first dawning of his definite call towards missionary labors; his earliest attraction having rather been to the contemplative life. It is related of him as a child, that, one day, he, with some of his brothers and sisters, left their home to go and stay in a neighboring wood where they proposed to pass some time in prayer and silence, after the manner of the anchorites of the desert, and, as a matter of fact, they spent one entire day there, observing the most rigorous silence. After the mission, of which we have already spoken as revealing to him his vocation he had serious thoughts of entering the monastery of La Trappe, whose austerities attracted his youthful fervor; but such, as we know, was not the design of God, concerning him.

In the year 1863, Monsignor Maigret, the Vicar Apostolic of the Sandwich Islands, applied to the congregation of which Brother Damien was a member, for more recruits for his missionary work; and several priests and lay-brothers, with ten nuns, were chosen in compliance with his request. One among the priests named was no other than Father Pamphile, Damien's elder brother, who had been lately ordained, and was considered fitted for the work. To his untold sorrow he fell ill with typhus fever, caught from some poor people to whom he had been ministering, and the time for departure approaching, found him unable to leave his bed. His brother, Damien, who was often at his bedside, saw or divined his sorrow. "Would you like me to ask our superiors to allow me to take your place?" he asked. An eager sign gave assent, and the young Brother sent in his formal request to the Superior-General, that he might be permitted to replace his brother. It was granted, and Brother Damien was bidden to take leave of his family and friends without delay, and to go to Paris, there to make a preparatory retreat before starting for his destination.

One can picture the interview between the two brothers, both devoted to the cause, both yearning to serve God and the Church in missionary labor; yet, by some strange and not then comprehended design of the Sacred Heart, the younger, like a second

Jacob, supplanting his priestly brother in the Divine choice. Truly, again and again, does it appear in the ways of God, that "the one should be taken and the other left; the matured priest, chosen by his superiors to a post of honor in the Church, is put aside by the Divine Hand to bring forward his young and ignorant and as yet unordained brother, who was destined to become an apostle in the Church.

It has sometimes been remarked that saints and saintly souls in the religious life are often singularly sensitive as regards human affection and earthly ties of love. It was so with Damien. All his life through, from the day of parting with his family down to the weary hours, more than twenty years afterwards, when the dying eyes of the lonely missionary watched and longed in vain for those *last letters from home*, which somehow delayed to come, and the absence of which proved the last bitter drop in the chalice of suffering he had so bravely drained, his affectionate, home-loving heart had clung with all the pathetic fidelity of the exile to every little detail and corner of that far away family circle in which, as he wrote, "he placed himself in spirit every day." When the time came for his last farewell to his tenderly loved mother, he wrote and appointed to meet her and his sister-in-law, not at their home, but at the shrine of Notre Dame de Montaigu, a place of pilgrimage which he had often visited, and for which he had the liveliest devotion. He was accustomed, while in the seminary at Louvain, to make periodical visits to Montaigu with his fellow-students, and their custom was to start at midnight, walking for several hours in the darkness and cold of early morning, so as to arrive in time to communicate at the early Mass. He did the same on this occasion, and after leaving the Holy Table, mother and son met, trembling with emotion. Who can tell what passed between them—the heroic mother who had nurtured her son in earliest years with daily readings and recitals of the "Lives of the Saints," and who by her own pious example and precepts had drawn his young soul, from its earliest development, to the love of divine things; the son who clung so fondly to her, yet who counted all else as loss that he might gain souls for Christ. When the hour of parting came, he threw his arms around his mother, and then, with streaming eyes, without a word, he pointed to the image of the Blessed Virgin before which they stood, gave one long, lingering look towards that divine Mother, then turned and set forth on his way back to the seminary.

Contrary to his usual custom, he kept apart from his companions, who could not but remark how greatly he was moved; and when, at the end of their pilgrimage, they questioned him as to his thoughts, "I was thinking," he said, "of how I shall never again see Notre

Dame de Montaigu; and I have entreated her to obtain for me from our Lord the grace of working in His vineyard for twelve years."

So, on the thirtieth of October, Damien, with his companions, set sail for Honolulu, where they landed on St. Joseph's Day, 1864. During the passage, as he suffered but little from sea-sickness, he was appointed sacristan to the little community of priests and nuns; they lived on board as regular a life as if still at the seminary, with fixed hours for prayer, study and recreation, to which Damien, although not yet a priest, never failed to add the recitation of the breviary offices. As soon as they landed, the Vicar Apostolic, Mgr. Maigret, conferred minor orders on the young Brother, sent him to pass some time in study and retreat at the college of Ahi-umanu, near Honolulu, and finally, on the eve of Pentecost, ordained him priest. He said his first Mass on the following day, and not many days afterwards the bishop sent him, with another priest, Father Clement, to his first mission in the island of Hawaii.

If we say that from this time onwards Father Damien's life was that of ordinary missionaries in such remote spots as the half civilized, half idolatrous Sandwich Islands, we shall probably convey no very definite idea to our readers' minds. The flock to which Joseph de Veuster was called upon to minister was perhaps of a more than usually mixed kind, for besides the aboriginal heathens or idolators, and their converted Catholic brethren, there were also a large number of Europeans and others who professed Calvinistic and other Protestant beliefs, and who exercised a not inconsiderable influence in the place. English merchants, doctors, journalists, colonists, adventurers formed a strong anti-Catholic party in the more considerable settlements; and it has always appeared to us that there can hardly be a more serious obstacle to missionary labor in heathen countries than the ever-clashing presence of so-called Christian, yet un-Catholic, communities and teachers in their midst. He records this difficulty himself in a letter to his brother, which sketches very graphically the two great hindrances to his first efforts in a missionary career, the tremendous space which his "district" covered and the opposition of the Calvinists:

"Father Clement's district is a very large one. He has at least twenty leagues to travel in order to see all his flock of Christians. I hope that in time he will become an accomplished rider. The first year especially he will have enough work to satisfy his zeal. How many people to baptize, how many confessions to hear, seeing that for the last four years they have only been visited two or three times in the course of the year. I should have liked to have remained with him for some time, but duty called me elsewhere.

. . . . I went on the Thursday to my district (Puna), which lies

between that of Father Charles and that of Father Celestine. I think I shall require fully three days to get from one end to the other. In every direction there are little villages scattered about, and for seven or eight years there has been no resident priest there. It was only in passing that some priest or other could visit the Christians, and he would have very little time to instruct catechumens. Before leaving, the Bishop told me that I must remember that the mission was quite in its infancy. Indeed, I found no church in which to say Mass, but two are now in course of construction. With nothing more than a portable altar that I have with me, I sometimes say Mass in a native hut, where the Christians are accustomed to assemble on Sunday for prayers. I find sheep everywhere, but many of them are still outside the fold.

"Calvinism has drawn many into its net. However, the news of a new priest for Puna has made them think about religion, and on my first round our good Lord gave me twenty-nine to regenerate in the holy waters of baptism, while others are preparing to receive it. After what I have told you you can form some idea of the difficulties a missionary encounters in the exercise of his sacred ministry. Here we are in circumstances very different from those of priests in other countries. Here one's flock is scattered and surrounded by heretics, who employ all the means in their power to seduce them, and they succeed more easily with the converts who have not the faith deeply rooted in their hearts. Besides this, there are the laws of the country which are but little in favor of permanent marriage among the people, their only object being to raise them from the condition of savages. But apart from these two evils, inconstancy and incontinency, you could not wish for better people; gentle, with pleasing manners, exceedingly tender-hearted, they neither seek to amass riches, nor live in luxury, nor dress much, but are most hospitable and ready to deprive themselves even of necessities in order to supply your every want if you have to ask a night's shelter from them. Even obstinate heretics will treat a priest well if he comes to their house, but they have only done this since their prejudices against our religion have been removed. They never said anything unpleasant to me. When one speaks to them of religion they willingly admit that we are right and they are in error, but it is the fear of their minister which holds them back from the Church. Generally they are of opinion that the Calvinistic creed and the Catholic faith are both good,—an error which is often hard to remove. If Providence were to send us a holy priest like the Curé d'Ars these sheep would soon be gathered in."

In another letter he mentions that "The population of our islands

consist of some sixty-two thousand souls at present. It was larger formerly. There are in all twenty-one priests in different parts of the islands. The island where I am is larger than all the others together. Here there are seven priests, who serve about twenty churches, and I think about one-third of the population are Catholics and the rest are either Protestants or unbelievers."

Then again the means of transit from settlement to settlement were rough and even dangerous; sometimes on foot, sometimes on horseback, through tangled woods and over precipitous mountains, the intrepid missionaries had to plough their way. One day he relates how he embarked in a frail canoe made from the hollowed trunk of a tree, to visit some Christian village to which there was no access by land; when midway across the water the boat cap-sized, and he and the two boatmen were forced to swim with one hand the remainder of the crossing, pushing their overturned boat with the other.

"As my clothes were fastened to the boat," he writes, "I lost nothing; only my beautiful little breviary which I was very fond of because it was both so complete and so light, was so soaked with sea-water that I cannot use it any more in travelling."

Another time he journeys for four days without stopping, partly on foot, partly on horseback, and partly by swimming across an arm of the sea running inland, and arrives "just in time to baptize a new-born infant, who went to heaven directly afterwards."

To another group of Christians he penetrates by climbing precipice after precipice on hands and knees, arriving among them with torn and bleeding hands and shoes in pieces. In another place, after having baptized a number of catechumens, he imposed upon them, as a thank-offering, the task of building a chapel—a *real* chapel, as he says, and not a mere wooden cabin; so, turning architect himself, he planned, arranged, and put together the planks which his converts had prepared. In another settlement, where he also desired to construct a more lasting edifice than the perishable huts which his predecessors had used for worship, and which was approached only by leaping from stone to stone, under a tropical sun, up the mountain side, he had the materials—wooden planks—cut and fitted at Honolulu, paid for from the alms of the Christians there, brought to the nearest shore by sea, and then conveyed to the required spot in the following manner.

"I made all our Christians, men, women and children, come down [to the sea-shore] in the evening. They slept upon the beach, their heads resting on stones, and, at daybreak, each one according to his strength took up a load of wood and went off. Every morning and evening we said prayers in common. The pieces of wood being already cut and trimmed by Brother Calixtus,

he put them together as we brought them, which encouraged the people very much. Now this church is finished, and his Lordship has promised to consecrate it next May."

As will be conjectured from the above example, it was Father Damien's wonderful energy of character, and his bright, engaging manner, which, joined to an unusual fund of physical strength, enabled him to perform feats and undergo hardships which many of his most zealous confrères could not equal. His strength, indeed, was something quite above the average; and years afterwards the Vicar Apostolic told his brother, Father Pamphile, how astonished were the aborigines of that district on witnessing Father Damien carry loads which three or four of themselves could scarcely lift.

Another incident which won from them much admiration was evidently due in like manner to his robust physique. One day as he was riding by the shore he perceived a boat, at some distance off, floating idly at the mercy of the waves. Dismounting from his horse he plunged into the sea and struck out towards it. On reaching the boat he found that it contained eight shipwrecked sailors, three Americans, four English and one Dutchman, who had formed part of the crew of a sailing ship trading from California to the Indies, and their ship having caught fire, they escaped in this small boat. They lay huddled together now in a state of exhaustion, utterly unable to wield their oars, and would undoubtedly never have seen land again had not the energetic priest brought them safely to shore. As the natives used to say of him, he was "ardent and swift like the wind or the fire," and his tall, commanding presence, ruddy cheeks and pleasant voice, helped to charm at the first glance those with whom he had to deal. He was essentially "big Damien," "*mon gros Damien*," as his professor at Louvain used, half caressingly, to call him; a large-headed, broad shouldered youth and man, with the full, somewhat fleshy face of the Belgian, and the peculiar half-abstracted look of the short-sighted. Mr. Clifford, who visited him towards the close of his life, describes him as "a thick-set, strongly-built man, with black curly hair and short beard, turning gray. His face must have been rather handsome, with a full, well-curved mouth and a short, straight nose; but he is now a good deal disfigured by leprosy, though not so badly as to make it anything but a pleasure to look at his bright sensible face. His forehead is swollen, ridged, the eyebrows are gone, the nose is somewhat sunk, and the ears are greatly enlarged."

But this is anticipating.

It was after ten years spent in earnest, zealous labor among his dear "*caniques*" that the call came to a higher and more painful

vocation ; and Damien landed among his leper flock, without clothes, books, or any kind of possessions, even so much as a change of linen. He had so promptly obeyed the call, that there was not even time to ask the formal permission of his Superior, and his scruples on this head could only be appeased by a formal letter from the latter, approving of the step which he had taken.

On his arrival at the leproserie, "I found," he writes, "on my arrival, a little chapel, dedicated to St. Philomena, but that was all. No house to shelter me. I lived a long time under the shelter of a tree, not wishing to sleep under the same roof as the lepers. Later on, the whites of Honolulu having assisted me with their subscriptions, I was able to build myself a hut, sixteen feet long and ten wide, where I am now writing these lines. Well, I have been here six months, surrounded by lepers, and I have not caught the infection ; I consider this shows the special protection of our good God and the Blessed Virgin Mary.

"Leprosy, so far as is known, is incurable ; it seems to begin by a corruption of the blood. Discolored patches appear on the skin, especially on the cheeks, and the parts affected lose their feeling. After a time, this discoloration covers the whole body ; then ulcers begin to open, chiefly at the extremities. The flesh is eaten away and gives out a fetid odor ; even the breath of the leper becomes so foul that the air around is poisoned with it. I have had great difficulty in getting accustomed to such an atmosphere. One day at the Sunday Mass, I found myself so stifled that I thought I must leave the altar to breathe a little of the outer air, but I restrained myself, thinking of our Lord when He commanded them to open the grave of Lazarus, notwithstanding Martha's words, *jam fætet*. Now my sense of smell does not cause me so much inconvenience and I enter the huts of the lepers without difficulty. Sometimes, indeed, I still feel some repugnance when I have to hear the confessions of those near their end, whose wounds are full of maggots. Often, also, I scarce know how to administer extreme unction, when both hands and feet are nothing but raw wounds.

"This may give you some idea of my daily work. Picture to yourself a collection of huts with eight hundred lepers. No doctor ; in fact, as there is no cure, there seems no place for a doctor's skill. A white man, who is a leper, and your humble servant do all the doctoring work.

"Every morning, then, after my Mass, which is always followed by an instruction, I go to visit the sick, half of whom are Catholics. On entering each hut, I begin by offering to hear their confessions. Those who refuse this spiritual help, are not, therefore, refused temporal assistance, which is given to all without distinction. Consequently, every one, with the exception of a few

bigoted heretics, look on me as a Father. As for me, I make myself a leper with the lepers, to gain all to Jesus Christ. That is why, in preaching, I say *We, lepers*, not *My brethren*, as in Europe. You may judge by the following fact, what a power the missionary has. Last Saturday, some of the younger people, discontented with their lot and thinking themselves ill-treated by the government, determined on an attempt at revolt. All except two were Calvinists, or Mormons. Well, I only had to present myself and say a word or two, and all the heads were bowed, and all was over. I have baptized more than a hundred persons since my arrival. I have also buried a large number. The average of deaths is about one every day. Many are so destitute that there is nothing to defray their burial expenses. They are simply wrapped in a blanket. As far as my duties allow me time, I make coffins myself for these people."

It would be difficult to realize the extreme loathsomeness of the daily, hourly contact with corruption, to which this robust son of the soil, with all his love for free fresh air and wild roaming in the wildest solitudes of nature had pledged himself. One of the other missionaries, Father Albert, who visited him, has given an account of what he saw and experienced at the leproserie. He says :

"Their bodies show every variety of physical repulsiveness. The leprosy eats away and devours their extremities, hands, feet, knees, elbows ; some have no nose left ; others, a swollen and enlarged one. Many lose all their fingers, joint by joint, so that at last only the stumps are left ; many are blind, or half blind. Some too, seem to have lost all human features, and their faces look like one great bleeding wound. Unhappy people ! They look upon themselves with horror ; yet, with the incredible morbidity of all lepers, they actually walk about with mirrors in their hands and keep looking at themselves every moment. The children look as if they had old men's heads on their shoulders, so swollen and disfigured are they, sometimes with lips and eyelids hanging down in hideous bags of flesh. It also affects the larynx and brings on a sort of asthma, with violent vomiting of black blood, *which I myself have often had to catch in a basin* while in the midst of hearing their confessions. As for the corpse-like smell which exudes from their half-rotten bodies, it is, humanly speaking, insupportable. During my work in the church (he was decorating the walls for them), I have sometimes been painting for hours together side by side with one of these wretched beings who seemed to have no idea of the unpleasantness of his neighborhood to me. At other times, while confessing and anointing the dying, I have had to go, from time to time, to the door to get a breath of fresh air and brace up my courage, before again facing the sight and

smell of the millions of worms which were eating the poor creatures alive.

"Except during certain phases of their malady, the lepers do not suffer acute pain. Rather, their bodies seem deadened and without any feeling whatever; so that I have seen them cutting pieces off their own hands and feet with a knife exactly as if they were chipping at a bit of wood, and sometimes, too, they burned themselves seriously, having approached too near the fire and feeling neither heat nor cold."

Another priest, after visiting the lepers with Father Damien, confessed to him that the fearful stench from them had brought on a violent headache. "Oh, don't mind that," was Damien's heroically simple answer; "during the past three years I have often felt the same thing."

After spending some weeks at the leproserie, and setting on foot various improvements, Father Damien went over to Honolulu, the principal town and seat of government, to give an account of his work to the bishop and to make his confession. Deeming it likewise advisable to pay a visit of ceremony to the President of the Commission of Health, he called upon him ere leaving; when, what was his surprise to find himself not only received with great coldness, but with a very plain intimation from the official that he was absolutely forbidden to leave the lazaret-house again for any purpose whatever; and this was followed up by a written order, informing him that he would at once be arrested by the police if he ventured out, even into the other part of the island. Thus he found himself most unexpectedly a close prisoner, confined rigorously within the narrow space which held a population of 800 lepers.

On learning this state of things, the Father Provincial of his Order, anxious to console and give absolution to the exile, set out for Molokai in one of the provision steamers which went regularly from Honolulu to the leproserie, remaining there about three hours. To his horror and disappointment, when he prepared to land, on their arrival, the captain of the ship held him back and curtly informed him that it was "impossible." Poor Father Damien, having caught sight of his superior in the distance, had flung himself into a boat and come off to the ship's side to greet him; and he also was refused admittance on the ship.

He was, therefore, obliged to make his confession in a loud voice across the sea from his tiny rowing boat to the provincial on board ship; and it was said by those who witnessed it that none could understand the language in which they spoke.

A little later, one of his brother missionaries essayed to reach him from the other side of the island. Setting out in disguise by night, he reached the precipitous mountain side which separated

the leproserie from the rest of the island, 2000 feet high, scaled the cliffs, and penetrated to his priestly brother. But he was seen, denounced to the police, and it is said that serious consequences would probably have ensued had not a change in the government and a new king brought greater liberty to the missionaries, who were thenceforward permitted to visit the leper settlement at their discretion.

From thenceforth the leproserie was visited from time to time by the bishop and his missionaries, who was thus enabled to note and to make known to the world the wonderful work carried on by the devoted "Apostle of the Lepers." Chapels were built and decorated, vestments and banners wrought by those among the women whose wounded and mutilated hands were still capable of work; a choir was formed which executed not only with taste but with extraordinary skill, really difficult and even classical music; they had open-air processions, High Mass, with every accompaniment that music, lights, rich hangings, golden Altar vessels (sent by the Curé of St. Roch, Paris), and even bright-colored confraternity dresses for men, girls and musicians, could give. The confessional was crowded, the communicants numerous, and the baptisms of converts were counted by dozens weekly. Father Damien's visitors would describe with wonder and delight the imposing ceremonies they witnessed, carried out by a congregation "amongst which there was perhaps not a single human form which one could look upon without horror. The fœtid odor which filled the church made it like the gate of Pluto's kingdom."

In 1879 Father Damien wrote: "Most of the sick who arrive here are non-Catholics, and they die in the bosom of the Church. The tree begins to be known by its fruits; for Protestantism takes no care for the souls of the lepers. Thus nearly all the dying ask for the Catholic priest to enable them to prepare for the last journey. I have administered baptism *in periculo mortis* to a large number of Calvinist chiefs."

As soon as one good practice was firmly rooted in the lives of the people, he began another; confraternities for assisting and nursing the sick, the Perpetual Adoration, which belonged so specially to his Order, in both the churches of the leproserie (for they had one at each end of the enclosure) the devotion of the Month of Mary; everything which could rouse and sustain the piety of his flock he spared no pains in establishing. Then, when he could spare time, or obtain temporary help from a confrère for his people, he delighted in taking a turn at his old work of carpentering, and built chapel after chapel in different parts of the island.

One of his yearly letters to his family will show how he worked:

MOLOKAI, December 8, 1874.

My dear Mother, Brothers and Sisters :

As I told you last year, I am living in a village consisting entirely of lepers. Though this disease is contagious, I am still enjoying perfect health, and am very happy in the midst of these unfortunate people. I do all I can to lead them along the paths of virtue, and to prepare them for a holy death. I have the charge of two churches, and I have baptized this year a hundred lepers, and have buried quite as many.

During the summer I went to another part of this island, where I remained four months in the character of carpenter, putting up a new church 44 feet long, 22 wide, with 10 Gothic windows and a tower 50 feet high. It cost more than 5000 francs. It is there the new missionary is stationed. I am not ashamed to act as mason or carpenter when it is for the glory of God. These ten years I have been on the Mission, I have built a church or chapel every year. The habit I had at home of practising different kinds of work is of immense use to me here. However, in my leper settlement I have not much time for manual labor; my priestly duties are very numerous.

A few words now about my way of living: I live all alone in a little hut; lepers never enter it. In the morning, after Mass, a woman, who is not a leper, comes to prepare my meal. My dinner consists of rice, meat, coffee and a few biscuits. For supper, I take what was left at dinner, with a cup of tea, the water for which I boil over a lamp. My poultry-yard furnishes me with eggs. I only make two meals a day, morning and evening. I rarely take anything between. You see I live very well; I don't starve. I am not much at home in the daytime. After dark, I say my Breviary by the light of my lamp, I study a bit or write a letter. So don't wonder at getting only one letter a year from me. I really have not the time even to think of you, except in my prayers. I have been obliged to steal an hour from my sleep now in order to write this letter and some others which I must send to Europe.

The new year is at hand; I wish you all a very happy one. Don't forget me in your daily prayers.

JOSEPH DAMIEN DE VEUSTER.

As to his carpentering labors, it was not only the houses of God which owed their existence to his energy and zeal; he lent a willing hand, too, to those of his parishioners whose wretched log-cabins were perpetually falling into decay or being overturned by the violence of the storms.

"My poor people are continually begging me to help them to construct a small wooden house. Government gives them the framework, the mission the roofing, and, if they can manage to procure some planks of wood for themselves, I lend them my arms for a few days, and behold them installed."

Again, he found that the dead were usually buried without coffins, there being no fund from the government for their supply; so the good Father took to making coffins for the dead, and sometimes even to digging their graves, until his flock, stimulated by his example, had learned to conduct the almost daily funerals with decency and solemnity. One of the missionaries estimated the number of burials which Father Damien had personally or partly performed at from fifteen to eighteen hundred.

In the year 1881, the Queen Regent of Honolulu made a personal visit to, and inspection of, the leproserie, and was so touched with

all she saw and with the wonderful work being carried out, that she sent to the heroic priest a decoration called the Order of Kalakaua, with which her messenger solemnly invested him, to the great pride and joy of all his flock, Protestant and Catholic alike.

As time went on and his health remained good, he could not help being surprised at his exemption from contagion. As he wrote in 1873: "I have been now six months here, and have not caught the infection"; and in 1880: "Since I have been here I have buried from one hundred and ninety to two hundred every year, and still the number of living lepers is always over seven hundred. Last year death carried off an unusually large number of Christians. There are many empty places on the benches of the church, but in the cemetery there is hardly room left to dig the graves. I was quite vexed the other day to find they had begun to dig a grave, just by the large cross, in the very spot which I had so long reserved for myself. I had to insist on the place being left vacant. The cemetery, church and presbytery form one enclosure; thus, at night-time I am the sole keeper of this garden of the dead, where my spiritual children lie at rest."

Later on, in 1883, he told his brother that he was still well and vigorous; but in the following year he began to suspect the presence of the long-looked-for disease, and in 1885, having accidentally dipped his feet in boiling water and found that he felt no pain, he knew that his fate was sealed. He announced the news to his Bishop in these words:

"I cannot come to Honolulu, for leprosy has attacked me. There are signs of it on my left cheek and ear, and my eyebrows are beginning to fall. I shall soon be quite disfigured. As I have no doubt of the real character of the malady I remain calm, resigned, and very happy in the midst of my people. The good God knows what is best for my sanctification, and I say daily *Fiat voluntas tua* with a ready heart."

He did not at first tell his family, and they appeared to have learned the painful news through newspaper announcements, which unfortunately gave a very exaggerated account of his state, and said that "his flesh was falling from him in rags." As a matter of fact he was singularly little disfigured and his hands in particular preserved their perfect form, so that he was able to celebrate Mass down to almost the last day of his life. He worked on among his people, assisted by two fellow-priests from his own country, Father Conrady and Father Wendelin, and by three Franciscan nuns, who to his great consolation were sent to him from a newly opened hospital near Honolulu in 1888, until his failing strength finally gave way, three years after the first symptoms of his malady had appeared.

It is probably not too much to say that all Christendom was following with venerating interest the bulletins which from time to time reached us of his gradual fading away. Protestants and Catholics alike vied with one another in sending tokens and offerings of sympathy; yet, from some incomprehensible misunderstanding, which one can but recognize as a permitted trial from Divine wisdom, the ever-cherished and eagerly-looked-for home letters failed to arrive. Those who ministered to the dying man knew full well how hungrily his failing eyes had watched as mail after mail arrived from Europe with *no word from home*, eliciting the pathetic comment addressed to an Irish nun at Louvain:

"Try to find an occasion of speaking to my brother, Father Pamphile, as well as to my nieces. They seem to be treating me as though they were ashamed of my having caught this disease. While tending the lepers I have become a leper myself, and I try to bear as best I can the heavy burden which it has pleased God to lay upon me."

And one little pleading for "more letters" in this, almost the last words his hand ever penned:

"DEAR BROTHER: On account of the state of illness which the good God has willed to lay upon me I abstain from writing to you as I used to do, as also to the rest of the family. But it seems to me that you all ought to write to me at least as often as before, and even more often. However, I am very happy and contented, and although very ill I desire nothing save the accomplishment of the holy will of the good God.

I have here a priest from Liège, *Perè Conrady*, with me, and *Perè Wendelin* is in the second village, also two Brothers who help me to look after a hundred orphans whom I have under me here.

There are more than a thousand lepers in the settlement. We have also some Sisters, three Franciscan sick nurses. The English of London, both Protestant and Catholic, show themselves most sympathetic towards me and towards the work to which I have consecrated myself.

Remember me to all the Fathers and Brothers of Louvain, as well as to Gerard and Leonie and all the family. At the altar at which up to the present I am still able to stand daily (though with a certain amount of difficulty) I forget none of you all. In return please pray and get prayers for me, who am gently drawing near the grave. May the good God strengthen me and give me the grace of perseverance and of a good death.

Your devoted brother in the S. S. Hearts,
J. DAMIEN DE VEUSTER.

Two months later—and the grace of perseverance had been given, the crown won, and

"Dead, say they? Thou of thine own sweet accord,
Who through long years a dying life didst lead,
And only now, we know, dost live indeed.
Thy task accomplished! Now canst thou afford
To rest and go with joy to thy reward."

The closing scene is best given in the words of a letter from Father Wendelin, who was with him to the last:

"On Saturday, the 23d of March, he was just as usual, going about with his accustomed activity. That was the last time I saw him thus.

"From the 28th he never left his room. On that day he arranged his temporal affairs and when he had signed his papers he remarked to me: 'How happy I am to have given all to Mon-signor! Now I die poor, having nothing of my own.'

"On Thursday, the 28th of March, he took to his bed, and on Saturday, the 30th, made his preparation for death. It was really edifying to see him. He seemed so happy. When I had heard his general confession I made my confession to him, after which we together renewed the vows which bind us to the Congregation. Next day he received the Holy Viaticum. During the day he was bright and cheerful as usual. 'Look at my hands,' he said, 'all the wounds are healing and the crust is becoming black,—that is a sign of death, as you know very well. Look at my eyes. I have seen so many lepers die that I cannot be mistaken. Death is not far off. I should have liked to see the Bishop again, but the good God is calling me to celebrate Easter with himself. May God be blessed for it!'

"After this he thought only of preparing for death. There was no longer any room for doubt. One could see that death was fast approaching.

"On April the 2d Father Conrady gave him Extreme Unction. 'How good God is,' he said to me in the course of the day, 'to have preserved me long enough to have two priests by my side to assist me in my last moments, and then to know that the good Sisters are at the hospital—that was my 'Nunc Dimittis.' The work of the lepers is assured. I am no longer necessary, so before long I shall go up yonder.' 'When you are there, Father,' I asked, 'you won't forget those whom you are leaving orphans?' 'Oh, no,' he said, 'if I have any credit with God I shall intercede for all who are in the Leproserie.' I begged him to leave me his mantle, like Elias, that I might inherit his great heart. 'But what would you do with it?' he asked, 'it is all full of leprosy.' Then I asked him for his blessing, which he gave me with tears in his eyes. He also blessed the heroic daughters of St. Francis, for whose coming he had so long prayed.

"The following days the good Father rallied a little. We even had hopes of keeping him for a time amongst us. What I most admired in him was his admirable patience. He who was so ardent, so active, so robust, to be nailed down to his miserable couch. He was laid on the ground on a wretched mattress like the poor-

est leper, and we had great difficulty in making him accept a bed. And how poorly off he was! He who had spent so much money in relieving the lepers had forgotten himself so far as not to have even a change of linen or sheets for his bed. His attachment to the Congregation was admirable. How often he said to me, 'Father, you represent the Congregation here for me, don't you? Let us say the prayers together. How sweet it is to die a child of the Sacred Heart!'

"On Saturday, April 13th, he was much worse, and all hope of recovery was at an end. Shortly after midnight he received our Lord in Holy Communion for the last time. From time to time he lost consciousness. . . . On Monday I received a note, saying that the good Father was in his agony. I hurried off to see him, but on my way another messenger met me, and informed me of his death. He died without a struggle, as if falling asleep."

After death all signs of disfigurement passed from his face; his body was exposed in the church for some hours, and then buried with all the solemnity the little community could devise, under the tree where he had slept the first few nights after his arrival among them.

It is scarcely necessary to remind our readers of the burst of sympathetic emotion which filled all hearts when it became known that "the apostle of the lepers" had gone to his reward; how newspapers wrote of him, shop-windows were filled with his portraits, meetings were held to resolve upon memorial works in his honor. His own Congregation have set on foot the most worthy of these; one after his own heart, the *Institut Damien*. It is a college specially devoted to the training of youths destined to continue his own work among the lepers of the Sandwich islands, for, as he wrote himself, "Send us more workers—the harvest truly is plenteous, but the laborers are few." Those who wish to be associated in their merits and interests are enabled to share their work by becoming subscribers under one of three heads, as givers of large or small annual subscriptions, or simple donations, and thus to become partakers in that *communion of saints* which links their saintly founder with those who are preparing to follow in his footsteps.

"Damien! no name like thine exalts old story!
Dead Leper-Saint, pray well for me and mine,
Both here and harbored in the eternal glory;
For this is sure—that living woes like thine
Are knit so closely with Christ's Death Divine
They draw from it some power expiatory."

EDITORIAL NOTE.—In February, 1888, we had occasion to send the offerings of charitable persons to Father Damien which led to a correspondence that was kept up

to within three weeks of his death. His last note to us shows plainly how difficult it must have been for him to write, and as being perhaps the last letter he ever wrote, we give it together with the first. The first shows that in the midst of all his sufferings, God visited him with what to him must have been a very great temporal affliction, the destruction of the steeple of his church by a hurricane, and great damage also to the building itself. These letters, written in English, must be of interest, coming from such a saintly soul and during the last months of his martyrdom.

I. F. H.

KALAMAO, MOLOKAI, HAWAIIAN ISLAND,

March 23, 1888.

Rev. and Dear Father: Your kind letter of 23d ult., with enclosed check, is duly received, with thanks for your kindness; and please express to the charitable donors my gratitude for their charities towards the outcasts of Molokai. The number of our lepers being on the increase, I am obliged to make a large addition to our church; and an ouragan or strong wind having destroyed the steeple, I have to build a new one. Therefore, please tell Mr. —, that any help to cover a part of these needed expenses will be received with thanks and many prayers for his happiness. Almost ten years ago I had sent to me a large quantity of Hoang-nan pills, and during six months they acted very well on the lepers, but no cure; amelioration for the time being is all we may expect from different specifics known and tried here. Happy and resigned we wait here at the brink of our graves the moment our Blessed Lord will kindly call us to a better life. *Oramus ad invicem.*

Yours very thankfully,

J. DAMIEN, des SS. C.C. Cath.

His last letter is dated March 13th, 1889. He died April 10th, 1889.

Dear Father: Your letter, with draft of February 18th, from your charitable—is at hand. Please have the kindness to express to this good man and relatives my sincere thanks. I am preparing now the new steeple of our church. Please tell them that this will nearly pay for all its cost, and will be a visible remembrance of their charity. Recommending myself to your prayers, I remain in our Lord

Yours thankfully,

J. DAMIEN.

P. S.—My sickness is leading me to my grave.



THE POPES OF THE RENAISSANCE.

Geschichte der Päpste. Ludwig Pastor. Vol. II.*History of the Papacy.* M. Creighton. Vols. II., III.

THE rare patience, learning, skill, and the rarer honesty, that marked every page of Ludwig Pastor's first volume of the "History of the Popes since the end of the Middle Ages," compelled the respect of students who have long been held as masters, and the admiration of all those who, not being masters, still love truth and justice, and rightly value labor inspired by holy aims. Critics of many countries and of many creeds have been unreserved in their praise of the German historian's thoroughness, in their praise of the science of his method and of the frank simplicity of his presentation. Nor have they been ungenerous in their acknowledgment of the benefit he has conferred, on all students and writers of modern history, by the new material that he has gathered, wisely and freely, from rich mines hitherto unworked. Burckhardt, Ewald, de Rossi, Müntz, Chevalier, Kurth—authors who have gained a deserved reputation as original inquirers, and who are especially informed about the period of the Renaissance, have paid tribute to the Innsbruck Professor. And, though he has deemed it prudent in a *Nachwort*, to answer several carping critics—"Comma critics"—it may be truthfully said that no scholar has ventured to question his facts, or the impartiality of his judgments.

Burckhardt, writing of the first volume of the "Geschichte der Päpste" qualifies it as a "powerful work." The second volume is not less powerful than the first. No published documents have escaped Pastor's watchful eye. From some seven hundred printed works, and from one hundred and twenty collections of archives and manuscripts, he has culled the details so briefly, and yet fully narrated in this volume. In the Appendix, he prints at length, or summarizes, one hundred and forty-eight documents—many of prime importance—that now see the light for the first time. *Vitam impendere vero* is Pastor's chosen motto. With such a device, we are prepared for costly labor; but it is only when we carefully estimate the cost of the amazing labor expended on this volume that we can truly gauge the sincerity, the singleness, of the young historian's purpose.

The first volume dealt with the reign of Martin V., Eugenius IV., Nicholas V., and Calixtus III.; and covered a period of about

forty years—from 1417 to 1458. In the second volume we advance at a slower pace. The history of a quarter century fills these seven hundred solid pages. Three Popes, Pius II., Paul II., and Sixtus IV., hold the stage—three great popes, if popes be measured like lesser men. Pastor's method is severe; his judgments also lean to severity. It is true that the popes of the Renaissance, better than any of the rulers of their day, can bear severity in judgment; but they are entitled to a consideration which even Pastor does not always give them. Policies which have been loudly condemned, are defensible when all the circumstances are considered. Many actions which are called imprudent, were in fact, more beneficial than hurtful. Many that were not beneficial, should not on that account, be judged harshly. In the soft light of comparison, when viewed side by side with the tyrants of Italy, Germany, France, or England, there is no pope of the fifteenth century that does not seem to be illuminated with a shining aureole, which even the greedy and godless literati cannot blur with their inky volleys of classical epithets.

The most absolute of monarchies, the Church is at the same time the only democracy. Her monarchs are the monarchs of a lifetime; and they are chosen to rule the Christian world neither because of their family nor because of their wealth. Thus Pius II. was the son of a needy noble, who had been banished from radical Siena for the crime of being noble. The father of Paul II., was a Venetian tradesman whose highest ambition was that his son should be a successful merchant. To an American ear, the family name of Sixtus IV. has an aristocratic sound; and yet the pope's parents were miserably poor folk, who lived in a miserably poor way at Celle, a petty village not far from Savona, on the Riviera. A branch of the della Rovere, had ennobled itself, by the ordinary methods of the time, and their poorer relations of Celle were no doubt proud of the connection, which allowed them to claim a sort of brevet nobility. However these three men reached the Papacy, it is apparent that they did not owe their elevation to family influence.

The story of Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini has been often told, but it has been told none too well. Voigt, in his interesting work,¹ with sound learning and an intimate knowledge of the men and the movement of the Renaissance, shows diligent study and the nicest appreciation of the literary productions of the most effective orator, and the readiest, liveliest prose-writer of the fifteenth century. And yet Voigt's "Life of Æneas Sylvius" is

¹ *Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini als Papst Pius der Zweite, und sein Zeitalter.* 3 vols. Berlin. Georg. Reimer. 1856-63.

just neither to Piccolomini nor to Pius—neither to layman, cleric or Pope. If we turn to the latest English historian of the Papacy, Canon Creighton,¹ we find him easy, agreeable, unconsciously prejudiced, and, as usual, somewhat contradictory. In the second volume of the "History of the Papacy," he gives a lengthy, if incomplete, account of Æneas and of Pius. Indeed, a writer on the Renaissance must be largely occupied with the bright, active, good-natured, strong-willed Siennese, who, by the force of natural gifts and of persistent, hard work, rose from poverty and obscurity to the highest honor a man can attain in this world. Mr. Creighton is delicately constituted. His pen records his immediate impressions. To have his opinion of a character, the reader must not be influenced by his running comments. These are merely intended to give life to the page. When he finally reviews himself and sums up a character, he will forget his own mistakes and express a judgment whose fairness cannot be found fault with—provided he has not been misled by unreliable authorities or has not been too hasty in his preparatory studies. Canon Creighton has been more fortunate than Dr. Voigt. Twenty years have passed since the latter published his able and useful work, while the "History of the Papacy" is only eight years old. It cannot but be gratifying to a historian to be set aright, and if it be done quickly, so much the better. From Pastor's first and second volumes, the intelligent reader will find it easy to correct both Voigt and Creighton, and, at the same time, to form a truer judgment of the character and work of Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini.

"The man with a universal taste," as Burckhardt calls Æneas, passed his youth in the neediest circumstances at Corsignano, some fifty miles from Siena. Though there was little respect for law in Siena or in its neighborhood, the study of jurisprudence was held in high esteem ever since Aringhieri had made the old university famous. A jurist Æneas would have been had his father's hopes been fulfilled. To Siena the youth was sent, and there he took a dislike to law and fell in love with Cicero, Livy and Virgil. He would have books. There was only way to have them. He borrowed where he could and copied volume after volume. His appetite for learning was so keen that he barely took time to eat common victuals or to drink—*Monte Pulciano*. Florence was only sixty miles away. Filelfo was the idol of the hour. Famous before he was twenty years of age, young and old crowded his lectures on eloquence. Æneas longed to be eloquent. After two years in Florence he returned to Siena. The family still

¹ *A History of the Papacy During the Reformation*. By M. Creighton, M.A. London. Longmans, Green & Co., 1882.

insisting on his adopting the legal profession, he again followed the wearisome law lectures. He was twenty-six years old when Capranica came to Siena, on his way to the council at Basel. Meeting the quick, versatile, amiable student, the knowing cardinal was so taken with him that he offered Æneas a secretaryship. The unwilling jurist promptly accepted the offer. As we con the faces of the motley crowd that gathered in the Rhenish town in 1432, the mild, far seeing eye, the refined head, the firm mouth, the winning smile of Æneas, attract us as strongly as they attracted the cardinal. Capranica was opposed to Eugenius IV. Influenced by his example and arguments and also by the company he fell in with, Æneas became an outspoken adversary of the lawful Pope. When, two years later, Capranica made his peace with Eugenius, the young secretary left him and entered the service of the Bishop of Freising. Later on he separated from the bishop, and, in time, we find him in the household of Cardinal Albergati, the pious Carthusian, whose coat of arms was the Cross, and who, with piety, combined a deep love for the new learning. This love he showed not only by a diligent cultivation of letters, but also by a generous patronage of men of promise. From Albergati's house the splendid Nicholas V. graduated, and to the training of the ascetic and sagacious Bolognese, the son of the poor physician of Sarzana owed, in good part, his passion for all noble things.

At Basel there were learned men, but none with a more varied learning than Æneas had hived. There were orators of repute in the council and outside of it, but not one with the artful power of Æneas. Stylists there were unnumbered, but Æneas overmastered them all in that spirit which can alone give life to form. He was a poet, too, and dropped graceful verse from his pen-point with an ease that made all men admire. As a canonist his ability was widely acknowledged. Of the art of diplomacy he knew nothing; but Basel was a rare good school, and Æneas was always a student. Each day he learned something of men's hearts and minds, and this learning soon told. He was entrusted with a delicate mission to that *condottiero of condottieri*, Nicolo Piccinino, and with Albergati he attended the Council of Arras (1435), which was convened in the interest of the peace of Christendom. How much credit Æneas had quietly gained was now made evident. He was sent to England and to Scotland on a secret mission, whose purpose he never fully disclosed. The genial humanist, the man of speeches and letters and Virgilian imitations, proved on this mission that he was a man of force as well as a student, a man whose training and disposition had made him fitted to overcome and to bear in the execution of a trust greater

trials and privations than he had borne and conquered during his boyhood. The journey cost him his health. The English court refusing him entrance to Scotland, he returned to the continent and set sail for Scotland direct, was driven on the Norway coast, and only after a fortnight of storms landed on Scottish soil. Forthwith he started, barefoot, for the nearest shrine of the Blessed Virgin. When in danger of shipwreck he had made a vow. The ground was covered with snow and ice, yet Æneas walked ten miles, kept his vow—and took the gout, which made his after life a life of suffering, and which finally carried him off in his prime.

Albergati was the legate of Eugenius. Entering the Cardinal's service Piccolomini had not changed his views as to the rightful authority of the Pope. On his return from Scotland he found himself without a patron. Albergati had gone away from Basel. However, Æneas had no need to seek employment. Princes in Church and State sought him out. Though a layman, the Council appointed him to a bishoprick. On the feast of St. Ambrose the Archbishop of Milan chose him to preach before the Council. He was not the only pagan-humanist layman that aired his graces in a pulpit during the course of the fifteenth century; but the experience was new in a convocation that assumed to be a Council. Honors now rained on the genial Siennese. He was appointed Chief-abbreviator of the Council, a member of the committee controlling its proceedings, and president of the committee on Faith. Meantime his pen was active in opposing the claims of Eugenius. When the council of Basel assumed to depose him and to elect Duke Amadeus of Savoy to the Papal See, Æneas entered the service of the new pretender, who played Pope in a small way under the name of Felix V. But a short experience as secretary to Duke Felix and a keen sense of the unwisdom of the council's action, caused the secretary's mind to waver. In 1442 he was appointed an ambassador from the Council to the Frankfurt Reichstag. Bishop Sylvester of Chiemsee, a close friend of Frederick III., was so taken with Æneas that he begged Frederick to secure him as one of the imperial secretaries, and, furthermore, to honor him with the title of Imperial Poet. To each of these suggestions Frederick lent a willing ear, and the poor boy of Corsignano, crowned with the laurel, saw his name written on the pages of history just beneath Petrarch's.

Separating himself from Felix, not without the Duke's consent, Æneas relieved a troubled conscience. Dissatisfied with the Savoyard and with the Council he remained unsatisfied as to the claims of Eugenius. Under the circumstances he thought it well to take a position like the Emperor's—a position of neutrality.

In 1442 he accompanied Frederick to Austria. Four years earlier he had made a first acquaintance with the country and with the people. Casper Schlick, the Chancellor, like every other considerable man that had to do with Æneas, promptly recognized his extraordinary abilities. The emperor had a scheme for the calling of a new council, a scheme supported by the French king. To present this scheme to Eugenius and to win his assent to it Schlick chose Æneas. There could be no higher proof of his standing as a diplomist and as an honest man. *Persona grata* he could not have been to Eugenius, against whom he had contended for years in speech and in writing. His views as to the legitimacy of the Pope and as to the right method of closing the breach in Christendom had, however, been much modified of late. He saw the harm that had been done to religion by the attack on authority. He was desirous of "rescuing the prey from the wolf's mouth." He was ready to accept Eugenius if Germany accepted him, and he was active in devising means by which Germany might be united with Rome for the sake of religion.

Basel had proved to be a good school for Æneas, in some respects; in other respects it had been a bad training-ground. Light-hearted, joyous, witty, the young Sieneſe ſpent much of his time with a choice circle of half-pagans, who gave more thought to pleaſure than to canon-law or theology. Reformers of the Church, with their tongues, their chiefſt efforts were directed to ſhowing that they, above all, needed reform. Bacchus and Venus were their moſt worſhipped divinities. Many an idle hour they paſſed in trying to be as unclean as the vileſt Roman or Greek. Æneas was only too ready to compete for the leadership in theſe un-Christian ſports, as well as in more ſerious work; and his writings ſtill exiſt to point a moral, and to warn youth from the fooliſhneſs that Cardinal Piccolomini and Pope Pius II. bitterly regretted. Nor was his life a model of chaſtity. It is he who tells us ſo in plain words, without apology, but with frequent and touching expreſſion of ſorrow and of repentance. Like a true Sieneſe, he was always fondly attached to the Mother of God. We have ſeen an inſtance of this affection in the rough pilgrimage that he made. Did he owe his change of life to Her loving interceſſion? Who ſhall ſay that to Her he did not owe ſtill other favors, ſeemingly greater? However this be, the idea of entering the prieſthood began to move him. Well-meaning friends had preſſed him to this courſe from time to time; but his irregular life made him doubt his fitness for the holy office. With time the calling grew ſtronger, and at length, in 1445, Æneas determined to prepare himſelf for the prieſthood. At Vienna, in March, 1446, he was ordained. From the day of his ordination to his laſt day on earth,

his bitterest enemy could charge him with no violation of his vow.

God may pardon sin, but it is not the office of men to apologize for it. Still, there is a way of recording a man's sins that, if not sinful, is not altogether fair. Even Canon Creighton's way is not always irreproachable. His fault, we may be certain, is unintentional. Sometimes his wit gets the better of him; sometimes he uses a word carelessly. Writing about Æneas, Mr. Creighton says:¹ "The character of Æneas *at this time* was not that of a churchman." There could be no truer statement, but it is a misleading statement. Mr. Creighton implies that "at this time" Æneas was bound by an obligation more solemn than that by which laymen are held. Æneas was "at this time" not so bound. Indeed, Mr. Creighton's own text proves the fact. Two pages farther on, at the foot of page 247, he quotes from a letter of Æneas the following words: "As yet I have taken care not to involve myself in holy orders." The letter is dated February, 1444, and the "at this time" of Mr. Creighton refers to 1444, at the latest. Mr. Creighton, perhaps, chose his time well for a review of the private life of Æneas. In 1445 Æneas determined to take holy orders; in 1446 he was ordained. In 1444—"at this time"—there were laymen that lived more exemplary lives. An explanatory note at the foot of the page would have helped Mr. Creighton's reader, though it would, at the same time, have spoiled Mr. Creighton's point. Æneas held benefices, and must, therefore, have been as much of a "churchman" as a man is who has simply taken the tonsure. Emoluments he may have received, jurisdiction he may have exercised, but until he "involved himself in holy orders" he was not obligated by the solemn promise of a priest. When speaking of the Church, or of "churchmen," non-Catholic writers should be careful not to involve their readers in a maze of misconceptions. Canon Creighton's apology for his "churchman" is well-meant, though most unfortunate. Were Æneas alive, we may be certain that he would roundly resent the apology and trust himself to the Lord. Mr. Creighton's words are so original that it would be a pity not to quote them.² "His irregularities were never made a reproach to him later, nor did he take any pains to hide them from posterity. Such as he was he would have himself known—induced, perhaps, by literary vanity, more probably by a feeling that his character would not lose in the eyes of his contemporaries by sincerity on his part. In those days chastity was the mark of a saintly character, and Æneas never professed to be a saint." Alongside of the scientific school of historians to which

¹ *History of the Papacy*. Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1882. Vol. ii., p. 245.

² *History of the Papacy*. Longmans, Green & Co. Vol. ii., p. 246.

Pastor belongs, there is a school which may be entitled the "Perhaps" and the "More Probably" school. This school is not prepared to accept its own statement of facts, unless with a qualifying inuendo. Remove the "perhaps," and the "more probably" from Mr. Creighton's sentence and he would not print it under his name. Cut out the "perhaps" clause, and you have a judgment passed on Æneas which would compel Mr. Creighton to re-write page after page of his book. And what shall we say of the final witticism: "In those days chastity was the mark of a saintly character?" Only this: If chastity were the mark of a historian in these days, there would be more historians who might not be ashamed of their profession.

When Æneas went to Rome, in 1445, on the business of the emperor, he made his peace with Eugenius, and did it in a manly way. "My aim," he said to the Pope, "was not to injure you but to serve the Church. I erred and shall not deny it. I was in good company, however. I erred with Cardinal Capranica, with the Archbishop of Palermo, with Pontano, the notary of your own Holy See. I erred with the universities. When your chances improved, I did not rush to your feet. I cannot jump, as some men can, from one extreme to another. I waited and considered, and the more I considered the more I leaned to your side. Now I stand here before you, and, as I sinned unknowingly, I ask your pardon." To this frank avowal there could be but one answer, and thus Eugenius answered: "Those who acknowledge their error it is our duty to pardon. You have attained the truth, henceforward beware that you lose it not; and, through good works, seek you the grace of God!" Æneas at once began negotiations for the peace of the Church, and to his untiring efforts the recognition of Eugenius by the German electors, on February 7, 1447, just sixteen days before the Pope's death, was largely due.

Nicholas V., following out the intention of Eugenius, appointed Æneas to a bishopric, that of Trieste. Three years later, in 1450, he was promoted to the Bishopric of Siena, the city that had driven his parents out of its precincts, the city he had left nineteen years before as a simple secretary. Meantime he had been to Cologne, where he completed the negotiations looking to the obedience of Germany, and thus hastened the abdication of Felix V. When Frederick thought of marrying, Æneas was chosen to manage the affair, and to make the settlements with Alfonso of Naples, uncle of Leonora of Portugal, who was not unwilling at fourteen to be the bride of an emperor. To Æneas the emperor also entrusted the negotiations with the Pope for his coronation at Rome. In

¹ L. Pastor: *Geschichte der Päpste*. Herder, Freiburg. Vol. i., p. 259.

the same year that the new Bishop of Siena successfully carried out these two important missions—the year of the Jubilee, 1450—he pressed upon Nicholas V. the advisability of canonizing St. Bernardine of Siena. Hardly six years had passed since Bernardine's death; but the Pope canonized the holy Franciscan, whose idea of sanctity was so vastly superior to Canon Creighton's, and whose miracles attested not his chastity alone, but also his poverty, obedience and good works. It was owing to the advice of Æneas that another great and good man, John Capistran, the disciple of Bernardine, was appointed to a fruitful field of labor, as a reformer of his Order in Austria, a missionary among the people, "who had grown cold," and a crusader against the Turk. "The Papacy was wise enough to countenance every religious movement that was not hostile to itself," as Mr. Creighton says, with a beautiful spirit of truth and generosity; and the spread of the gospel has, in the Papacy's estimation, never been hostile to the Church of Christ. In 1451, we find Æneas in Bohemia, seeking to pacify the country and to bring the Hussite king back to his allegiance to the Church. The next year he is in Italy, escorting the youthful Leonora, who is on her way to meet Frederick at Siena. At the emperor's coronation in Rome, Æneas was a prominent figure. By the end of 1452, he is in Vienna, an ambassador seeking to compromise the differences between the emperor and Hungary, Bohemia and Moravia. In 1453 came the news of the fall of Constantinople. Æneas saw the mighty danger that threatened Christendom. Earnestly did he beseech the Pope, and ably did he assist him, to arouse Europe, and to organize a crusade against the Turk. At the Diet of Regensburg and at the Diet of Frankfurt, he made the most eloquent appeals to the assembled princes and ambassadors. If the movement failed he was not to blame. When Calixtus III. assumed the tiara, the good offices of Æneas again served Church and State. The emperor and the German princes had their grievances, real or imaginary. They were slow in acknowledging the new Pope. The Sienese bishop won them over, and, at the head of a German embassy, returned to Rome, and, in Germany's name, subscribed obedience to Calixtus. In the following year Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini was nominated to a cardinalate.

Assuming the purple, Cardinal Piccolomini was called to defend the Papacy against the bitter attacks of some German churchmen, who, under the leadership of Mayr, Chancellor of the Archbishop of Mainz, sought to force from Calixtus concessions quite as unreasonable as those claimed by the council of Basel. In a correspondence which he carried on with Mayr, in letters which he composed for the Pope, and in a famous tractate, Piccolomini discussed and answered the complaints of the German anti-Papal party most

conclusively and most happily. Thanks to him, and to the firmness of Calixtus, the threats of Mayr and of his master came to naught.

Thirteen days after the death of Calixtus, this Æneas Sylvius was, by a practically unanimous vote of the Conclave, elected to the Papal See. If as Voigt, and as Mr. Creighton—a mild echo of the harsh and prejudiced German—so uncritically assume, a selfish ambition was the one great motive that controlled the life of Æneas Sylvius would you, gentle reader, say that he gained the office of ruler of the Church, undeservedly? Can you recall, within these nineteen centuries, a king, president, emperor, who won his honors more fairly than Æneas? What estimate would you form of a historian who sought to lessen the credit of Æneas by a studied selection of such choice epithets as “renegade,” “shifty,”—a “shifty Italian adventurer,” a “shifty diplomat”? You would hesitate about calling such an historian reliable, and indeed so must any one who counts the cost of Piccolomini's work at the desk; the cost of that wide information which he has so agreeably and modestly displayed in a line of letters and of books that are still the delight of all men of taste; the cost of that intimate knowledge of mankind, of every European nationality, of every European ruler, that he gained in such quick time, and used always in the interest of peace and of truth, the cost of that art and power of speech which a contemporary makes present to us in one short sentence: *Nihil enim Pii concionantis majestate sublimius.*¹ As reading the words, you feel your soul moved as though it would break its bonds, and see Æneas, slight and unimposing, convince, arouse, calm, win over councils, senators, kings, popes, with the majesty, the sublimity, of his thought and language, you are like to have a proper contempt for those who belittle him because his well-used talents earned him the recognition they deserved.

The energy and ability of Æneas Sylvius become all the more evident when we compare his life with that of Pietro Barbo, who as Paul II., succeeded him on the Papal throne. Barbo, as already related, was the son of a Venetian tradesman who had marked out a business career for his son. However, when Pietro's uncle, his mother's brother, took the name of Eugenius IV., the young Venetian found a better calling. He was pious from his youth, and the Pope thought it desirable that he should study for the priesthood. Eugenius directed his education. He was a brave looking fellow, easy and gracious in manner, with a tender and generous heart, somewhat given to show, fond of parade, a lover of beauti-

¹ *Die Cultur der Renaissance*. Jacob Burckhart Leipzig, Seeman, 1869, p. 182.

ful things, a collector of jewels, cameos, intaglios, ivories, bronzes, coins, paintings, indeed of all sorts of choice handiwork ; better still he was a man of piety and of most simple habits. In history and in canon law, he was well versed. Eugenius appointed him a cardinal in 1440, the same year in which Frederick III. was elected emperor. His careful life, and his generosity, made Barbo beloved by Nicholas and by Calixtus, as well as by his fellow-cardinals and the Roman people. He played no great part in affairs, devoting himself to his art collections, to the care of churches, the building of a spacious, imposing palace, and the most considerate, most charitable, care of the poor and the sick. Always ready to help a friend forward, he was ever able to help. Genial, witty, he loved to gather at his table a bright company. His agreeable character is disclosed by a single saying, which we may be certain truly expressed Barbo's generous feelings and his delight in contributing to the happiness of others : "Should I ever be Pope, I will present each one of the cardinals with a beautiful castle, wherein he may pass the summer comfortably,"² Once Pope, Barbo forgot his promise. He found better things to do. Paul II. was a greater man than Cardinal Barbo ; but with all his charming qualities, the Cardinal of San Marco was not Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini.

Paul's successor, Francesco della Rovere, was made of sterner stuff. His mother, as pious as she was poor, dedicated her son, a child, to dear St. Francis. At nine years of age she placed him in the care of Giovanni Pinarolo, the Minorite, a man of holy life. Francesco learned to cherish the quiet of the cloister, and chose to be a disciple of his blessed namesake. Showing rare powers of mind he received every encouragement and made a thorough course of study. At the Universities of Pavia and of Bologna his acquirements and talents won the respect of both professors and students. When, before the General Chapter of the Franciscans at Genoa, the young student—he was just twenty—disputed publicly, so skilful a dialectician did he prove himself and such was the ease and finish of his language that the General of the Order, Guglielmo Casale, affectionately embraced him. Completing his philosophical and theological studies Francesco perfected himself in literature. From the pupil's bench he was lifted to the professor's chair. At Padua, Bologna, Pavia, Siena, Perugia and Florence, he won applause. Argyropulos is an authority for the statement that in the whole of Italy there was not a scholar who had not sat at the feet of della Rovere. The erudite Cardinal Bessarion, a zealous forwarder of the new learning, trained writer

¹ *Geschichte der Päpste*, Ludwig Pastor, vol. ii., p. 274.

and diplomat, and founder of the Academy, would not print a page until he had submitted it to the young monk. Della Rovere's abilities were by none more fully recognized than by his fellow Franciscans. Appointed procurator at Rome, he soon rose to be vicar. On the death of Jacopo de Sarzuela (1464) della Rovere was elected to the generalship. Immediately he began a reformation of the order. Paul II called him to the Sacred College in 1467, naming him patron of the Church of San Pietro in Vincoli, where, close by Pollajuolo's screen, the monuments of the great Cusa, and of the greater Julius, rise, and where the horned Moses of Michel Angelo rules over the living and the dead with majesty and with awe. The Cardinal's residence near the Eudoxian Basilica was in a ruinous state, and della Rovere was too poor to make it habitable. When he could boast of a dwelling he was indebted to the charity of his colleagues. In the purple he was the Franciscan of old and the scholar. All his leisure hours were devoted to study. His modest residence was the resort of spiritually-minded and inquiring men. During his cardinalate he published a number of works that largely increased his reputation as a writer.¹ A man of greater intellectual power, of a more active temperament and more ascetic than Barbo, Francesco della Rovere was not the equal of Æneas Sylvius. His experience of the world was comparatively narrow. In the circle that gathered in his house political subjects were barred. Physically stronger than Æneas, he was full of virile energy, and yet his work is small when measured with that of the untiring, ever moving, ever doing Sienese. As a preacher della Rovere had gained a reputation, but he was not, like Æneas, the orator of all times and all places. When, as Sixtus IV., Francesco comes out of the conclave on August 9, 1471, congratulating him, we still feel that the "renegade" earned his high dignity better than had the Cardinal of San Pietro in Vincoli.

Of the men whose lives we have sketched, Canon Creighton has chosen Paul for his hero—a very respectable hero without doubt, but not so heroic as to serve as a foil either to Pius or to Sixtus. A quotation from the "History of the Papacy" will help us to understand even better how the smooth school of historians effects a purpose by means of the clever construction of a sentence. "It was a testimony to the influence of Paul II.," Mr. Creighton says in the "History of Sixtus," "that the cardinals did not venture to choose an entirely obscure and weak man." Here we seem to have a tribute to Paul II. The reader need not be surprised when a couple of pages further on he finds a statement to

Pastor: *Geschichte der Päpste*, vol. ii., pp. 406-409.

the effect that della Rovere, not directly, not with money, but with promise of place, bought his office. Is this, perhaps, a testimony to the influence of Paul II.? But we are not concerned with this part of Mr. Creighton's sentence. Della Rovere was, as we have seen, and as Mr. Creighton apparently concedes, not "entirely obscure." He was, in fact, so unentirely obscure that there was not a learned man in Italy who had not attended his lectures. Preacher, lecturer, writer, theologian, philosopher, General of the Franciscans,—perhaps these are signs of "weakness" rather than of "obscurity." Re-writing Mr. Creighton's sentence according to the facts we shall see how differently it will affect the reader: It was a testimony to the influence of Paul II. that the cardinals chose a learned man of extended reputation, of high character, and of remarkable strength of purpose. In these two sentences we compare the methods of two schools of historians. Ludwig Pastor represents the one, Canon Creighton the other. From the one we acquire right knowledge promptly. The other can serve only those weak men who desire that the history of the Papacy may be entirely obscured. By the way, Barbo and della Rovere cultivated the virtue of chastity "at this time." Neither one nor the other has been canonized by the Church up to the date of this writing. We have searched Mr. Creighton's pleasing pages as with a glass, and we regret to say that we do not find either one of these popes on his list. "Very probably" this oversight will be corrected in a later edition.

There is a science of good government, but its application is often difficult. The word Church is a short word; so short that many closet-students are tricked into the notion, that, with a small *ex post facto* library, they could govern the Church as easily as they write the word. Were the Church not the world, the Church could certainly be regulated with no more disorder than is common in a classis. But the Church is the world, in a sense, and therefore the government of the Church depends not a little on the world. In a truly good world, all the popes would be supremely good in every respect. During the quarter century that Pius, Paul and Sixtus ruled the Church, the world was no better than usual, and the kings and princes of the world were an ordinary lot of ignoble, vicious men. Mr. Creighton writes the "History of the Papacy," in order to assist the uninformed to a proper understanding of the "Reformation." We should recommend a beginner desirous of comprehending the Anglican "Reformation" to turn first of all, to a good history of England. The story of that unfortunate country, during the twenty-five years which Dr. Pastor studies in his second volume, presents a long and crowded record of revolution, treachery, violated oaths and most foul mur-

der; of weak-minded or debauched kings and usurpers, beginning with mad Henry VI., and ending with that fiend, hump-backed Richard—a record of crimes so heartless, so inhuman, that the recital of them freezes the blood, and forces wide open the tear-springs of the stoniest soul. The cruel, lascivious, greedy, murderous Edward IV.—set him beside a Pius II., a Paul II., a Sixtus IV., that you may learn at which end the Church most needed reform! France, fighting to be free from the English yoke, had won not only her freedom but likewise a commanding position in Europe, thanks to the chaste Joan; but Charles the VII., the unworthy recipient of the favor of the Almighty, died like a sultan—the voluptuous victim of a seraglio. Louis XI., perjurer, coward, hangman, king of liars, whose character is photographed in his shameful device: Where profit is, there is glory—set him, or his royal father, over against Piccolomini, Barbo, della Rovere! Or take Bold Charles of Burgundy—with a hard hand raised against all men who stood in the way of his scheme to found a great kingdom; shedding human blood as though it were blood of reptiles, and wasting magnificently, in an hour, the rich fruit of the sweat of the poor—compare him, compare the crowned Emperor, Frederick III., with Mr. Creighton's 'renegade,' or with the beloved, the tender-hearted Paul, or with that Sixtus, who was neither 'entirely obscure,' nor altogether 'weak!' Pusillanimous and lazy, says Cantu of Frederick, 'he reigned longer than any one of his predecessors, and his reign was more abject!' Shifty was he, indeed; with so little spirit that his torpid soul was not moved even when the Turk bombarded the gates of his territory; a man of convenience, dodging Diets; fond of a beating; greedy, robbing the Church insidiously, and with as little conscience as the highwayman who robs a patron; as false in word as Louis of France, and with more stomach for good victuals than for true glory. Podiebrad of Bohemia loved the Turk and schism better than he loved Christ, or common honor. Out of Hungary shone the one bright light among the princes and pretenders of "Christian" Europe—Corvinus. His splendid courage, amid a world of cowards, made amends for all his faults.

Turning to fair Italy we find her a prey to a crowd of adventurers—brigands all—bastards, bastards of bastards—illegitimate in every sense of the word. The personality and methods of these terrible tyrants, no one has described more accurately and in fewer words than Jacob Burckhardt.¹ When bravi and banditti tried to found dynasties, they could not be too choice about the means. Success meant greater danger. Friends became foes; brothers and children grew into rivals. The prison, the dagger, poison, am-

¹ In the not unprejudiced but yet most valuable, "*Cultur der Renaissance in Italien.*"

bush, were the instruments by which power was gained and held. Francesco Sforza, a bastard, and a most fortunate one, forced himself on the Milanese at the point of the sword and fixed his power by the most conscienceless, and certainly, by the boldest and most astute methods. His son, Galeazzo Maria, combined refinement with savagery and debauchery to a degree that has rarely been surpassed. Having ruined one woman too many, he died under the dagger of the brother of her whom he had dishonored. Piccinino feared of all men, and most feared by the new lords, fought for booty and the best pay until Alfonso of Naples treacherously assassinated him. The bastard of this Alfonso, Ferrante, who succeeded his father on the throne of Naples, was counted the worst of the abnormally bad men that made of Italy a slaughter-pen. He stopped at no means to effect his ambitions or his revenge. Of him it is told that he enjoyed three pleasures especially; hunting; the sight of the enemies whom he had jailed alive; and the company of the mummified corpses of the enemies whom he had put an end to—mummies carefully dressed in the clothes they wore when living. His son, Alfonso of Calabria, surpassed his father in madness, if not in wickedness. Ferrara and Modena were in the hands of the Este family; first Nicolo; then the bastard Lionello; after him the bastard Borso, and following Borso, the bastard Ercole. From one, Borso, we shall know the character and the lives of the other lords of Ferrara. Borso had every vice that it was possible to have, but his greatest vice was an impassioned hate of liberty—hate of liberty of speech, of liberty of commerce, of liberty of conscience, of personal liberty—for he made a slave-mart of Ferrara, and compelled his subjects to dress as pleased him. And the liberty which Borso hated above all liberties, was the liberty of the Church. Rio, whose truthful portrait of Borso we have faithfully copied,¹ adds a detail in his own original way—a detail that gives life to the picture. This first Duke of Ferrara, according to report, refrained from lawful marriage lest he should interrupt the “right of bastardy,” time-honored in the house of Este—an evidence of a delicacy of conscience and of honor rarely met with, Heaven be praised! We do not hear that Borso protected the dynasty as loyally as his ancestor Nicolo, who left twenty-two illegitimate children. The lords of Rimini were no less cultured monsters than the rulers of Ferrara. “Seldom have malice, godlessness, military talent, and high cultivation, been so united in one man as in Sigismondo Malatesta.”² “It is not alone the Roman Curia ”

¹ A. F. Rio, quoting Frizzi; p. 342, vol. iii. *L'Art Chrétien*. Bray et Retaux, Paris, 1874.

² Burckhardt, *loc. cit.* p. 26.

says Burckhardt, "that charges him with murder, rape, adultery, incest, church-robbing, perjury and perfidy; but it is also the judgment of history that he was frequently guilty of these crimes."¹ What a relief it is to associate for a half minute with the Gonzagas of Mantua! They dare expose their dead to the public. And with what delight we recall the memory of a Pius, victorious over himself, moved by high enthusiasm, and sacrificing his life to an ideal which he hoped would lift these slaves of world, flesh and devil, to nobler things! With what a feeling of respect and affection we look on the handsome face of Paul, who, when the bell of the Capitol tolled for an execution "clutched his breast to check the beating of his heart;"² whose chief pleasure was to make the the Romans happy; and who pacified the States of the Church by "wise statesmanship!" How great Sixtus appears, as we see him fighting both the Mohammedan Turks that threatened Europe on every hand, and those other worse than Turks that would have gladly sold themselves to the infidel to assure their own power, to line their own pockets, and to destroy the ark of liberty—the Papacy!

The word republic was still current in Italy, but it was a word used by another class of scheming tyrants to mislead the people, who, blinded by the show, the luxury and the commercial activity of the times, were only too ready to be deceived. Of Florence, in the close grasp of the Medici banking-house; of Venice, slave of a remorseless oligarchy; of Genoa, ruled by the winds, we may form a just opinion, if we apply to all three the words which Pius II. addressed to the Venetians in the month of August, 1459. They were "more exercised about trade than about faith or religion."³ The proscription and the execution of rivals were as common in the so-called republics as in England. A tyranny of wealth ruled masterfully, under the guise of popular government. When the Pitti family outgeneraled the Medici, names were changed, not policies. Conspiracies led only to hangings. Peace at home was purchased by the encouragement of licentiousness, of gambling, of bribery, of public show, of pagan rottenness. Bologna was in the hands of the Bentivogli; Perugia had its tyrant, in Baglione—a man with a most romantic history—and the Patrimony of Saint Peter was the fighting-ground of all the ducal, royal and noble rascals in Italy, as well as of the cities, whose ideas of liberty were limited by their own walls and gates. To have the courage to deal decisively with these robbers was to submit the Papacy to the most shameful threats and abuse. To refuse their ungodly demands

¹ Burckhardt, p. 363.

² Creighton, *History of the Papacy*; vol. iii., p. 52.

³ Pastor: *Geschichte der Päpste*. Vol. ii., p. 54.

was to insure obloquy, cries for reform, a refusal to obey sworn treaties, the seizure of church property and funds, or the murder of monks, bishops, legates. To enter into a solemn league, offensive or defensive, was to make one's self the sure victim of calculated treachery. To enforce the teachings of the Church by speech and writing, was to invite insult to Christ, scorn of things holy, schism and heresy. It was that arch-Machiavellian, Cosmo di Medici, who, laughing at the manly enthusiasm of Pius II., said that States could not be ruled by men with rosaries in their hands. He was right. And if the Popes of the fifteenth century had not known when to lay down their rosaries, the "Reformation" is not the worst evil that would have befallen mankind.

No one who has read the life of Calixtus III. can ever forget his apostolic sacrifices and appeals in behalf of Christian Europe menaced by the Tartar Turk, whose past and present barbarism the illustrious Newman has so simply and broadly sketched out in his lectures on the History of the Turks.¹ Almost forty years have run by since these lectures were delivered, on the eve of a war costly to England as well as to Russia. There are Christians who still dread Russia more than the Turk; but apologists for Islam should learn from the present bloody work in Armenia, if they did not learn from the cruelties in Bulgaria, that the Turk of to-day is, as he was in the beginning and ever shall be, "the inveterate and hateful enemy of the Cross;" the enemy whose creed excites, and, we may almost say, whose nature excites him to "trample on Christianity and to beat out its sacred impression from the breasts" of all believers.² Pius II. knew the Turk, and what the Christian world had to fear. From the day on which Constantinople fell, Piccolomini was restless in his endeavors to arouse the so-called Christian powers. On the very day of his election, August 19, 1458, Pius II. addressed the Milanese ambassadors, impressing upon them the need of immediate action on the part of all the princes, in order that Europe might be freed from the Mohammedan. And day upon day thereafter, as embassy succeeded embassy, offering obedience, his one subject of discourse was: War against the Turks. On the 12th of October, he gathered together in the Papal chapel all the cardinals and the bishops and ambassadors that were in Rome, and before this imposing assembly declared his decision to call a Congress of the Christian princes at Mantua in the following June. At Mantua he would be to open the Congress, and to assist in devising ways and means to drive back the barbarous enemy of Christendom. On the 13th

¹ *Historical Sketches*, John Henry Newman: vol. ii., London. Pickering, 1872.

² *Historical Sketches*, Newman: vol. ii., p. 106.

of the month he published the Bull, *Vocavit nos pius*, proclaiming a crusade against the bloodthirsty hosts of the "poisonous dragon." To save the world from a punishment that, for its sins, the world fairly deserved, God had lifted him into the Papal chair. The task was a heavy one, but from its fulfilment he would not shrink.¹ This public promise he kept most faithfully—even unto death. His first care was to bring peace to Italy. Letters of encouragement and of moving appeal he sent to every State. In the hope of protecting the Greeks from the powerful Turkish fleet, he established a new military order, called after the Virgin Mary of Bethlehem. On January 22, 1459, Pius set out for Mantua; a suffering man, racked by wearing pains, for he was a victim not only to the gout, but also to the stone. Day by day, as he journeyed, he was active in the good work; writing to the princes, to bishops, to legates, spurring them on to aid the Congress by word and by example. No opposition discouraged him, though he met with opposition from all sides—and more especially from a party in the Sacred College itself.² On the first of June Pius opened the Congress at Mantua. Not a single one of the kings or princes of Europe was present, personally or by representative. But the "shifty Italian adventurer" did not shift his ground. The love of God, the love of Christendom, these held him fast and made him courageous and hopeful under every difficulty. At length Naples sent an embassy; then Burgundy appeared. Sforza came. The other tyrants took fright lest he should gain some petty advantage over them. They flocked in. The emperor sent a representative. Four months after the pope's arrival there was a Congress at Mantua. Pastor's study of manuscripts hitherto unused has enabled him to give a full and interesting account of the debates and negotiations that continued until January 14, 1460.³ The strength of the pope's will and the intensity and honesty of his purpose are proven by the patience with which he bore the demands, counter-demands—insults—of the designing and selfish men on whom the people of Europe tamely depended for protection. "Oh! for a Godfrey, a Baldwin, a Eustace, a Hugo, Bohemund, Tancred, who, with other brave men, pushed their way through the infidel hosts and recovered Jerusalem with their arms! In their presence, before we had spoken all these words, rising up, they would have cried out, impetuously, as of old they did before our predecessor, Urban II.: God wills it! God wills it! But you silently await the end of our speech; our exhortations leave you unmoved." Thus Pius spoke to the Congress on the opening day, in the eloquent address he delivered from his throne in the Cathedral of Mantua. The

¹ Pastor: vol. ii., pp. 15, 19.

² Pastor: vol. ii., pp. 34-44.

³ Pastor: vol. ii., pp. 44-68.

Godfreys, the Baldwins, the Tancreds, were indeed gone. No successor to them appeared during the Congress. Not a man in Mantua cried: God wills it!—not a man but the pope. And when the Congress dissolved, Pius could say as he said on the first day: Our exhortations leave you unmoved. There were vain promises from many, and the Germans would have a Diet or two; the French could make no promises until the war with England was settled. "The Congress of Mantua could not be called a success, yet Pius II. could urge, with some show of truth, that it could not be called an entire failure." Thus Canon Creighton.¹ If the Congress was not a success, the English historian is positive that the fault was largely the pope's. "He had been too closely connected with the questionable intrigues which brought about the Papal restoration to stand high in the estimation of Europe. The shifty diplomat was not likely to be trusted however cleverly he talked about common interests." The reader will see once more that Canon Creighton is analyzing character with a view to the next century. How "cleverly" he uses that impressive word "Europe," and how aptly "the shifty diplomat" is brought in! Mr. Creighton is too closely connected with the questionable intrigues which brought on the English "reformation" to be fully trusted when he talks "cleverly" about Pius II. Just here it seems fitting to bring out more fully the character of Pius as developed at the Congress of Mantua. Let us take up again his opening speech. There is a famous passage which Voigt² and Pastor³ quote. Their text is word for word the same. Mr. Creighton translates parts of this passage and paraphrases other parts. As he gives Mansi as his authority, a seeming interpolation may be owing to Mansi's text. Mr. Creighton's paraphrase being imperfect, we shall translate the passage as given by Voigt and Pastor, italicizing the parts which Mr. Creighton slurs. "And perhaps there are among you some who say: This pope says much to send us to battle and to encourage us to throw ourselves in front of the enemy's swords. This is the way of priests. They burden others with the heaviest loads, which they will not lay a finger to. My sons, do not believe this. No one, *as far back as your fathers remember, has sat in this seat, who did more for the faith of Christ than we will do with your help and with the grace of God.* Here have we come, quite weak, as you see, not without danger to our life, *not without injury to the states of the Church. We have prized the defense of the Faith more highly than the heritage of St. Peter, more highly than our health and comfort.* Oh! would that we had the

¹ *History of the Papacy*, vol. ii., p. 398. Longmans, Green & Co.

² Voigt: *Ænea Silvio*, vol. iii., pp. 71-72.

³ Pastor: *Geschichte*, vol. ii., pp. 57-58.

strength of the youth that has fled! Then should you not go into the battle without us, *nor into danger without us*. We ourselves would march before the standard; *we ourselves would carry the Master's Cross*; we ourselves would *oppose* the banner of Christ *to the infidel* foe, and would count ourselves fortunate were it given unto us to die for Jesus. And even now, if you think well of it, we shall not refuse to dedicate our sickly body and our weary soul *to Christ the Lord* for this happy expedition. Through camps, through lines of soldiers, into the very midst of the enemy, if you so advise, will we be carried—joyfully, on a litter, *and will not, with coward soul, hunt after pompous words*. Consider what will be of most avail to *Christian interests*. We shall object to nothing that taxes our body, our person, or our property.” These are the words of a courageous believer, or of a hypocrite. Time will tell whether Pius was a hero, with the soul of a martyr, or a coward, whose mouth was full of pompous words. And Europe—even Mr. Creighton's Europe—shall be the judge, for all time.

On January 14, 1460, the Pope published the Bull, *Ecclesiam Christi*, declaring a three year's war against the Turk, offering spiritual benefits to those who enlisted for eight months, and taxing the curia, the clergy, the papal treasury, to the extent of a tenth of their income, and the Italian laity to the extent of a thirtieth, in order to meet the expenses of the undertaking. The last words of Pius at the Congress are not to be passed over. “Almighty, eternal God, Thou who hast vouchsafed, through the most precious blood of Thy beloved Son, to redeem the human race, and to lift up the world, sunken in darkness, into the light of the Gospel, we beseech Thee, so effect that the Christian princes and people may wield their weapons with such force against the infidel race of the Turks, and against the other barbarous enemies of the Cross, that those who contend for the glory of Thy name may gain the victory.”¹ Hoping to shame the emperor into action, Pius issued a special Bull, in which he called upon Frederick to lead the German contingent; or, in case he found it impossible to take the field, to appoint as his representative a prince of his nation. Then Pius took the road to Rome.

The Turk had not been as idle as the Christian. He hated the Cross more than the Christian loved that glorious emblem of civilization. Constantinople had not satisfied the Moslem. Day by day he rounded off the territory of his growing empire. Servia was now in his devilish grip. Lemnos was his through a new treachery of the lily-livered Greek. The Morea was his. Mahomet and his lecherous god had driven the chastest of Virgins

¹ Pastor: vol. ii., pp. 67-70.

from the Parthenon. What were the princes doing? Arming? No!—dodging their plighted word; scheming to undo the Pope who loved the Cross too well to win their corrupt hearts; openly refusing to provide men or money; trying to confirm heresy in return for saving gold. Pius alone was true to his word. Even as he journeyed to the Holy City he was occupied with the details of the Crusade. The dethroned Princes of the East flocked to Rome, where they were sure of a hospitable reception from the Pope, and of financial support.¹

As the Turk advanced, the Christian rulers grew more and more cold, the great-hearted Pope made a new appeal—not to Christendom but to the Turk himself. "It is strong testimony to the *tolerant* spirit of the Turks that stories were rife of the Sultan's willingness to listen to Christian teaching." We quote another of the thoughtless suggestions which Mr. Creighton so frequently puts forth. A logical reader is tempted to lose confidence in a historian who finds "strong testimony" in "stories that are rife?" What sort of law must Anglican canon-law be? What stories were rife, and when did they become rife? Are we to infer that Mr. Creighton has secret documents in his collection? And why may not we have a look at them? The Pope's letter to the Sultan was in fact a two-edged weapon. From any point of view it was a piece of most unshifty diplomacy. Pius bearded the lion. He proclaimed himself a lover of peace, and called on Mahomet to lay down his arms and to accept the religion of Christ. The truth of this religion he proved, and proved it, all the more strongly, by a comparison of its teachings with those of the Koran.² This letter "produced a great effect on the imagination of Europe," Mr. Creighton assures us. And who will wonder if it were so? The letter was worthy of a Vicar of Christ. The appeal to the Turk to become a Christian, was at the same time an appeal to the Christians no longer to act as though they were Turks. It was a novel apology for the Christian religion—the ablest, if not the first, of its kind. The "tolerant" Turk was careful not to deny "the stories that were rife," and continued to hide his tolerance from the eyes of Europe with the glamour of his scimitar. Princedom after princedom was forced to acknowledge the awful rule of the foe of the true God.

Pius passed sleepless nights thinking of the woes of Christendom. The cowardice of the powers "made his bosom swell, made his blood boil." He must speak. He must act. To six trusted

¹ Pastor: vol. ii, pp. 174-178.

² Creighton: *History of the Papacy*, vol. ii., p. 459. The italics are ours; the grim humor is Canon Creighton's.

³ Pastor: vol. ii., pp. 179-180.

Cardinals he discloses the plan he has determined to follow. He had tired of sending embassies to kings, only that he might be laughed at. When he laid a tax on the clergy, they appealed to a future council. When he proffered indulgences and spiritual gifts to those who would contribute to the expenditures of the war, he was charged with greed. Now Philip of Burgundy, in the very year in which Byzantium fell, had made a vow that he would enter the field against the Turk, if a greater prince would lead the way. To this day no one had come forward to test Burgundy's sincerity. Pius, the suffering, feeble Pius, would take upon himself the war of Christendom, and call Philip to follow, for the honor of the Catholic faith. The Duke dare not repudiate his vow, when the Vicar of Christ, a greater than king or kaiser, took the field. Let Philip set sail from Venice. Pius will await him at Ancona, with every galley and every man he can command. France will be compelled to follow Burgundy. Volunteers will rush from every land. If Venice, France and Burgundy obey his call, he will proclaim a truce among all Christians for five years, and excommunicate the clergy who refuse to contribute to the war. "We hope that our decision, coming like a thunder-clap, may awaken the people from their sleep, and arouse the spirit of the faithful to preserve their religion."¹ The good shepherd is ready to give up his life for his flock. The "Italian adventurer" will make a final effort to lift the imagination of Europe up to the heights of Christian heroism. The near-sighted men who have been trying to measure the character of Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini with a foot rule, should be as amazed at this decision of the Pope, as were some of the listening cardinals, but no unprejudiced student, who, with open eyes, follows Æneas from Siena to Rome, will be in the least surprised. Pius had the soul of a poet, even more than the tongue. Add to this the heart of a lover of God and of God's people—and what shall not a man do!

Venice would be at peace with the Turk. The infidel had a purse. Only as her Eastern possessions fell into fighting Islam's hands did she feel her love for the Cross revive. Not until July, 1463, would she agree to declare war. Louis XI. saw no profit ahead, and therefore had no interest. Burgundy was ready to keep his vow—when the fever threatened his life. At length Hungary was pacified, Burgundy promised anew, Venice made peace with her Christian enemies, and brave Scanderbeg took the field against the Moslem, without the formality of a declaration of war. And the Italian princes and cities! They stood idle, hoping that Venice, exhausted by war, might fall into their greedy hands.

¹ Pastor: vol. ii., pp. 186-187.

After months of entreaty and of tedious negotiation, Burgundy and Venice entered into a league with the Pope (October 1463). During three years, with all the forces they could maintain, they were to fight the Turk. Pius published a Bull declaring a crusade. Nuncios, preachers, collectors were sent over Europe, but the spirit of chivalry was long since dead. The Pope's grand effort to revive it was fruitless. The poor and the middle class responded to the Papal call—the Godfreys, Bohemunds, Hugos, were mute and motionless. Still, there was cause for rejoicing. Corvinus drove back the enemy and recovered a portion of Bosnia; and Venice seemed to be really in earnest. Bad news followed good. Perhaps Philip had been consulting Europe, and Europe had advised him, guileless and simple, to beware of the shifty diplomatist, who was moving heaven and earth in behalf of the suffering East and the threatened West. However we try to palliate, the fact is that Burgundy, for reasons of state, violated the solemn treaty and more solemn vow.

Fainting with pain, oppressed by weighty cares, disappointed on account of the treachery and the neglect of those who were bound by their true interest, as well as by their faith, Pius did not falter. Timid cardinals, insidious diplomats, selfish kings, could not alter his decision. Cardinal Forteguerra was appointed legate of a crusading fleet. To Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini, the Pope committed the charge of Rome and of the Papal States.

From France, the Netherlands, Germany; from England and Scotland, crusaders flocked into Italy in answer to the call of Pius. They were mostly poor men, unarmed and without means. From the opposing tyrants they suffered wrongs innumerable. The Pope appointed an official to care for them, and determined to hasten his own departure. His health was miserable. The physicians forbade him to move. He was not to be stopped by man. His word he would keep if he died on the way.

On June 18, 1464, Pius was carried into St. Peter's, was invested with the Cross, and committed himself and his cause to the holy Apostles. As he went out of the city gates, on the road to Ancona, he turned, saying: "Farewell, Rome! you will not again see me alive." Fever and the gout had rendered him so weak that the first part of the journey was made by water. The Pope could not bear to be moved, so intense were his pains. At night he remained on the vessel. The heat was stifling, the progress slow. The plague was abroad. Pius turned aside to Loreto to present a golden chalice at the Virgin's shrine, and to beg of the Mother of God that she would intercede with her divine Son to relieve him from "the burning fever and the racking cough, and to give health to his failing limbs," so that he might be enabled to serve Christen-

dom. On July 19th, he reached Ancona, sick unto death, and took up his residence in the bishop's palace. Once more cardinals, ambassadors, physicians, tried to dissuade the Pope from proceeding further. Threats, reproofs, petitions, were unavailing. His terrible bodily sufferings were complicated by pain more excruciating—pain of the heart. The princes had wholly failed him. Venice alone pretended to be true. The volunteers were unruly, many unfitted for the work, all exacting and dissatisfied. To add to his troubles, the plague entered Ancona. The promises of Venice proved to be as uncertain as ever. Her alliance with the Pope was not serious. The Venetians counted on diplomacy to dissuade him from taking part in the crusade. They feared that a combined fleet would weaken their power at sea, and deprive them of trade they monopolized or hoped to monopolize. Not until August 12th did the Venetian flagship appear in the harbor of Ancona. Pius was lifted from his bed and carried to a window that he might look upon the fleet he had so long expected. At three o'clock, on the morning of the 15th, the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin, whose devout and humble servant he was, Pius breathed out his heroic soul. The day previous, he received the sacraments, with edification to all around him; professed his Catholic faith; acknowledged his sins with the most touching frankness and humility; asked pardon of God; expressed his deepest love for the flock committed to him; commended flock and faith and the crusade to the cardinals; warned them to protect the Patrimony of the Church, and reminded them of their duties to that Saviour who sees all things and renders to every man according to his works.

The moment the soul of Pius left his body, the crusade was as lifeless as his corpse. Within a few days the Venetian fleet had sailed for home, and the cardinals were hurrying to the conclave. The crusaders, inglorious, speedily sought their native land. Europe was not wholly amazed, even now. Over the bier of the great-souled Pope, the agents of the bastards, and the hireling humanists, charged him with mean motives. But men of spirit, then and since, have united in honoring Pius as a martyr. The Cardinal of Pavia expressed the judgment of civilized Europe: 'He died for truth's sake and for the salvation of the oppressed. Sacrificing himself to God, he left to the priesthood an example of what they should be to those in their charge.'

We challenged Canon Creighton's insidious attack on the memory of the great Pius. Let us again test the English historian's consistency.¹ "Pius II. was lucky in the moment of his death. He left behind him the touching memory of an old man who died in the attempt to do his duty." Then, perhaps, he did

¹ *The History of the Papacy.* Longmans, Green & Co. Vol. ii., p. 476.

not leave behind him the memory of a noble man, or of an apostolic Pope, who died in the attempt to do his duty. The Pope was grayhaired and aged beyond his years by hard work and disease. He was, however, only fifty-nine, and, if we are touched by a great man's death at this age, it is because we count him still in his prime. Mr. Creighton's tribute is studiously niggardly. "When the princes of Europe were heedless of the welfare of Christendom, the dying Pope painfully dragged his feeble body to martyrdom for the common weal." This sentence succeeds in Mr. Creighton's book the sentence quoted above, and in this sentence the learned historian states a fact. "It is the fate of a character like Pius II. to lend itself to different interpretations, and to remain enigmatical." We quote from page 477 of the same vol. ii., and we continue quoting: "One who has changed his opinions is always liable to the charge of insincerity, which comes with double force when a policy of easy pliancy raises him to a lofty position." The inuendo again! A policy of "easy pliancy"—we saw how pliant he was—has raised Pius to a lofty position. The charge of insincerity comes with double force against him—because, when "the princes of Europe were heedless of the welfare of Christendom, he, the dying Pope, dragged his feeble body to martyrdom for the common weal!" Does Mr. Creighton say this? No! No! "Such a judgment is generally crude and misses the real elements of character!" We are quoting the sentence on p. 477, immediately following the last quotation. "Crude" is sometimes a good word.

When Paul II., who "loved the splendors of peace," assumed the Apostolic power he took up the Turkish question just where Pius had left it. Paul declared his zeal for "the protection of the Christian faith against the fury of the Turks." Within three months after ascending the throne, he appointed a committee of three cardinals—Bessarion, Estouteville, Carvajal—charged especially with providing ways and means for the continuation of the war against Islam. He appealed to the Powers again and again and sought to induce them to agree to tax themselves yearly for fixed sums in order to assist the Hungarians. But the Italian governments were too busy with their own schemes—too busy planning how to rob the Church of its patrimony, too busy negotiating with the Turks treaties that might serve Italian pockets or malice. Paul poured money out of the Papal into the Hungarian treasury, but Europe held its money-bags tight.

During two years Scanderbeg had been constant in opposing and attacking the Turkish hordes. Again and again had he defeated them, pursued them, driven them back. At last the Sultan gathered a mighty host and Albania's doom was apparently sealed.

Scanderbeg began to have his bad days. Croja was besieged Piero de Medici shed tears. Paul was sensitive, as we know, but he contented himself with the shedding of cash. To Scanderbeg he gave the most loyal and helpful support. But Scanderbeg's need was pressing. He determined to seek help abroad. He left his own country and journeyed to Rome. There he was received with open arms and furnished liberally with money. Ferrante of Naples, who had been threatening Paul with an alliance with the Turks if the Pope combated his plans to undo the Papal authority, now gave arms, money and provisions to the cause of the "Athlete of Christ." Returning home, Scanderbeg gained new victories. Croja was saved. Unfortunately, at the height of his success "the sword and shield of Christendom" was overcome, not by the Turk, but by a fatal fever (Jan. 17, 1468). The hero was dead, but the spirit of heroism that he had nurtured was not to be quenched in a day. The Turks rushed in; shifty Europe looked on; Paul besought, appealed, prayed and paid, and the Albanians, God bless them! fought on.

In the spring of 1470 the Turks filled Italy with terror. It was the Venetian's turn to weep. With a hundred thousand men and a fleet of three hundred sail, Mahomet threatened Eubœa, "the pearl" of the Venetian possessions. Venice had been everybody's enemy, a most bitter enemy of the Papacy, but Paul was the first to rush to her aid. Other aid there was none. Negroponte fell, and Naples took fright. To Italy, to France, to Germany Paul sent letters and legates begging for peace, for unity, for action. Finally, in December, 1470, the Italian states united in a league against the Moslem. It was a paper league, torn up as soon as signed. Germany was deaf to every appeal. The selfish interests of the princes made agreement impossible. Let us have church reform, was the historic answer to the call for men and means to drive out the Turks. Europe failing him, Paul, following the example of Calixtus and of Pius, turned to the East. Uzun Hasan, ruler of the Turcomans, was ever ready to strike a blow at the common enemy. Paul determined to make a treaty with him. Providence ordains all well. On the night of July 26, 1471, Paul was in seeming good health. It was his last night on earth.

Mr. Creighton admires the lovable Paul. He tells much of Paul and the Bohemians, Paul and literature, and something of Paul and art. Concerning Paul and the Turk, he has written a single paragraph. Here it is: "Paul II. was not a practised politician like Pius II.; he was averse from war, as was natural in one who loved the splendors of peace. He had no desire to meddle unnecessarily with the affairs of Europe, and the results of the journey to Ancona were not encouraging for a continuance

of crusading schemes. Still Paul II. sent subsidies to Mathias of Hungary, and declared himself ready to contribute one hundred thousand ducats for the purpose of a crusade if other powers would contribute in proportion. But Europe was apathetic. North Italy was disturbed by the death of Cosmo de Medici, and the Venetians hung back. Nothing was done, and the Turks continued to advance steadily, checked only by the brave resistance of Scanderbeg in Albania."¹ Only this, and nothing more! Perhaps Cosmo's death made Mr. Creighton apathetic. He hangs back for some reason. We have only skimmed over Pastor's pages in our account of Paul's uninterrupted activity against the Turk, and of his necessary meddling with the affairs of Europe. We heartily commend the reader who would know the history of the Eastern question, the number of ducats that Paul actually contributed to the Christian cause, and the persistency with which he labored to preserve Europe from the accursed rule of Mahomet, to go to the German historian's admirable second volume. There the reader will learn once more how to write history.

It was on August 9, 1471, that the not entirely weak Francesco della Rovere succeeded Paul II. At once the new Pope moved against the Turk, and in behalf of Christendom. He purposed calling a Congress of all the European rulers, to arrange a fighting league which should overwhelm the enemy. To the cardinals he submitted his plan. They favored it, but were not agreed as to the place in which the Congress should be held. The princes were consulted with the usual result. Meantime Uzun Hasan had taken the field. Sixtus would await the princes no longer. He appointed five legates from among the Cardinals, whose office was to visit every European potentate and to endeavor to form an army and a fleet with which to attack the Turk by sea and by land. The cardinals performed their trying duties faithfully, but unsuccessfully. Sixtus, whom the polite Voigt qualifies with the pretty epithet "*schrecklich*," was meantime building a fleet. Venice agreed to support him. He constructed twenty-four galleys and gathered an army of 4700 men. As legate of the fleet he appointed Cardinal Carafa. On Corpus Christi, 1472, the Pope, accompanied by the cardinals, went down to the Tiber, boarded the legate's vessel, blessed it and the ensign that floated aloft; and forthwith Carafa set sail for Rhodes. With the contingents of Naples and Venice the fleet numbered eighty-seven galleys. A plan of action had hardly been agreed upon when the Neapolitan vessels withdrew, out of jealousy of the Venetians. Satalia and Smyrna were, however, attacked and captured. The Venetians plundered and burned Smyrna. Carafa protested against these

¹ *The History of the Papacy*, vol. iii., p. 8.

un-Christian doings, whereupon the Venetians withdrew. The Cardinal, unsupported, deemed it prudent to return to Italy. Three months later, Lorenzo Zane, archbishop of Spalatro, was sent out with ten galleys. Mocenigo, the Venetian commander, refused to co-operate with him, and so the legate could do nothing. The tolerant Turk might freely rove upon the deep, blue sea. The Giaour had jealousies to avenge, greeds to gratify, schisms to foster.

In 1473, the Pope's Eastern ally, Uzun Hasan, from whom much was expected, suffered a defeat so considerable that there could be no hope of speedy recovery from the blow. By the end of 1475, the Turk was in Albania. His fleets swept the Adriatic and both shores of the Black Sea. From the Crimea he drove the Genoese, who had so long controlled that rich mart. Calixtus, Pius, Paul had seen its danger and had tried to secure it against the inevitable attack. If, as Pius said, Europe was paying the price of its sins, those sins must have well nigh exhausted God's mercy; for the Turk was a terrible avenger, as inexorable as he is to-day. Then, as now, was the soil of many a beauteous land 'carpeted with the corpses' of brave defenders, and "its plains inundated with blood." Many "a paradise did the vile Turk render as uninhabitable as hell itself." "Massacre followed quick on massacre, houses and property were usurped or burned, sisters were torn from their homes for the gratification of a barbarous lust."

Once more Sixtus turned to the princes, seeking to move their human affections, begging them to try to realize the situation, the perils, the sufferings, of Christians and of Christendom; inviting them to send ambassadors to Rome, and to combine against the Moslem oppressor. But the princes, were, as Ammannati said truly, "blind and hard-hearted." The Pope alone was zealous; and he had only money to give, and of money far from enough. Against the possessions and the faith of the Church, the powers were ready to conspire, and now were conspiring. The Turk was not yet at the door. He came. Having mastered Albania—Croja had at last been captured—Eubœa, Lemnos; having raided Wallachia and Moldavia; having besieged Rhodes, and failed there, thanks to Pierre d'Aubusson's bravery, and to the Pope's generous assistance, the Moslem pushed on by double-dealing Venice, seized Otranto, August, 1480. "Of the 22,000 inhabitants 12,000 were brutally tortured to death; the rest were condemned to slavery. The gray-haired Archbishop was dragged from the altar and his body sawed in two. Churches were razed, priests horribly maimed, a crowd of the people who refused to accept the Koran

¹ See the *Address of the Armenian Revolutionists*, in *The Sun*, N. Y., September 5, 1890.

were slaughtered together—their corpses thrown to the dogs.”¹ In the Chapel of the Cathedral, where the Moslems stabled their horses, the bones of these canonized² martyrs witness to-day, to the reckless and remorseless cruelty of the Tartar Turk, and to the dastardly conduct of the “Bride of the Adriatic.” Can we wonder when we see her once mighty power decline, disappear, and her once proud people subjected to a foreign yoke! With Achmet in Otranto, it was Ferrante’s turn to tremble, to cry for help to the princes, and to the Pope he had so persecuted. Again did he threaten to treat with the Turk. Venice had done so, to save her trade. The Pope, who had suffered so much at the hands of Ferrante, listened to his coward cry; summoned all Christians to his aid; dedicated a tenth to his support, and offered indulgence to those who took up arms in his defence. A new Congress was called at Rome, and fresh attempts were made to pacify Italy. To build a new fleet special taxes were laid. All the churches and convents were taxed a tenth, for two years. Edward IV., of England could not help. We know why. Germany was never to be counted on. Louis XI. would contribute money, if the Pope would allow the King to tax the clergy a little more, and would grant the king additional ecclesiastical authority. With might and main Sixtus worked, to bring the Italian States to commit themselves to the war. At length they did agree to give money, men and vessels. The Pope published an Encyclical, and promised spiritual favors to contributors to the expenses of the campaign. To the mint he sent the sacred vessels. The fleet he would have, at any cost. News, welcome news came. Mahomet, the scourge, was no more. (May 1481). The Pope, in a brief, announcing the happy event, called on Europe to seize the occasion, in order to give a killing blow to Islam.

Ten months had passed. From Europe there was no answer. The Pope’s fleet of 34 vessels lay in the Tiber. They must sail; they must free Italy. Once more Sixtus marched from the Vatican; once more blessed a legate, Cardinal Fregoso; once more blessed banner and ensign and sword. The cannon shouted; the crowd shouted and over all resounded the cry: Long live Sixtus! On July 4th, auspicious day, the fleet lifted anchor. Ferrante’s vessels joined the Pope’s. Otranto was besieged. On September 10, 1481, the Turks capitulated. The Pope ordered the legate to follow up his victory, and to seek and attack the Turkish fleet. The mean-souled Ferrante had gained all he wished, and withdrew. The Turk might be inflamed by a call to a ‘holy war,’ but Ferrante’s enthusiasm was not for holy things. The Pope’s legate returned, disobeying his orders. Sixtus hastened to Civita

¹ Pastor, vol. ii., p. 496.

² They were canonized by Clement XIV. See Pastor, note.

Vecchia, and called Fregoso to account. He pleaded want of money. "Money!" exclaimed the Pope; "I would sell my plate and pawn my mitre for the cause."—*Schrecklich!*

"Had the advice of the Holy See been followed, there would have been no Turks in Europe for the Russians to turn out of it. For five centuries the voice of the Church has been unheeded by the powers of Europe. As they have sown, so must they reap." Thus wrote the clear-sighted, clear-spoken, Newman, nigh forty years ago.¹ The powers sowed—the people, alas! reaped. And still they reap, and still shall they reap, Heaven only knows how long, while the powers shiftily diplomatize.

Writing the history of the "wildly energetic" Sixtus, Mr. Creighton gives more space to the story of the Papacy's efforts to drive the Turk out of Europe. To this important subject, the English historian devotes five paragraphs—almost two pages. Would a more careful and useful—shall we say truthful?—account of the exhortations, entreaties, sacrifices of Sixtus IV., have interfered with a right "judgment of the change which came over Europe in the 16th century, to which the name of 'The Reformation' is loosely given?"² Perhaps so. And yet we cannot forget Lord Acton's tribute to Mr. Creighton's "economy of evidence." If he were only as economical of judgment, all would be well. Every reader of Canon Creighton's book will regret that he has not made a closer study of the history of the Popes. He writes so agreeably that he need have no fear of tiring his readers by a more complete record of facts. Until the promised translation of Dr. Pastor's work appears, many of Canon Creighton's readers will be quite in the dark as to what was done for mankind by several Popes who lived before the change in Europe, 'to which the name of 'Reformation' is so loosely given.' Perhaps though, we should not regret Canon Creighton's deficiencies as deeply as we do. Far from great libraries, and without any opportunity to use the many rare manuscript collections which Dr. Pastor has so conscientiously consulted, the English historian might have led some readers even farther astray than he has done. To Pastor's History of Pius, of Paul, and of Sixtus, all students can and will turn for exact information concerning three Popes who were not among the least able of the many able men that ruled the Church during the Renaissance. Confining ourselves to a sketch of their activity in one sphere alone, we could not do full justice to them, or to the eminent German historian. On another occasion we hope to prove how splendidly these Popes fought on other fields, and how, in statesmanship, love of religion, love of learning, love of art, they led the Christian world.

¹ Lectures on the *History of the Turks*, p. xii.

² Preface to vol. i. of *The History of the Papacy*, M. Creighton.

ARE ALL FORMS OF CHRISTIANITY EQUALLY GOOD?

THE spirit of intelligent inquiry and the absence of prejudice in matters of religion are two laudable features of this age. Both should be encouraged for both are good. Catholics believe they have the true religion, and as truth always gains by intelligent investigation, they should anxiously encourage inquiry into the teachings of our Church. It was in this spirit that Pope Leo the Thirteenth threw open to the scholars of the world, regardless of their belief, the treasures of the Vatican archives. The absence of prejudice is an aid in the search after truth, for the unbiassed mind has no obstacles to overcome. Catholics themselves have begun to explain in a broader spirit the phrase, "Out of the Church no salvation." I speak not now of the scientifically trained theologian. Even the people have learned to distinguish clearly between these things which are of Catholic faith, theologically certain, and of mere speculation within the degrees of probability. There is no surrender of faith and no compromise of principle, but the tendency is to the fullest toleration in matters of mere opinion. God's wish for the salvation of all is not a mere expression of complacency or a passing velleity, but a sincere desire that all should obtain the final object of life. Therefore the Almighty gives the opportunity of salvation to all.

There is a danger to be guarded against. As generous impulses are sometimes taken advantage of and turned to the injury of our nobler nature, so intellectual fairness may be made to o'erleap itself and lead to mischievous conclusions. The tendency is to what is called by some, and we must say wrongly called, Liberalism; by others, Latitudinarianism; by others still, Indifferentism. There are many among Protestants who hold that all religions are equally good. That all religions are good we are willing to admit; that all are equally good we most certainly deny. The tendency is to deny the objective certainty of truth; to maintain that a man has the same opportunity, the same facility of salvation in any of the churches. Every one notices the crashing of creeds in the Protestant denominations. Now one tenet is abandoned, now another, so that positive religion will soon cease to have any place among them. We speak not of those who believe in no form of Christianity, who are called Atheists, Agnostics, Infidels, and such like.

Nor do we refer to those strict Protestants who hold firmly to their family religion, but between these two classes there are the many who hold that religion is a matter of opinion, and that one church or one religion is as good as another. They do not say that it makes no difference whether we follow Moses, or Confucius or Christ; they do say that a general belief in Christ is enough to insure salvation equally to all believers. For want of a better name we shall call this form of belief Indifferentism. We say, this form of belief, because it is not a denial of religious faith.

Indifferentism is that form of belief which teaches that religion is not founded on objective truth, that it is only a matter of opinion, that all forms of Christianity are equally good; in a word, that one religion is as good as another. This teaching may be classed as one of the great errors of the day. It is only one step removed from unbelief; it is next door to the theory that there is not much good in any religion whatever. Catholics cannot admit this. Our position is not at variance with the teaching that conscience is the final rule of morality, that it is never lawful to act against conscience, that we are bound to follow its dictates. Nor does Catholic teaching on Indifferentism mean that we should force our faith upon the unwilling or offensively obtrude it upon those who do not wish to hear anything of it. Our position means, that, as we hold the existence of the real or objective truth of religion, we must be uncompromising in it, and where the occasion demands, we must not be silent.

Truth is one of God's moral attributes, so to speak. It is one of His qualities just as much as wisdom, goodness, providence, charity, justice or mercy. The very idea we have of the Divinity implies that He cannot be deceived nor can He deceive others. If He could He would cease to be the All-perfect God that Christians speak of. His unflinching truthfulness is the foundation of our faith; His fidelity to His promises is the corner-stone of our hope. We find one form of Christianity teaching one tenet as necessary, another teaching the contradictory. One religious body teaches the supremacy of Peter, another denies it. One church teaches the Real Presence in the Blessed Eucharist, another says that Christ is in that Holy Sacrament only virtually, or in a symbolic sense, or perhaps in a figurative way. One church teaches the necessity of the Sacraments, another denies it. One church says Baptism is necessary for salvation, another says it is not. One church teaches the Pope is infallible under certain given conditions when pronouncing upon faith or morals, another says he has no such safeguard. One body of Christians believes in the Divinity of Christ, another section of professing Christians deny it. Two contradictories cannot be at the same time true. To say that God is indifferent as to

whether we hold a certain doctrine or reject it is equivalent to saying He is indifferent to truth. Moses received the Commandments from heaven. He had no power, and his successors had no power, to change them. As the people were bound to stand by the teaching of Moses, so also are they bound to adhere to the fuller and more complete teachings of Christ the Son of God. Reason cannot sanction contradictions. The only lawful conclusion left to us is, that all religions cannot be equally acceptable in the eye of God.

After Christ's resurrection from the dead, and before His ascension into heaven, He gave a strict and definite commission to His Apostles. We find the Saviour's own words in the gospel of St. Matthew: "Going, teach ye all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you. And behold, I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world" (xxviii., 19, 20). "Teach ye all nations." Teach them what? Any doctrine their oriental imaginations might suggest? No; but teach them "to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded"; teach the nations to observe those things that make for the object of Christ's spiritual kingdom; teach them doctrines within the region of faith and morals. Christ said, teach them "whatsoever I have commanded you." Christ taught faith and morality. He certainly did not teach contradictions. He did not teach and he could not approve of the teaching that the Church has power to forgive sins and that she has no such power; that Christ is present in the Holy Eucharist and that He is not; that grace is necessary for salvation and that it is not; that the Virgin is really the Mother of God and that she is not. So that when one church holds one teaching and another its contradictory, plainly both cannot be equally pleasing to God. The words of that world-renowned commission meant something definite in the mind of Christ. They were intended to convey a definite and certain something to the Apostles, and they were meant to convey that certain and definite thing to the nations whom the Apostles were to teach.

Christ commanded all to believe the faith preached by the Apostles. He promised salvation only to those who believe that faith. "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; he that believeth not shall be condemned" (Mark xvi., 16). This must not be understood as implying that, therefore, all who do not belong to the visible body of the true Church of Christ shall be lost. People may be outside the pale of the visible communion of the Church through no fault of theirs. Like all other laws, this law of Christ, to belong to the true Church, does not reach those who are in guiltless ignorance. God is too merciful to make any other ruling.

He leaves ample room for each one to follow his conscience, that aboriginal vicar of Christ. If unity of doctrine were taught in the days of Christ, it is equally true and equally necessary to-day. In St. Matthew we read an account of Christ's commission to the Apostles to teach; in St. Mark we are told what the commissioned are to teach: "Preach the Gospel to every creature" (Mark xvi., 15). Give to all men the science of salvation. Do not preach any gospel you please, but preach the Saviour's Gospel; do not give the people contradictory statements, but divine truths. In St. Matthew we read the phrase: "TEACH all nations"; in St. Mark the same idea is impressed by the words: "Preach the Gospel." The word for *teach* in Greek, the original language of the Gospel, means dogmatic teaching, and not indifferentism.

If the teaching of indifferentism were true, no one could be justly called a heretic. Yet we find Peter and Jude and John saying hard words in reference to heretics. Peter calls them "lying teachers, who shall bring in sects of perdition and deny the Lord who bought them, bringing upon themselves swift destruction" (2, ii., 1). Jude speaks of them as "wandering stars to whom the storm of darkness is reserved forever" (i., 13). Even the gentle and affectionate John calls them Antichrists. "And as you have heard that Antichrist cometh, even now there are many Antichrists, whereby we know that it is the last hour. They went out from us, but they were not of us, for if they had been of us, they would no doubt have remained with us" (i., 19, 20).

Let us go back to the Council of Jerusalem, held in the year 51. What the Apostles taught is as true to-day as it was when Paul thundered forth his stern, hard words against the evil-doers, or when John preached his gospel of sweetness. Many of the Jewish converts in the days preceding this first council held that the Christian Gentiles, if they wished to be saved, should submit to certain ceremonial practices. The Council of Jerusalem was called to decide the question. Paul, the fearless representative of his people, was there. Peter, as was befitting the Chief of the Apostles, presided. They knew the consequences to Christians of a decision adverse to the Jewish converts. They were fully aware of the malcontents it would make, the withdrawal of some from the Church and their opposition to pure Christianity. Yet the decision of the Apostles was that the Jewish ceremonial law did not bind and should not be imposed upon Gentile converts. Surely the Apostles could not have given a decision fraught with consequences so adverse to Christianity if it made no difference whether the Gospel of Christ were increased or diminished or changed even by a little. The action of the Apostles was decidedly foolish if one form of Christianity be as good as another, if all religions be

equal in the eye of God. The action of that Council was a model for all succeeding councils. The theory that one religion is as good as another is as false now as it was when the two deputies carried the apostolic decree condemning it from the Council of Jerusalem to the faithful at Antioch.

We turn to the Epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians. The same error is condemned. The men against whom the Council issued its decree were spreading their errors in Galatia. St. Paul does not spare them. His scathing language is: "I wonder you are so soon removed from Him who called you into the grace of Christ unto another Gospel. Which is not another, only there are some that trouble you and would pervert the Gospel of Christ. But though we or an angel from heaven preach a gospel to you besides that which we have preached to you, let him be anathema. As we said before, so say I now again, If any one preach to you a Gospel besides that which you have received, let him be anathema" (Gal. i., 6-9). The earnestness of the Saint is well brought out by his repetition of a strong form of expression. Even one remarkable for vigorous speech would not put more forcibly the truth of the gospel preached by himself. St. Paul, who denounced the comparatively trivial error of the Galatians, would assuredly condemn the modern teaching that one religion is as good as another.

Intellectual sin is a violation of God's law as well as an ethical crime. Errors of faith are to be condemned as well as errors of morals. In his list of sins which shut one out from heaven St. Paul mentions errors in faith. He writes: "Idolatry, witchcrafts, enmities, contentions, emulations, wraths, quarrels, dissensions, sects. . . . They who do such things shall not obtain the kingdom of God" (Gal. v., 20-21.)

St. Paul teaches that there is but one faith. "Careful to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. One body and one Spirit as you are called in our hope of your calling. One Lord, one faith, one baptism. One God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in us all" (Eph. iv., 3-6). He makes this unity of faith a plea for peace. His singularly beautiful appeal to the Ephesians to preserve the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace is sustained by many reasons. They form but one body, the Church. They are permeated by one Spirit, the Spirit which rules the Church. Their hope is one, to gain eternal happiness. Their Lord is one, Jesus Christ. Their baptism is one, the baptism of Christ. Their God is one, the God of all. These are some of the reasons why they should cultivate fraternal charity. In this text and with undiminished force does the Apostle urge as a reason for harmony that their faith is one. If it

were not an objective faith but only that which each one's fancy might suggest, we rather think it would not make for the unity of spirit with the force of an argument worthy of the Apostle of the Gentiles. If all forms of Christianity were equally pleasing to God how could the unity of faith be used by St. Paul as a reason and as an example of fraternal charity among the faithful? The charity of the faithful should be as their faith. The Apostle inculcates complete charity. The torrent of his words, the wealth and intensity of his illustrations show what full unity of spirit he would have. The argument is: Their faith is one. Their fraternal charity should be like it in oneness. According to the Indifferentist it matters not whether one holds the doctrines of the Greek Church or of the Episcopalian or of the Methodist or of the Catholic or of the Salvation Army. It would be strange reasoning to say to all these: As is your faith so shall be your brotherly love. The faith in such circumstances might be proposed, not as an example of unity, but as a model of dissension. And yet this beautiful unity which we claim for our faith and which the Indifferentists would destroy admits of variations within certain limits. Natural and artificial causes produce variation in the animal and vegetable world without destroying specific unity. Thus it is also in the world of thought. As in the material world all things gravitate towards a common centre and yet preserve a variety, as in the social world neither anarchy or tyranny will do, the former being destructive of unity, the latter of liberty, so in the religious world do we require unity in essentials and liberty or variety in non-essentials. In thought, in biology, in astronomy, in sociology, in all God's manifestations throughout nature there is harmony—unity amidst variety. It cannot be that only in His own fair spouse, the Church, there should be found the deformity of confusion.

In one of Christ's discourses he says: "And other sheep I have that are not of this fold; them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice, and there shall be one fold and one shepherd" (John x., 16). A teaching so varied and so contradictory as is that of Indifferentism cannot be reconciled with the idea of unity conveyed by these words of our Lord.

Take the evidence of a few of the early Fathers. St. Ignatius, the Martyr, who lived in the Apostolic age is fierce in his denunciation of heretics and schismatics. The former he calls "wild beasts in human form." The latter, he says, "do not inherit the kingdom of God." Of course, the Saint does not mean to denounce the honest man who follows his conscience and yet happens to be outside the visible communion of the Church. The historian, Eusebius, tells us that Polycarp used to say of heresies: "Good

God! upon what times hast Thou permitted me to fall, that I should hear such things." St. Justin compares heretical teachers to false prophets among the Jews and calls them false Christians and false Apostles. We shall give three more Patristic authorities whom Indifferentists cannot refuse to honor. They are St. Cyprian, St. Augustine and St. Fulgentius. These are admittedly faithful representatives of the early Church, the Church of the Fathers. St. Cyprian does away with the equality of all forms of Christianity in this manner: "If it were possible for any one to escape that was not in the ark of Noah, it shall likewise be possible for him to escape who is not in the true Church." "Neither baptism," writes St. Fulgentius, "nor liberal alms nor death itself for the profession of Christ, can avail a man anything in order to salvation if he does not hold the unity of the Catholic Church." St. Augustine wrote to Donatus in a spirit of the fullest frankness. Donatus was a Christian bishop whose only error was that he separated himself from the communion of the faithful. All other points of doctrine he held in common with St. Augustine. Yet the Bishop of Hippo applied to him this strong language: "Being out of the pale of the Church, separated from its unity and bond of charity, thou wouldst not escape damnation though thou shouldst be burnt alive for confessing the name of Christ." Such language of the Fathers were meaningless if all forms of Christianity were equally good before God.

The doctrine that it matters not to what form of Christianity a man adheres is a denial of dogmatic teaching. It is bringing faith down to a mere emotion, whereas faith is eminently intellectual. And let it be clearly understood what we mean by dogma. It is a truth contained in God's Word, whether written in the Scripture or unwritten as the oral teaching of the Apostles preserved in the Church and proposed by the Church for the belief of the faithful. The Apostles condemned heresies and Christ taught many dogmas. Belief in the Divinity of Christ is itself a dogma. The fact is, a non-dogmatic Christian is a contradiction in terms. Nor can we have supernatural virtues without dogmatic teaching. A supernatural virtue arises from grace and faith. These are of its very essence. Faith is an act of the intellect and implies a belief in the dogma that there is a God whose truth we may rely upon. There may be mere natural virtues without theological dogma in the strict sense. Doubtless, many unbelievers do some naturally good works, works having no direct relation with the next life and deserving no reward in it, but meriting natural rewards on this side of the grave. Every branch of science has its dogmatic teaching. The axioms of geometry are dogmas. People accept them without proof. Some things are so clear that they do not admit of proof.

Physical science, astronomy, political economy, all have their dogmas. Why deny dogmatic teaching to the highest of all sciences, theology? Those who receive Christian truth as Divine must take it as lasting for all time.

It may seem a strange statement that Catholic dogmas are easy and within the reach of all. In what sense are they easy? Not in the sense that we can comprehend the Trinity or get a full grasp of God, or sound all the depths of the Resurrection. Not in the sense that all dogmas are in themselves clear. Some of them are hard and dark to the man who is not trained in scientific theology, as difficult to the ordinary Catholic as are some medical formulas or legal phrases to the every-day citizen. But the Church does not demand interior assent to dogmatic statements on the part of those who cannot comprehend them. All can understand the dogma of the Church's infallibility. Real assent to this dogma is not difficult. Catholics know Christ's promise to His Church. On this phase of the question, Cardinal Newman writes: "But it is not the necessary result of unity of profession, nor is it the fact, that the Church imposes dogmatic statements on the interior assent of those who cannot comprehend them. The difficulty is removed by the dogma of the Church's infallibility, and of the consequent duty of 'implicit faith' in her word. The 'One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church' is an article of the Creed and an article which, inclusive of her infallibility, all men, high and low, can easily master and accept with a real and operative assent. It stands in the place of all abstruse propositions in a Catholic's mind, for to believe in her word is virtually to believe in them all. Even what he cannot understand, at least he can believe to be true; and he believes it to be true because he believes in the Church." (*Grammar of Assent*, p. 144.)

Belief in the equality of all forms of Christianity, is a denial of absolute truth. Universal skepticism refutes itself, so it need not be taken into consideration. Among philosophers, there is a useful distinction of certainty into natural and philosophical. The former is direct, implies no reflective process, and takes place before the mind determines the motive of assent. The latter takes place only after the motive of assent has been clearly determined. Natural certainty is eminently trustworthy, and is the basis of philosophical certainty. The faculty which knows and the objects known, are the two sources, from which knowledge results. The ear hears, but not beyond the range of its hearing; the eye sees, but not beyond the range of its vision; the mind knows or perceives objects, but only within its mental reach. It speaks with authority of those things within its proper sphere; it knows nothing of those outside. Hence, all knowledge is pri-

marily objective. Objective evidence determines the natural certainty of this knowledge called, by philosophers, sense-knowledge. The certainty of purely intellectual truths is determined by the same motive. Hence, truth is a real something, having its existence outside the apprehension of the individual, and any teaching which involves the denial of objective truth, must be false. The intellect is a divine element in man. The light of reason is an illumination from God Himself. The intellect has its proper object, and that object is truth. Whatever is, is truth. The mind is capable of knowing what is. Doubt is full of despair. The most reckless skeptics never went so far as to reduce their theories to practice. Their knowledge is limited; yet, if we take the accumulated information of all the ages, it amounts to a great deal. It gives us a keener insight into the teaching of St. Thomas, that "Every bodily creature, however immense, must be inferior to man, by reason of his intellect." Geology tells us of the formation of the earth; natural philosophy, of nature's laws; chemistry, of the constituent parts of bodies; astronomy, of the stars; philology leads us back to the common root of man's mother tongue; history gives up the dead past; physiology puts before our wondering eyes the formative process of organisms. We find objective truth in all these sciences, and we find it with a certainty. It were strange if religion, the "science of salvation," were the only one in which no objective truth could surely be found. Disbelief in the possibility of attaining to any objective truth should be left to the old sophists. Accepting objective truth, and looking upon religion as a body of truths, we take it to be a reality. Pascal says it is so stupendous a reality, that those who will not take the trouble to study its obscurities, are justly deprived of its benefits. It will not do to say that indifferentism is a sign of higher culture. The truth seems to be much otherwise. "A crude and uncultured mind," says St. Cyril of Alexandria, "glories in unbelief, and rejects, as false, all that it cannot understand; thus grossest ignorance goes hand in hand with boundless self-conceit."

Bacon expresses the same idea in the following elaborate way: "It is an assured truth, and a conclusion of experience, that a little or superficial knowledge of philosophy may incline the mind of man to atheism; but a further proceeding therein doth bring the mind back again to religion, for in the entrance of philosophy, when the second causes, which are new unto the senses, do offer themselves to the mind, if it dwell and stay there it may induce some oblivion to the highest cause, but when a man passeth on further and seeth the dependence of causes and the works of Providence, then, according to the allegory of the poet, he will easily believe that the

highest link of nature's chain must needs be tied to the foot of Jupiter's chair."¹

Tried at the bar of common sense this modern form of Protestantism will not stand the test. Whilst we respect a man's conscientious belief, we do not hold in equal reverence what we believe to be true with what we know to be false. Professor Huxley, for example, does not show the same courtesy towards the political creed of Mr. Gladstone as he does towards his own. Nor would that distinguished scientist, John Tyndall, whose own exertions raised him from his humble home by the banks of the Barrow to the highest position in scientific London, admit to equal respect a fact of science which he knows to be true, with a scientific hypothesis which to him was doubtful, if not downright false. He would positively poke fun at the bare idea. The phrase of the Indifferentist, "I respect all religions alike," goes down before the instincts of humanity. Scripture, history, the Fathers, philosophy, and common sense, condemn Indifferentism; its only support is a false notion of romantic sentimentalism.

The most rational of all religions is that of the Church of which Christ said: "The gates of hell shall not prevail against it" (Math. xvi., 18).

The radical unsoundness of the modern non-Catholic forms of Christianity was brought in when three hundred years ago our Protestant brethren cut off the entail of their Catholic inheritance. The priests who ministered at the altar before the Reformation explained many of the doctrines of the Church very differently from the explanations given in modern Protestant pulpits. That Protestantism is fast running its course is clear from the breaking up of its creeds. In the revision of their formulas of faith they reject one article to-day, another to-morrow. If one or two or three, why not all? The principle of unity is lost, the foundation is destroyed, the whole edifice must fall. This in itself should not delight Catholics, because it is all the worse for humanity to have the last vestige of Christianity disappear from Protestantism. It emphasizes an obligation upon Catholics. It is a good opportunity to make known the truth. Newspapers and periodicals and pamphlets and books might be respectfully given to non-Catholics. Catholic laymen should equip themselves well by a course of solid reading on Catholic subjects so as to be able to give correct and clear explanations to their non-Catholic fellow-citizens.

¹ *Advancement in Learning*, i., 3.

CARDINAL NEWMAN.

"Cor ad cor loquitur."

"Cor sapientis intelligitur."

CARDINAL NEWMAN is dead. Long years ago he had left the world,—that stage on which men earn their brief applause. Yet the sounds of his knell have stirred echoes of touching reverence, from over land and sea, from tongues and hearts that never were attuned to a like harmony before. Men differing most widely in their convictions on religion and politics, philosophy and letters, in all of which spheres Newman, by reason of his pronounced views, challenged criticism, have written their high estimate of him upon the pages of our own day's history. If there were any discordant voices, they came from those who, on other occasions, have proved that their instincts lead them to pursue the carrion scent in whatever is mortal. Such tones are lost amid the concordant chant of just and universal praise.

The life of John Henry Newman has been described many times and from almost every possible point of view. Nevertheless, as we look back upon this singular career, it seems difficult to assign a just, or rather the precise, reason for the affectionate homage accorded him. Some have sought it in his talents, others in his humility, others in a combination of circumstances which brought both into favorable light. No doubt all these things are combined in the result, but they do not adequately account either for the quality or for the extent of Cardinal Newman's singular popularity. Assuredly, he was a great writer, a master of the English language; but then his subjects, and the light in which he treated them, were by no means popular. Other writers, if they did not possess so chaste a style, have at all events succeeded in pleasing a larger circle of readers; and the proverb has it that "fame is in the keeping of the mob." That he was a great thinker has been generally granted, although Carlyle, who has been called in some respects the only figure equal in greatness to Newman, could not see it; and clever skeptics in later days have said of the latter's best-reasoned work that it only contained "the art of taking things for granted." Of course, it is easy to understand these criticisms; but whilst they do not lessen the evidence everywhere in his writings of consummate skill in dialectics, they also show that his title in this sphere has not been unanimously admitted, and no one will

deny that others of equal merit, in this line, with Newman have gained a lesser meed of praise. Moreover, his logic, like his theme, was always more or less unpleasant to the bulk of men who claimed greater intellectual freedom than his principle of authority would admit. As for his culture and his eloquence, charming as either must have been at Oxford, that was long ago, and men forget so easily. They remembered, indeed, the hard words he had said before he left Littlemore to join the Catholic Church and to cast ignominy upon England's sacred majesty by his secession. For twenty years afterwards he was branded as a traitor and as a man "who had gambled away his reason." Meanwhile, he had retired into solitude; and if he there proved his virtue by his labors, his piety, and his silent self-abnegation, what does the world care for these qualities so long as it does not profit by them? When he spoke in later years, it was almost as often to reprove Catholics for their extravagant zeal as to argue with those who opposed Catholic doctrine.

The first part of his life, in the world's calculation, was a failure. The second, by the same measure, was, to say the least, a burying of talents; or, as others viewed it, "he devoted the last half of his life to the propagation of a system which, in the emphatic language of Lord John Russell, degrades the intellect and enslaves the soul."

If, then, neither the sincerity of his convictions, nor his literary labors, nor the quality of his intellect, nor his social and religious position can be said, in the main, to have bent the homage of men toward him, what is the secret of that strange influence, gentle yet mighty, by which England's noblest intellects have been subdued, apart from any reasoning, though not in spite of it, and which has attracted even those who reluctantly acknowledge the issue to which they see themselves led? If we may give our estimate of Newman's power in one word, we should say: It was the quality of his heart. All the magnificent versatility of his genius has been acknowledged only, or first and foremost, because it served as the conductor of that spark which, whilst it momentarily shocked men, awakened them also to feel and realize that the solitary light at Edgbaston shone there in sympathy with them, calling out by its silent brightness, as he had done nigh sixty years before when off Cape Ortegal:

"Wand'ers! come home! obey the call
A mother pleads, who ne'er let fall
One grain of holy Truth."

They had been mistaken in him as to the direction in which he would go, but they found that he never had disappointed their

hearts. So his voice and pen, whenever they reached the outside world, were like an instrument correctly strung, which, when it sounded, made men listen; and they responded because they were convinced that whilst others touched the

“ — facile lyre to please the ear
And win the buzzing plaudits of the town,”

he

“ — sang his soul out to the stars
And the deep *hearts of men*.”

Thus the nation acts like the individual. In Cardinal Newman's case it reflected his own disposition by yielding to him not merely its approval of his deeds but its affection also, and its affection even then when it found itself too weak or proud to second his unselfish deeds.

And what is true of his own nation may be said of all who in any way approached him. He loved his kind. He loved whatever was beautiful in human nature or actions. He loved the true and the fair and the good, and he compassionated those who would escape his affection. Perhaps he himself may be said to have best interpreted this secret in the elected shield of his princely rank. Three hearts the escutcheon bears, and the legend: *Cor ad cor loquitur*. It is to this view of Cardinal Newman's remarkable life that we would chiefly direct attention in the following sketch.

Mark it! Three hearts! Not friendship, one to one, but charity divine; perfect in triple bond, and one with all that suffers and that loves. And in this love he was like to his great patron, St. Philip Neri,

“ An old man of sweet aspect,
I love him more, do more admire.”

There was, however, in the Oratorian disciple something of the strong though hidden impulsiveness of St. Paul, who, to use Cardinal Newman's own words, “had a thousand friends, and loved each as his own soul, and seemed to live a thousand lives in them and died a thousand deaths when he must quit them.” Herein, then, we may find the keynote to his other excellencies, his humility and bold sincerity, his kindly judgments and his fiery condemnation of falsehood, his child-like obedience and his generous love of liberty. He followed “justice, faith, charity;” and charity, greater than all, gave him courage, for “fear is not in charity,” says the inspired disciple of love.

FIRST LIGHTS.

“ Watching the smiles I prized on earth.”

To understand and appreciate fully the character of John Henry Newman, we must see him as those saw him with whom he lived

in his early days at Oxford. "As the days of thy youth so also thy old age," says the inspired writer. It was at Trinity College first and then at Oriel that the bent of his nature and his unconscious power showed themselves in the spontaneous attachments of youth, and strongly impressed those who were able, if it had been necessary, to correct their enthusiasm in after years, when the "Parting of Friends" at Littlemore had sobered their judgment.

Trinity College is a magnificent old pile of buildings, among which the remains of Durham College, the chapel, of Grecian design, by Sir Christopher Wren, the library and hall form a conspicuous part. From the second quadrangle you get into the gardens which, southward, lead to the famous "Lime Tree Walk," with its eternal shade. Here we meet the tall, spare youth of sixteen in the fall of 1817. He had entered his name upon a list which contained some of the most illustrious men of England, among others that of George Calvert, first Lord Baltimore, and who gave his name to our Catholic metropolis. Young Newman, though still a boy in all, except his sedate manner and conversation, seems to have come to the University with his character fixed. He tells us that in the autumn of the previous year a great change of thought had taken place in him. "I fell under the influences of a definite creed and received into my intellect impressions of dogma which, through God's mercy, have never been effaced or obscured." He had read with some predilection the writings of Thomas Scott, of Aston, a writer of whom he said in later years, "he made a deeper impression on my mind than any other." From him he received the conviction of the fundamental belief in the Holy Trinity and some maxims for practical guidance which he used to repeat to himself for years: "Holiness before peace," and "growth is the only evidence of life." Two other works which he read about the same time, tended, however, greatly to disturb him. One was Milner's "Church History," which inspired him with great reverence for the Fathers of the Church as direct witnesses of primitive Christianity. The other book, "Newton on the Prophecies," impressed him thoroughly with the idea that the Pope was Antichrist. This latter sentiment he found it difficult for many years to shake off, even after his reason and judgment, and, we may add, the influence of that lovely character, Hurrell Froude, had shown him its absurdity. A deep imagination, as he calls it, had also gained upon him, namely, that he should lead a celibate life, an anticipation which was more or less connected in his mind with the notion that his calling in life would require such a sacrifice. This strengthened his desire of seclusion and separation from the world.

With such dispositions of mind, the shy young student, as Mr. Froude has called him, entered Trinity. Tradition assigns him the panelled room on No. 7 stairway. It is needless to say that his appreciation of university life, and especially of Oxford, where Scotus the Subtle, and Hales the Irrefragable, and Occam the Special, and Bacon the Admirable, had shone in their day, was exceedingly great. He looked with admiration even upon its outward lustre, which was to him "like the brightness of the prophet's face, a ray from an illumination within." Referring to Oxford in after years, he said, as if pronouncing his own longings, "there are those who, having felt the influence of this ancient school, and being smit with its splendor and its sweetness, ask wistfully, if never again it is to be Catholic." He loved to recall the memories of dear old Trinity College when his hair had grown silvery. "It held on its foundation so many who have been kind to me both when I was a boy and all through my Oxford life. There used to be much snap-dragon growing on the walls opposite my freshman's room there, and I had for years taken it as the emblem of my own perpetual residence even unto death in my University."

In time he took his degree with "silk cap and white fur," and in 1822 was elected Fellow of Oriel. By a strange blunder of the examiners, it appears, he received a third class. Perhaps this incident contributed to produce subsequently that marked indifference to honors which has been reproved by his contemporaries as dampening the academical spirit, and which was noticed not only in Newman but in the circle of students of which he became the unconscious centre at Oriel. The latter college was considered one of the most effective promoters in the revival of studies which was at that time being inaugurated at Oxford. An Oriel Fellowship was termed the "Blue Ribbon" of the University. Here it was that Keble, Hawkins, Whately, Arnold, Pusey, Wilberforce, and others of equal gifts, "the aristocracy of talent," met in the tutor's rooms. Newman, though proud of his college, as he says, did not feel quite at home there during his first year of residence. He "sporting the oak," as University men say, even when in his rooms; and in his daily walks was frequently alone, although *nunquam minus solus quam cum solus*. If the reader has ever seen Oriel with its massive square tower, the fantastic tracery over the old archways and the gray aristocratic-looking columns, he has a fitting background to Newman's picture. The old Lion of "Aule Royale," whom none just then suspected of great things, did not really open his heart to any one until 1826, when he became tutor of his college. "This," he says, "gave me position." He had written one or two essays, had preached his first university ser-

mon and been appointed Public Examiner. "It was to me like the feeling of spring weather after winter, and if I may so speak, I came out of my shell; I remained out of it till 1841." A shrewd man, who knew him at the time, said: "Here is a man who will never begin to speak; and when he once begins to speak will never stop."¹

And here we must ask the reader's indulgence if we digress for a moment to speak of those men who directly acted upon Newman's feelings and convictions, drawing them out to their full power only to receive the heavier blow when, in God's appointed time, hearts were to be bruised and crushed so that truth and conscience might overcome earthly affection. The way in which Newman assimilated impressions is the best index to the manner in which he reflected them. The first intimate friendship of which he makes mention was that which bound him to Hurrell Froude, brother of Anthony, the historian, and a younger man than Newman by two years. When the latter became tutor, Hurrell had just been elected Fellow of Oriel. Charming in disposition, of the most refined mental gifts, bold as on horseback, so in speculation, generous, yet with a singular power of self-restraint, he and Newman were alike in many things, yet sufficiently different to retain that admiration for each other which knits the firmest of friendships. "Hurrell Froude" says Newman, "was a pupil of Keble, formed by him and in turn reacting upon him. He was a man of the highest gifts . . . nor have I here to speak of the gentleness and tenderness of nature, the playfulness, the free elastic force and graceful versatility of mind, and the patient winning considerateness in discussion which endeared him to those to whom he opened his heart . . . a man of high genius, brimful and overflowing with ideas and views, in him original, which were too many and too strong even for his bodily strength." But the friend, who alone probably of all others would have stood by him when darker days were to come, was snatched away by a premature death on 28th February, 1836. In his "Remains," published jointly by Keble and Newman, we read the following passage: "Do you know the story of the murderer who had done one good thing in his life? Well, if I were asked what good deed I had ever done, I should say that I had brought Keble and Newman to understand each other."

John Keble was the first name which Newman had heard spoken of "with reverence rather than admiration" when he came up to Oxford. The "Christian Year" had not yet been published, but a master of arts in Newman's college had given an account of a visit, on some business, to Keble, and "how gentle, courteous and

¹ *Apologia*, I. ed., p. 66.

unaffected he had been, so as almost to put him out of countenance." The manner in which Newman relates his first actual meeting with Keble throws a beautiful light on his own exquisite sense of reverence for those whom he considered in any way his superiors. On the day of his election to the Fellowship at Oriel, he was sent for into the Tower to shake hands with the provost and fellows. "How is that hour fixed in my memory after the changes of forty-two years,—forty-two this very day on which I write. . . . I bore it till Keble took my hand, and then felt so abashed and unworthy of the honor done me, that I seemed desirous of quite sinking into the ground." Of Keble's teaching, and the impression it made upon him, he says: "I cannot pretend to analyze, in my own instance, the effect of religious teaching so deep, so pure, so beautiful."

Dr. Pusey, too, was for many years his dear friend, and the link of the heart seems to have remained in its old strength to the very end, although their intellectual and religious convictions diverged in subsequent years. "His great learning, his immense diligence, his scholar-like mind, his simple devotion to the cause of religion overcame me, and great was the joy when, in the last days of 1833, he showed a disposition to make common cause with us." We must not omit to mention, in this connection, Dr. Hawkins, who, as a candid friend, taught Newman to be precise in his language, and "snubbed" the young curate's earliest pulpit efforts. In the same way Dr. Whately, to whom Newman became subsequently vice-principal at St. Alban's, led him not only to the adoption of certain religious views, but, most of all, to weigh his words and to be cautious in his expressions.

"Prune thou thy words, the thoughts control
That o'er thee swell and throng:
They will condense within thy soul
And change to purpose strong."

As to the younger men at the university, if they did not influence Newman, they certainly admired him. James Anthony Froude pictures him as slight and spare, above middle height, with a remarkable head, which he likens to that of Cæsar. "An original force of character which refused to be moulded by circumstances, which was to make its own way and become a power in the world, a clearness of intellectual perception, a disdain for conventionalities, a temper imperious and wilful; but along with it a most attaching gentleness, sweetness, singleness of heart and purpose."

The same writer says of his mental qualities: "Newman's mind was world-wide. He was interested in everything which was going on in science, in politics, in literature. Nothing was too large for

him, nothing too trivial if it threw light upon the central question what man really was and what was his destiny. He was careless about his personal prospects. He had no ambition to make a career or to rise to rank and power. Still less had pleasure any seductions for him. His natural temperament was bright and light; his senses, even the commonest, were exceptionally delicate." Again: "He seemed always to be better informed on common topics of conversation than any one else who was present. He was never condescending with us (undergraduates); never didactic or authoritative." Mr. Gladstone also tells us that, though looked upon with some prejudice as what is termed a Low Churchman, he was very much respected for his character and known ability.

SHADOWS.

Dr. Newman had been appointed Vicar of St. Mary's, at Oxford, which comprised the small hamlet of Littlemore. His tutorship he resigned in 1831. In the following year, he published his "History of the Arians," as a contribution to a theological library which had been begun two years before. It was at this time that his sermons began to attract large numbers of students and others from the vicinity. Although he had no action, his voice was marvellously sweet and there was a strangely solemn yet unaffected pathos in his reading. "He seemed to be addressing the most secret consciousness of each of us," says one who frequently heard him. "He never exaggerated; he was never unreal. A sermon from him was a poem, formed on a distinct idea, fascinating by its subtlety, welcome—how welcome!—from its sincerity, interesting from its originality, even to those who were careless of religion." "His delivery of Scripture," says Canon Oakley, "was a sermon in which you forgot the human preacher; a drama in which the vividness of the representation was marred by no effort and degraded by no art. He stood before the Sacred Volume, as if penetrating its contents to their very centre."

He was poor in health from overwork, and when Hurrell Froude, likewise delicate, in the winter of 1832, resolved to go to the south of Europe, Newman accompanied him. Hurrell's father went with them. They travelled along the Mediterranean coast, stopped at Sicily, where Newman took ill, and, after his recovery, went to Rome. They met few Catholics, or rather "kept clear of them," as he says. "I saw nothing but what was external; of the hidden life of Catholics, I knew nothing." In Rome, they determined upon the publication of the "*Lyra Apostolica*," and then Newman bade farewell to Hurrell and went back to Sicily, which, for one reason or another, had attracted him. A strange longing, a sense of utter loneliness of which we discover faint repetitions in almost every

one of those exquisite poems written during this journey, took possession of him. "I felt my isolation. England was in my thoughts solely and the news from England came rarely and imperfectly." Sorrow elevates great souls, and hence it is that some writers have considered it as one of the most powerful elements in the production of good literature.¹ Newman, at this time, wrote :

Lead, kindly light, amid the encircling gloom,
Lead Thou me on!
The night is dark, and I am far from home,
Lead Thou me on!

He had been ill with fever at Leonforte, and again lay sick for three weeks at Castro Giovanni. Before starting for Palermo, his servant found him sitting on his bed and sobbing bitterly, and in answer to the question, what ailed him, he simply said: "I have a work to do in England." The prospect of sorrows to come was gradually outlining itself upon the horizon of his life. He only recognized them when he reflected, and now he was free to do so. There were tokens of a battle some day to be fought, which had been set aside or passed over amid the engaging work at home. Besides, there had always been friends. What, if there should be no one at hand when the time came? Had he forebodings of Hurrell's death? We have some beautiful lines, "The Separation of Friends," written at this time, and allowing us a glimpse into Newman's heart as it then throbbed. A few years afterwards on the day when his forebodings came true, he added twelve lines to that poem in memory of his first and dearest of friends, as if he would appeal to him for light, now, in death :

Ah! dearest, with a word he could dispel
All questioning, and raise
Our hearts to rapture, whispering all was well,
And turning prayer to praise.
And other secrets too he could declare,
By patterns all divine,
His earthly creed retouching here and there,
And deepening every line.
Dearest! he longs to speak, as I to know,
And yet we both refrain;
It were not good: a little doubt below,
And all will soon be plain.

¹ A well-known American writer and devoted admirer of Cardinal Newman's books, being asked for her experience as to the best method of acquiring good style in writing, says: "I have sorrowed much. God put into my hand every cup of life, sweet and bitter. . . . My own firm conviction is that no education can make a writer. The heart must be hot behind the pen. . . . I have written the last lines of most of my stories with tears." (Amelia E. Barr, in *The Art of Authorship*.)

O'ER MOOR AND FEN, O'ER CRAG AND TORRENT.

But if there was sadness in the heart, there was also firm resolve. If there was a work to be done, an injury to be set right, both friends felt the courage to face it. By an apparent chance, they had selected for their motto to the "*Lyra Apostolica*," the words of Achilles: "You shall know the difference now that I am back again"—a strangely warlike introduction to the gentle music from the *Lyre*. Newman hastened on, homeward. At Lyons, he was laid up for several days. When he got off again, he did not stop, night or day, until he reached England and his mother's house, where his brother had just arrived from Persia. Hurrell Froude, too, had returned before him. On the following Sunday, Mr. Keble preached his famous sermon on "National Apostasy," in the University pulpit. It was the real beginning of what has since been called the Tractarian Movement. Newman was never its ostensible leader although all, not excluding Keble and Pusey, followed him by reason of his "great gifts of scholarship, his commanding intellect and his signal courage." "Compared with Newman, they all were but as ciphers, and he the indicating number." He began the publication of a series of papers called "*Tracts for the Times*," the object of which was to counteract the prevailing religious Liberalism in the Anglican Communion. They proposed to re-awaken the public mind to the belief that Anglicanism was not a mere Act-of-Parliament Church, but rested upon Apostolic descent. It was a dangerous experiment in the eyes of those who cared nothing for religion and others who trusted more to private judgment than Apostolicity. Dr. Arnold saw at once where it would end, and as openly prophesied that the inevitable result would and must be Popery. However, Newman cared not where it would end. He was dealing with reason and facts and the issue was one of vital importance, not only to him, but to thousands of others who lived as Anglicans yet without benefiting of the inestimable privileges which he was convinced Christ had bequeathed to them in establishing His Church. Young men and old, who followed Newman's reasoning, plainly saw that he was taking nothing for granted. Of his sincerity and his attachment to the Church of his fathers they were equally convinced.

Thus a large party was gradually forming to become in time a solid phalanx against the passive and aggressive liberalism of the day. "So little," says Mr. Wilford Ward in the *Life of his Father*, who in spite of his individual genius was turning in the direction of Newman, "did the leading Newmanites believe that they were fostering the interests of Popery, that one of their avowed objects was to check its growth in England. They were to put a new life into Catholic doctrine implied by the English liturgy—doctrines which

had practically become a dead letter—and were thereby to give the Church of England new vitality and unity. The editor of the Tracts had said in 1834, "Nothing but these neglected doctrines, faithfully preached, will repress the extension of Popery, for which the ever-multiplying divisions of the religious world are too clearly preparing the way." Newman's real aim and generous disinterestedness in this matter is quite apparent from a notice which he affixed to his Tracts, to the effect, that any one who wished might reprint and even alter them; for he felt that the general purpose which they served could not be thus hindered, and for the value of his authorship he cared nothing provided the interests of truth were furthered. Success meant little in his eyes unless it served the freedom of truth.

The storm clouds were gradually gathering with every utterance that came from Newman's pen. He, himself, was becoming bewildered at the revelations which the continuous study of Church history and primitive Christianity in its fountains was developing. He still believed implicitly in the apostolic origin of the Established Church, but there were gaps opening on every side which made him heartsore, and tremble with anxiety. "Alas!" he said, when he had found rest in the Catholic Church, "it was my portion for whole years to remain without any satisfactory basis for my religious profession, in a state of moral sickness, neither able to acquiesce in Anglicanism, nor able to go to Rome." Still he was at work for a good cause, he trusted God.

Keep Thou my feet; I do not ask to see
The distant scene,—one step enough for me.

Amid the gloom there were times of most joyous consolation. "I did not suppose that such sunshine would last, though I knew not what would be its termination." His friends had implicitly followed him; but he was to lose them in the darkness which was close at hand.

THE NIGHT.

In February, 1841, appeared the ominous Tract XC. It was by implication a challenge to the Anglican Church authorities to declare for definite doctrine amid the opposing teachings which bewildered the sincere friends of religion; and whilst it broke the barrier in established places, it still held to a dividing line between Anglicanism and Rome. It was a bold step, all the more harassing to those against whom it went, because it was consistent. The leading men among Catholics saw the catastrophe which was threatening. Monsignor Wiseman had returned to England and was throwing a counterlight on the situation by his lectures on the Doctrines of the Catholic Church. Not many days had passed

after the publication of the above-mentioned Tract when not only the religious but the political world of England had caught the excitement. Many were afraid, others indignant to the highest pitch. The Thirty-nine Articles, said some of the Bishops, meant nothing, if they did not mean a wholesale protest against the teachings of the Council of Trent. Newman had shown that they could not mean this, since they were composed before the Council of Trent. The Tract was in such eager demand that a new and large edition had to be issued every day. "For a month after," says Canon Oakley, who took part in the movement, "if you happened to enter any common room in Oxford between the hours of six and nine in the evening, you would have been safe to hear some ten or twenty voices eloquent on the subject of Tract XC. If you happened to pass two heads of houses or tutors of colleges, strolling down High Street in the afternoon or returning from their walk over Magdalen Bridge, a thousand to one but you would have caught the words, "Newman" and "Tract XC."

Confidence in Newman had vanished. He tells us that he knew it, and realized thoroughly that his place in the movement was gone. His friends charged him with imprudence. His opponents, who now became his enemies, said he was insidious. They hinted that he had been merely a spy in the camp; that he was a covered Romanist and had foreseen the issue and weighed it well. Those who had shouted "*Credo in Newmanum*" before, became flippant; and the vulgar said, "he has lost his mind." It would soil our page were we to repeat the jest and satire, the misrepresentations and slanderous inventions directed against Newman, of which even the respectable press of that time gives evidence. He was dogged and watched, hooted and insulted in the streets. They suspected his every movement. Why, they asked, did he go up to Littlemore at all? For no good purpose certainly. They dared him to tell. "Why to be sure," he says, "it was hard that I should be obliged to say to the editors of newspapers that I went up there to say my prayers. Why will you not let me die in peace? Wounded brutes creep into some hole to die in, and none grudges it them. Let me alone, I shall not trouble you long. This was the keen heavy feeling which pierced me, and I think those were the very words that I used to myself. I asked in the words of a great motto, '*Ubi lapsus? quid feci?*'"

There were, however, those who had not ceased to believe in his sincerity. They wanted him "to explain" and to have an "understanding." But Newman hated understandings in this sense. He was satisfied that he had simply, and without a view to self-interest, dared to state the truth, and so the matter left no

remorse or fear behind. He had no mind to leave the Anglican communion, for he thought he could save his soul in it independently of what the bishops might teach or omit to teach. He meant to resign St. Mary's and give up his editorship of the *Critic* and retire as a layman to his own cottage at Littlemore. But God disposes. The Anglican authorities wished him to withdraw publicly Tract XC. This he refused. It meant to withdraw what was essentially true, and he preferred to be unpopular to being a witness against truth. Next, they said keep silence, and do not defend the Tract. This he would do, since he acknowledged their jurisdiction; but it also implied that they would not condemn the Tract. How catholic at heart he was even then is evident from the letters he wrote on this occasion to his bishop. They are full of manly consistency, of a sincere humility and a deep and loyal respect for the authorities whom, in this case, he knew to act against the evidence of arguments and historic facts which no logic could gainsay. We quote a portion:

I have acted because others did not act, and have sacrificed a quiet which I prized. May God be with me in time to come as He has been hitherto! And he will be, if I can but keep my hand clean and my heart pure. I think I can bear, or at least will try to bear, any personal humiliation, so that I am preserved from betraying sacred interests, which the Lord of grace and power has given into my charge.

Again he writes:

Dr. Pusey has shown me your Lordship's letters to him. I am most desirous of saying in print anything which I can honestly say to remove false impressions created by the Tract.

In April, 1842, he writes in answer to the question of the Bishop of Oxford, whether the report about his building a monastery is true.

It is now a whole year that I have been the subject of incessant misrepresentations. A year since I submitted entirely to your Lordship's authority and with the intention of following out the particular act enjoined upon me. I not only stopped the series of Tracts on which I was engaged, but withdrew from all public discussion of church matters of the day, or what may be called ecclesiastical politics.

He then goes on to explain that it is his intention to do what his sense of duty inspires him to do for his own personal sanctification, without interfering with the rights of any one or violating the ordinances of the Church, but also without asking any body unnecessary questions about it.

We pass over other blows which followed whilst he was quietly working towards the light and trusting in the kindly Providence which had led him on thus far. How beautifully, though uncon-

sciously, Keble has expressed Newman's position at this time,—Keble, who did not follow, though he still loved him :

“ Forc'd from his shadowy paradise,
His thoughts to Heaven the steadier rise :
There seek his answer, when the world reproves :
Contented in his darkening round
If only he be faithful found
When from the East th' eternal morning moves.”

He was pained when men attributed to him the frequent conversions which were taking place towards Catholicism. One day he received a letter from a stranger telling him that a young friend of his had just become a Roman Catholic by the reading of the Tracts, and asked, “ Would he be so good as to convert him back again.” But gradually he recognized that there was no escape. The more he studied primitive Christianity in the works of the early Fathers of the Church, the more plainly he saw that Anglicanism was in her teaching (if not worse in her practice of toleration without distinction), in the position of semi-Arianism. Rome had held her ancient place in matters of dogma. To sum up : from the end of 1841 Dr. Newman was on his death-bed as regards his membership with the Anglican Church, though at the time he became aware of it only by degrees. He kept back those over whom he still had influence from joining the Church of Rome. He gives us the reason : 1, because what I could not in conscience do myself, I could not suffer them to do ; 2, because I thought that in various cases they were acting under excitement ; 3, while I held St. Mary's, because I had duties to my bishop and to the Anglican Church ; and 4, in some cases because I had received from their Anglican parents and superiors direct charge of them. This was my view of duty from the end of 1841 to my resignation of St. Mary's in the autumn of 1843. On the eighteenth of September of that year one of the young men in his retreat at Littlemore renounced Anglicanism and became a Catholic. Newman had had no suspicion of the act, but as soon as he became aware of it he at once gave up his living. In the course of his farewell sermon on the “ Parting of Friends,” he said :

And, O my brethren, O kind and affectionate hearts, O loving friends, should you know any one whose lot it has been, by writing or by word of mouth, in some degree to help you thus to act ; if he has ever told you what you knew about yourselves, or what you did not know ; has read to you your wants or feelings, and comforted you by the very reading ; has made you feel that there was a higher life than this daily one, and a brighter world than that you see ; or encouraged you, or sobered you, or opened a way to the inquiring, or soothed the perplexed ; if what he has said or done has ever made you take interest in him, and feel well inclined towards him ; remember such a one in time to come, though you hear him not, and pray for him, that in all things he may know God's will, and at all times he may be ready to fulfil it.

But still he tarried. It was clear to him that he could not honestly be a teacher in the Church of England, nor did the authorities wish him to be one. "I could not stand against such unanimous expression of opinion," he writes to a friend about this time, "supported as it has been by the concurrence, or at least silence, of all classes in the Church, lay and clerical. If there ever was a case in which an individual teacher has been put aside and virtually put away by a community, mine is one. No decency has been observed in the attacks upon me from authority." And when eventually he had made up his mind that for him there was no way to save his soul except by joining the great historic Church which had never changed from the days of the Apostles to this; which had grown and developed and withstood the storms from without, and cast off its dry and rotten branches,—he still withheld others from taking a like step. When a friend had consulted him on this subject shortly before the day of Newman's profession of faith, the latter wrote back:

What you tell me of yourself makes it plain that it is your duty to remain quietly and patiently till you see more clearly where you are, else you are leaping in the dark.

THE MORN.

On the 9th of October, 1845, a brief note in Newman's hand reached a few friends. It bore a message of farewell, and had the following postscript: *This will not go till all is over. Of course, it requires no answer.* The same day he was received into the one Church and the one Communion of Saints. To Mr. Allies he writes that morning: "May I have only one-tenth part as much faith as I have intellectual conviction where the truth lies." The sacrifice was complete; and the grace which followed, perfect rest and peace. He has left us a profession of his faith, made *ex animo*, as he says:

"I believe the whole revealed dogma as taught by the Apostles, as committed by the Apostles to the Church, and as declared by the Church to me. I receive it as it is infallibly interpreted by the authority to whom it is thus committed, and (implicitly) as it shall be, in like manner, further interpreted by that same authority till the end of time. I submit, moreover, to the universally received traditions of the Church, in which lies the matter of those new dogmatic definitions which are from time to time made, and which in all times are the clothing and the illustration of the Catholic dogma as already defined. And I submit myself to those other decisions of the Holy See, theological or not, through the organs which it has itself appointed, which waiving the question of their infallibility, on the lowest ground come to me with a claim to be accepted and obeyed. Also, I consider that, gradually and in the course of ages, Catholic inquiry has taken certain definite shapes, and has thrown itself into the form of a science, with a method and a phraseology of its own, under the intellectual handling of great minds, such as St. Athanasius, St. Augustine and St. Thomas; and I feel no temptation at all to break in pieces the great legacy of thought thus committed to us for these latter days."

It has been observed by Protestants, that Cardinal Newman was no half-hearted Catholic. And this is true. What he enunciates in the above profession he believed and acted out in every detail. He did not resign his reason when he accepted the authority of the Catholic Church for his guide. He recognized that law and authority are essential to the right guidance of reason and to true liberty.

Vergebens werden ungebund 'ne Geister
Nach der Vollendung reiner Höhe streben,
Wer grosses will, muss sich zusammenraffen,
In der Beschränkung zeigt sich erst der Meister,
Und das Gesetz nur kann die Freiheit geben.

And now that he was at rest, what great things worthy of his talents did he do? Did not the Church, by allowing such a man to hide for years in the solitude of Edgbaston, practically place a bushel over so fair a light? These are questions we need not answer. Even if Cardinal Newman had done no more than to save his own soul in the cloistered retirement of Birmingham, his life would carry its fruit in the Church, the Communion of Saints. With her, success is not the sign of progress. She does not depend on the activity of individuals to uphold her royal title; whilst on the other hand, her solitaries are often the most powerful though unseen levers that move and determine the world's results. Cardinal Newman, apart from the works he wrote, established the Oratory of St. Philip Neri in England. The work of the Irish University, committed to his zeal and care, though it cannot be said to have answered expectations, nevertheless set influences in motion which have benefited the cause of education and religion.

LOST AWHILE.

But the man who had left home and friends to follow Christ and to find rest for his soul, was not allowed to say his prayers in peace. A brawling priest, a renegade and a felon, set up before his house the old and threadbare story of the harlot-Church. Good men and ignorant, beguiled by the tunes of the shameless friar, asked whether Newman heard. And if he did, why would he not speak a word in defence of the Roman Church as he had pretended to do years ago for the Church of England? The taunt called him forth. He spoke, and tore the mask from the impostor's face, and by the life he traced of the accuser, which was known to him, he made the ears that had lent themselves to Achilli tingle with shame. Avaunt! cried those who had sheltered the renegade. Can this be true? If not, prove here whose mouth is foul. Every charge was proved, and so all England admitted.

But the old hatred of the man who had deserted the Anglican Church was still too deep. It was a question of perjury on one side or the other, but the jury said they were not convinced that all the charges were true. Everybody in the Court was conscious of the bias. Mr. Justice Coleridge pronounced the sentence: a fine to her Majesty of one hundred pounds. The fine was instantly paid. The expenses of the trial amounted to twelve thousand pounds, owing to the fact that witnesses had to be brought from different parts of Italy to testify in person to the well-known guilt of the renegade. The enormous sum was paid by contributions from those who had become convinced in the course of the trial of the injustice of the proceeding on the part of the Court against Dr. Newman.

Whilst this proceeding naturally created something of a reaction in favor of Newman among the fairer minded of the English public, the old Church party seemed not to have forgotten the smart inflicted by his secession. Full twenty years after it had taken place, a clergyman of the Anglican Church took occasion to shout his indignation against the Roman clergy into the English air. Dr. Newman—a good authority, but far away—had taught “that truth for its own sake need not and on the whole ought not to be a virtue with the Roman clergy.” *Non giudicar la nave stando in terra*, say the Italians. Judge not a ship as she lieth on the stocks. The allegation appearing in a respectable organ of English thought and culture, Father Newman quietly asked the writer: “Sir, if I have said this, tell me when and where.” The answer came: “Oh, passim—or if you did not say it—I waive that point; but the fact is, sir, you are a liar and a knave, and if you have had reason once, you have gambled it away.” Such was the sum of a pamphlet published after a short correspondence between the two gentlemen, under the title: “What, then, does Dr. Newman mean?” The latter left no doubt as to his meaning. The answer has become a classical work unique in character. With the swift power of an electric flash that comes from the sleeping heavens, Dr. Newman laid bare the falsehood by baring his inmost heart, and he shattered to dust the form that had held his religious convictions up to scorn.

Perhaps it was principally the remembrance of this masterly retort which has kept men awake during the last quarter of a century to the slumbering greatness in their midst. It was a bolt which struck the adversary and his abettors with terrible surety, but it was also a light that has cleared the atmosphere and dissipated the old clouds that still hovered round, and has cast its brilliant rays backward and forward over Cardinal Newman’s whole life. It is the history of his heart, told with the simple grace of truth, told with his peculiar accuracy of thought and distinctness of ex-

pression, illustrated by the chaste accompaniment of an always happy imagery, and pervaded throughout by that iron logic in which deductions follow link on link, with the sound of tempered steel in them, as they are laid about the captive rude or oily. Cardinal Newman wrote to a friend who had alluded to Mr. Kingsley's attack, that he had never felt angry with the latter, and on the day on which he heard of his death, he said Mass for his soul. A proof of the cardinal's good feeling is also that in later editions of the *Apologia*, he omitted those sharp sayings which stood originally as an introduction to the work. In the eyes of critics, in whom an appreciation of keen and matchless satire predominates, the omission will be a fault. But the cardinal, who believed that the sting was necessary at the time to awaken the public to a just feeling of his position, did not think that posterity would be interested in the same direction. The Protestant world will continue to admire the excellent gifts of mind and heart set forth in this autobiography, and approved by so many of their own witnesses. Nevertheless, they must allow, that from their point of view, that life was a failure. To the eyes of faith it was a gain through loss. He found the truth after many a battle, and when he had clasped the treasure, he left the high-road and the camp lest men in their busy and selfish importunity despoil him of his boon, as they had decried its worth before. By a strange inconsistency it has been argued of late that the services of Newman to Anglicanism have been estimated too low by those who have succeeded in developing Ritualism out of the Tractarian movement. Well; whatever be the supposed gain of Ritualism at the hands of Newman, one thing he made very clear to all concerned, and that was the cloudiness, the want of consistency of the entire structure. And from it he, who was at the time considered the master-architect, had consciously withdrawn, because he found—and this after serious examination of its parts—that it would some day fall into the chasm of infidelity, which is the only thing between it and the Catholic Church. What he wrote before his return to the Church of his forefathers, although valuable, both from a psychological and literary point of view, is chiefly so because it taught his contemporaries the art of diagnosing, of analyzing—we would almost say, disintegrating—by which they were sure to discover the weakness of the religious system to which they were giving their hearts and service. At the same time he used the falling stones that showed sufficient strength, to build a bridge across the abyss for those who might follow him to Rome. This is the worth, undisguised, of what he did for the Anglican Church, and sober minds, who are stronger than their attachments, confess it day by day in their conversion to the Catholic faith, leaving old associations for older truth.

PEACE.

All through the quiet years that followed the last onslaught against him, Cardinal Newman has kept his heart in a state of gratitude. The old scenes he never forgot. Mr. Lilly, in some private letters lately published, shows how the cardinal loved to refer to his troubles, his failures, his plans. Not in bitterness, indeed, nor with a sense of triumph. "Non," he could say with Clement VI., "*jamais on ne me reprochera de m'être vengé.*" His past sorrows were dear to him for other reasons, reasons of which the head knows nothing, and which are bound up with an humble and loving acquiescence in the will of God:

"I would not miss one sigh or tear,
Heart-pang, or throbbing brow;
Sweet was the chastisement severe,
And sweet its memory now."

Men came to see and honor him. They wanted to show that the past was forgotten by all, and had no longer any force. But he was ever anxious to avoid exaggerated praise, lest the fickle mind of the public should refuse, to its own injury, the justice which it was beginning to do him. "It delighted me to find that friends and bystanders think so well of me. Nevertheless, I have for several years felt that their language might provoke some Nemesis, and that I might again fall under the power of calumny and consequent disrepute."

His humility was remarkable, and showed itself much more in later years than when he was in the midst of the battle of the world. Then he had said:

"Men count my haltings o'er.
I know them, yet, though self I dread,
I love His precepts more."

The phrase with which the discussions at the oratory always ended, "But I speak under correction," shows how he valued and felt that diffidence in matters of purely human wisdom which pride only sets aside. "I am in despair," he writes in 1876, on occasion of revising his works for a new edition, "about freeing my volumes from gross blunders. Yet I take the greatest pains to avoid them." In a dedicatory letter, prefixed to an edition of his poems, he states that he does not think he is a poet, although he wrote some verses, from the mere pleasure of verse-making, which others liked, and hence he published them. And, in several of his later works, we have the evidence of their having been published simply upon the urging of those who loved him and knew the worth of his labor:

" Thus did a Saint in fear
His gifts celestial hide ;
Thus did an angel standing near
Proclaim them far and wide."

Those who consulted him on any topic, he was ever ready to aid by advice and otherwise. His sympathies were truly world-wide, and he never ceased, as long as he could write at all, to correspond freely with those who had doubts about matters of faith. An American gentleman, not a Catholic, who, in his travels, had visited him and mentioned some difficulties he felt at the time as to his belief, had almost forgotten the Cardinal, when one day he received a photograph from him, with a few words pointing heavenward. He took a keen interest in the religious movements of the New World. Representative Americans were among his first choice when he opened the lists of honorary membership to the Irish University, and it has been said that he offered Dr. Brownson a chair in its Faculty. A visit which we paid him, six years ago, when we had the happiness of conversing with him for a considerable time, on subjects which interest us in America, will ever be one of the most cherished remembrances of our life. Every one has seen the picture of the Cardinal. Mr. Hutton, in his comparison between Newman and Arnold, has beautifully portrayed his face. "The wide forehead, ploughed deep with parallel horizontal furrows, which seem to express his care-worn grasp of the double aspect of human nature, its aspect in the intellectual, and its aspect in the spiritual world—the pale cheek, down which

long lines of shadows slope
Which years, and curious thought and suffering give,

the pathetic eye, which speaks compassion from afar, and yet gazes wonderingly into the impassable gulf which separates man from man, and the strange mixture of asceticism and tenderness in all the lines of that mobile and reticent mouth, where humor, playfulness and sympathy are intricately blended with those severer moods that "refuse and restrain."

ANGEL FACES.

And now, without further detail, we shall close the imperfect sketch of that beautiful life of the great Cardinal which we have endeavored to draw, as far as possible in his own colors and by using his own expressions. He died in the circle of those who must have loved him most of all, because they knew him best. They tell of his charming accomplishments and winning ways in the hours of recreation at the Oratory; of the wonderful sanctity foreshadowed at

Littlemore; of the sweetly burning power of his words, the unearthly devotion in the celebration of his Mass, pouring out his soul to the Creator whom in real presence he adored; of the ready will to the last to do in God's service what the swaying, tottering limbs still would allow. He assured them of his gratitude and affection long ago when he dedicated his heart's inmost history to the sons of St. Philip, his dearest brothers, the priests about him of the Oratory, and some of whom were at his deathbed. Mark how he speaks of them and to them, and it will teach us the secret of that reciprocal love to which the admiration of England and all the world who knew of Cardinal Newman, bore witness. "To you," he says in dedicating his work to the Fathers of the Oratory, "you who have been so faithful to me; who have been so sensitive to my needs; who have been so indulgent to my failings; who have carried me through so many trials; who have grudged no sacrifice, if I asked for it; who have been so cheerful under discouragements of my causing; who have done so many good works, and let me have the credit of them; with whom I have lived so long, with whom I hope to die."

The wish has been fulfilled. They have carried the dead Cardinal out to the little graveyard at Rednall and there laid him to rest beside his dear Ambrose St. John, whom God gave him, as he tells us, when he took every one else away; "so devoted to me, so patient, so zealous, so tender; who have let me lean so hard upon you; who have watched me so narrowly; who have never thought of yourself, when I was in question. And in you I gather up and bear in memory those familiar affectionate companions and counsellors, who in Oxford were given to me, one after another, to be my daily solace and relief; and all those others of great name and high example, who were my thorough friends, and showed me true attachment in times long past; and also those many younger men, whether I knew them or not, who have never been disloyal to me by word or by deed." And he tells us that he prayed with a hope against hope, that all those without, might enter into the true fold of Christ, wherein he himself found life eternal.

O happy, suffering soul! for it is safe,
Consumed, yet quickened by the glance of God.

Scientific Chronicle.

ELECTRO-MAGNETIC THEORY OF LIGHT.

MAXWELL'S HYPOTHESIS.—PART II.

Two explanations naturally suggest themselves to account for the way in which distant objects affect our organ of vision. In the first these objects are supposed to emit very minute particles of matter, which travel with enormous rapidity through space and entering the eye affect the retina, giving rise to the sensation. In the second, the space between the object and the eye is supposed to be occupied by an highly elastic medium capable of receiving and transmitting undulations, and these undulations started by the luminous body reach the retina, affecting it in a way analogous to that in which sound-waves affect the tympanum of the ear.

If we omit the belief of the ancients that objects were rendered visible by something projected from the eye itself, thus reducing the sensation of sight to a mere species of touch, these two are the only explanations offered to account for the phenomena of light. The first is known as the corpuscular theory, the second as the undulatory theory of light. The former finds its analogue in the sense of smell, the latter in the sense of hearing.

At first sight a strong objection arises against the corpuscular theory from the velocity of light. Since these particles must travel with the velocity of nearly 200,000 miles per second, their mass must be inconceivably small or their momentum would easily equal that of a cannon-ball which would undoubtedly render the theory inadmissible. However, this objection can be easily retorted against the minute waves of the undulatory theory, and we must look elsewhere for the facts that finally settle the question in favor of the later hypothesis.

The names of Newton, Laplace and Biot are associated with the corpuscular theory, and although it is not clear that Newton adopted any special theory of light, still in all his investigations he used the nomenclature and language of this theory, and the veneration in which he was held induced his followers to accept this as the theory of light.

Huggens adopted the undulatory theory, but partly from the difficulty of grasping the theory of wave propagation, but especially on account of the opposition offered by the adherents of the other theory, this made little advance. When, however, Dr. Young announced, in a course of lectures on physics published in 1802, the great discovery of the interference of light, which Father Grimaldi, S.J., had the honor of being the first to make known to the scientific world, the undulatory theory could no longer be overlooked. Fresnel advocated the new theory, and

a memoir published by him in 1819 was crowned by the French Academy of Sciences. But the experiments of Fizeau and Foucault finally settled the conflict. During the last one hundred and fifty years singular success has marked the study of optical phenomena on the supposition of the undulatory theory. Phenomena previously unknown have been investigated and new laws developed. The old theory explained many of the common and obvious facts of light, but was entirely inadequate to account for the remarkable effects revealed by modern observation and experiment. The new theory, on the contrary, offers a satisfactory explanation of all. Hence it has superseded the old hypothesis, and to-day light is regarded as undulations propagated through the universal ether somewhat after the manner in which waves travel through water. This theory predicates the existence of this universal medium, for light takes time to come from the sun to the earth, and hence to explain what has become of it on the journey some medium is required. The nature of the medium is, of course, a deduction from the office it must fulfil, as we have no direct empirical knowledge of it. When considering waves transmitted through a medium it is necessary to bear in mind that the progressive motion that belongs to them is a motion of form merely, not of matter. The waves propagated around a centre when a pebble is dropped in calm water, present an appearance to the eye of the water forming the waves moving outward from the centre of disturbance. This is clearly not the case, as a floating body is not carried forward with the waves as would be the case if the water advanced. Standing by a wheat field on a windy day we see waves chasing each other across the field, and yet we are certain that each stalk does not travel across the field, but merely nods backward and forward on opposite sides of its position of rest. The wavy appearance is due to the repetition of certain series of relative positions taken up by equal sets of stalks, and its propagation is due to the periodic changes in these relative positions, which occur at regular intervals across the field. Thus wave motion is any motion that is periodic in time and space. By such a motion is the energy of the luminous body transmitted through the ether according to our present theory.

The experimentum crucis which proved the emission theory untenable was that of Foucault on the relative velocities of light in air and water. On the corpuscular theory the velocity of light in water is to the velocity of light in air, as 4 is to 3. On the undulatory theory these velocities are as 3 to 4, or, as it is generally put, the refractive index of water is $\frac{4}{3}$. Foucault's experiment showed that the velocity of light in water is less than in air, and hence may be regarded as the successful establishment of the undulatory theory.

Interference experiments had also shown that light was not a substance as the emission theory stated, but that it was, on the contrary, a property of, or a process going on, in some substance. When a beam of light was divided into two, as in the interference experiments of Father Grimaldi, S. J., and Dr. Young, and the beams, after travelling independently for some distance, were re-combined, under certain conditions,

they entirely neutralized each other, and a screen which would be illuminated by each ray separately, would be perfectly black when both beams fell upon it at the same time. The impossibility of two substances placed together, annihilating one another, forced the conclusion that, in this instance, we have two equal and opposite processes in the same medium, which, on combining, produce no result.

These, and similar experiments, satisfactorily explained by the wave-theory, made it popular, and scientific men had accepted it when Faraday began his researches in electricity, to which we referred in the last "Chronicle." Light, according to this theory, required a medium, and Faraday demanded a medium for his lines of force in electro-magnetic induction. Some close relation was suspected to exist between light, electricity and magnetism. The invention of the voltaic battery and Davy's celebrated experiment in producing the electric arc encouraged this suspicion and stimulated inquiry in this direction. Many sought to establish this relation, but it was reserved for Faraday to add a new confirmation of this now general belief. He discovered the rotation of the plane of polarization of light by means of magnetism. "Thus is established," he says, in his researches, "a true, direct relation and dependence between light and the magnetic and electric forces, and thus a great addition is made to the facts and considerations which tend to prove that all natural forces are tied together, and have one common origin." Faraday having thus broken the ground, Maxwell, his faithful interpreter, began the construction of a marvellous theory of the connection between light and electricity.

There were those who maintained, as a philosophical principle, the existence of a plenum, and to them the dictum nature abhors a vacuum, was a sufficient reason for the existence of an all-pervading ether. Descartes required a continuous medium between bodies, for extension was the sole essential property of matter, and matter a necessary condition of extension. But ethers had been called into existence, as we say in our last "Chronicle," as electric atmospheres and magnetic effluvia. Every strange phenomenon had to be explained by an ether until there was a surfeit of ethers, making the explanation of the phenomena more obscure than the phenomena themselves.

Here, then, are two classes of physical phenomena requiring media. Both light and electricity require media to explain their simplest facts. Clerk Maxwell was unwilling to multiply media without necessity. After careful study of the nature of the medium required for the phenomena of light and that required for electricity, he concluded that one and the same medium answered for both sets of phenomena. Faraday had hinted at this, for he says, in his "Experimental Researches: " "For my own part, considering the relation of a vacuum to the magnetic force, and the general character of magnetic phenomena external to the magnet, I am much more inclined to the notion that, in the transmission of the force, there is such an action, external to the magnet, than that the effects are merely attraction and repulsion at a distance. Such an action may be a function of the ether,

for it is not unlikely that, if there be an ether, it should have other uses than simply the conveyance of radiation."

From the theory of light, we know that the ether transmits energy, for the radiations carried by this medium, are able to affect our senses and hence to do work. Moreover, this energy is not transmitted instantaneously through the medium, but exists for some time in it. Now, according to the undulatory theory, this energy exists in the medium, partly as potential, partly as kinetic energy. The former is stored up in the distortion of portions of the medium; the latter, in the motion of the medium. Hence, the ether must be both elastic and dense.

Electric energy is of two kinds, electro-static and electro-dynamic. The former is supposed to depend on that property of the medium, in virtue of which an electro-motive force is set up by an electric displacement in the medium. Electro-dynamic energy, on the other hand, is that due to motion in the medium, started by currents and magnets. Hence, similar properties of elasticity and density would be required for the electrical medium. Maxwell demonstrated mathematically that the properties of the medium required to transmit electro-magnetic action are identical with those of the luminiferous ether. Hence he identified the media. But he did not stop here; but, with a sort of intuition characteristic of great genius, he made a grand generalization; passing from the identity of the medium to the identity of the phenomena, he stated that light itself is an electro-magnetic phenomenon. This was not, however, a step in the darkness, but showed a keen, intellectual vision capable of detecting, with the faint glimmer of light cast by preceding experiment, the secrets of hitherto unknown regions of nature.

There were criteria on which Maxwell relied for the confirmation of his theory. The velocity with which an electro-magnetic wave is propagated through the ether, is found to agree well with the velocity of light. The former is determined by the ratio of the electro-magnetic to the electro-static unit of quantity. This velocity, determined from different sets of data, does not differ more from the velocity of light than do the different figures given for the latter by various experiments differ among themselves. So that, practically, the velocity of an electro-magnetic disturbance and that of light are the same. This agreement in speed of propagation, added to the similarity of properties in medium, demanded by both sets of phenomena, strengthens Maxwell's position. This velocity is, of course, the velocity of both waves in air. But Boltzmann has found that this accuracy holds for the velocity of the same undulations in a number of other gases which he has examined.

Other transparent media, however, exhibit a greater divergence in this respect. The speed of electrical radiation is not the same for all media. It depends on two elements, the electrical elasticity and the ethereal density of the substance. In other words, it is equal to the reciprocal of the geometric mean of its specific inductive capacity and its magnetic permeability. These values are not determined absolutely but they are often measured relatively to air. It is also easy to determine the velocity of light in any substance in comparison with its

velocity in air. This is simply the determination of the refractive index for the substance in question. The reciprocal of the index of refraction is, therefore, the relative velocity of light. Hence, if the electrical theory of light is true, we should find that the square of the index of refraction of any transparent substance is equal to the product of its electro-static and magnetic capacities. There are some substances for which this is found practically to be the case. But there are others which are exceptions. These difficulties, however, may be due to the fact that we are no longer dealing with ether in free space but with ether weighted with ordinary gross matter. Therefore, it is natural to suppose that the ether thus hampered, will not treat the large waves of electrical oscillations in the same way as it treats the small light waves. In fact, we know that the same transparent medium will refract differently the small waves of violet light and the larger waves of red light. Moreover as we have been able to reduce the size of electrical oscillations, the approximation is closer.

Another point, on which the confirmation of the theory depends, is that, in non-conductors the disturbances should consist of electric displacements, but in conductors it should give rise to both electric displacements and electric currents, due to the absorption of the undulations by the medium. In fact, dielectrics should be transparent and conductors opaque. Ordinary experience confirms this to a great extent. Metals are the very best conductors and, at the same time, are the most opaque substances known. Glass and crystals are transparent, and good insulators, and Professor Graham Bell has shown that ebonite which, to ordinary vision, is an opaque insulator, is undoubtedly transparent to some kinds of radiation. On such criteria Maxwell rested the confirmation of his theory. He published his theory in 1865 and, although from his mathematical investigations and clear insight into the secrets of nature, he was convinced of its truth, still it awaited experimental confirmation.

OLEOMARGARINE.

THE chemists having analyzed butter and determined the various bodies which form it, and the proportion in which they are found, reversed the operation and formed an artificial butter, called oleomargarine. It was in 1867 that this important advance in industrial chemistry was made by the discovery of Mège Mouries of a process for the manufacture from the hitherto waste products from the large slaughter-houses, of an artificial butter. His experiments were undertaken at the Imperial Farm at Vincennes under the direction of the French government. In 1870 a factory for the manufacture of this butter was in operation near Paris. In 1872 the new product was admitted as an article of trade, on condition that it would not be sold as genuine butter. It was patented in England in 1869 and in this country in 1873. Its manufacture has steadily increased, and to-day it is a widely circulated product, evoking much legislation.

Oleomargarine is simply a mixture of natural fats, which makes an agreeable and healthful food. The difference between oleomargarine and butter is, that the latter contains a small percentage of flavoring substances, which are almost entirely absent from oleo. Ninety per cent. of butter consists of substances which are constituents of oleomargarine, and each one of the fats forming oleo is used separately as a food and is recognized as wholesome.

In the manufacture of oleomargarine, as carried on in this country, the following ingredients are employed: Oleo oil, neutral lard, some vegetable oil, as cotton-seed oil, butter, cream, milk, salt, and some coloring-matter, as annotta. In very few of the factories from which the furnished product is put on the market, is the oleo oil or neutral lard manufactured, and none of them manufacture the vegetable oils used in the lower grades of oleomargarine. All these substances are now commercial products.

Oleo oil is manufactured in connection with large slaughter-houses, where every effort is made to prevent the waste of any portion of the cattle slaughtered. The caul and suet fats are taken from freshly slaughtered beeves and put into large tanks containing water kept at a temperature from 75° to 85° F. Here the fat is left for two or three hours, after which it is transferred to tanks containing ice-water. The object of this change is to remove all animal heat and thus prevent souring, which occurs when the fat is placed at once in ice-water. The caul and suet fats are kept separate, as the latter yields an inferior grade of oil. After the chilling the fat is thoroughly washed to remove all blood, and is then transferred to another room, where it is fed into choppers, from which it enters through fine sieves into rendering tanks. These tanks are steam-jacketed kettles, capable of holding from 2000 to 5000 pounds. They are fitted with revolving blades, which are set in motion as the fat is fed into the kettles. The steam is also turned on in the jacket, and when the tank is filled with thoroughly melted fat, the stirrer is removed and the fat allowed to settle at a temperature of about 140° F. The clear fat is then drawn off from the top and run into what are known as graining or seeding-cars, in which it is removed to a room kept at a temperature of about 90° F. Here it is chilled. In cooling, the fat solidifies, and after a couple of days the whole mass will be in a semi-solid condition. Thence it is removed to the press-room, where the temperature is about 75° F. Ladled out into stout linen cloths folded around it in the shape of rough bags, it is subjected to pressure in a screw-press. The oil thus expressed is the oleo oil. While still hot it is run into barrels and allowed to cool. The solid fat remaining in the bags is the oleo stearine used to make refined lard by the addition of cotton-seed oil, or sold to the soap or candle-maker.

Neutral lard is made by precisely the same process from the leaf-fat of freshly slaughtered hogs. In both processes the greatest cleanliness is observed. Only fresh and sweet fats are employed, and all the tanks and machinery that comes in contact with the oil are thoroughly cleaned before use, for a small amount of fat, if allowed to adhere to the apparatus will decompose in such a way as to destroy the succeeding charge of fat.

The vegetable oil is generally prepared by crushing the seed or by extracting it by some solvent. It is then refined, principally to remove coloring-matter. The oleo oil, the neutral lard and the vegetable oil, being commercial products, are rarely made at the oleomargarine factory. It is here that these different materials are combined into the artificial butter in the following way: The churns employed are steam-jacketed, and have a capacity of from 1000 to 2000 pounds. A charge of slightly soured milk or cream is first run in, and the paddles are revolved until the butter begins to form. Then a charge of melted oleo oil is added and stirred. When this is well incorporated, as the oleo oil is of a granular character, the softer and smoother neutral lard or vegetable oil is added to give it the consistency of butter. A quantity of good butter direct from a creamery is either added immediately or worked into the oleomargarine afterwards. Lastly, the annotta is added to give the desired butter-color. All these ingredients are carefully incorporated at well-regulated temperatures. Beginning with a temperature of about 85° F., it is gradually increased to a 105° F., when the whole mass has the appearance of a yellow, creamy fluid. When it has been sufficiently churned to incorporate the ingredients, it is run into chopped ice or ice-water to give it a fine grain by sudden chilling. It is then placed on wooden trays to drain. Here salt is added and allowed to work itself into the mass. After this the oleo is worked by mechanical rollers and packed as butter is in ordinary creameries. The whole process is most clean, and there is very little manual handling of the materials. In fact, the whole process is much cleaner than that by which large quantities of the butter in the market is made. Dirty milkmen allow the drip from their dirty hands to fall into the milk. Wooden pails very carelessly rinsed with cold water, instead of tin pails carefully scalded with hot water, are employed to hold the milk. Sour strainers are frequently employed, and the milk is kept in foul cellars. This, of course, does not happen where butter is manufactured on a large scale, but where one or two cows are kept and the butter is salted down until the tub is full. In this latter case the lower layers of butter often become rancid before it is delivered in market, and we have an inferior article against which oleomargarine competes very favorably. In fact, oleomargarine does not decompose as readily as butter, as it contains fewer volatile fats. For purposes of food it is wholesome, nutritious and fully equal to butter in food value, and in keeping up the natural warmth of the body. This is the opinion of the most able scientists in the country, given after a thorough examination of the subject. Professor C. F. Chandler, of Columbia College, writes: "It is quite as valuable as the butter from the cow. The product is palatable and wholesome, and I regard it as a most valuable article of food." Prof. Henry Morton, of Stevens' Institute, says: "I am able to say, with confidence, that it contains nothing whatever which is injurious as an article of diet, but on the contrary is essentially identical with the best fresh butter, and is superior to much of the butter made from cream alone, which is found in the market. The conditions of its manufacture involve a degree of cleanliness and consequent purity

in the product such as are by no means necessarily or generally attained in the ordinary making of butter from cream." Prof. G. F. Parker, of the University of Pennsylvania, says it is "quite as valuable as a nutritive agent as butter itself. It is perfectly wholesome, and is desirable as an article of food." Many others could be quoted who write of it in the same strain. Its place in trade is not to do away with good butter, but to do away with the inferior grades which are sold to the poor man, by giving him a cheaper and more wholesome substitute. It is strange that there should be so much adverse legislation to such a product, and a tax which increases the price of this valuable article. The latest opposition to oleomargarine comes in the shape of an objection on the part of dairymen to the use of annotta as a coloring-matter for oleo. But he does the same himself. In order to make a dry-feed winter butter look like a grass-fed June product, he adds a solution of annotta in cotton-seed oil, the invention of the oleomargarine manufacturer, and now he would deprive the latter of the use of his invention. Notwithstanding the opposition to oleomargarine and the legislation against it, its manufacture is steadily increasing. From November 1st, 1886, to November 1st, 1889, 101,786,888 pounds were made in this country. These figures show that in spite of the almost prohibitory tax imposed on its manufacture, it has come to stay.

NEW USE FOR ELECTRICITY.

IN determining the gross population of the United States from the returns of the 50,000 enumerators employed, electricity played an important part. To form an idea of the way in which the current was employed, picture an operator before a key-board with twenty keys. Connected with these keys and in front of the operator are 21 dials. The operator picks up one of the schedules on which he sees a record of a family of four members. He strikes key number 4, and the hands on two of the dials move forward. The hand on dial 4 moves forward one division showing that there is one family of four members. The hand on dial 21 or the odd dial moves forward four places, showing that four people are registered from that schedule. On machines of this type 50,000 a day have been registered by some operators, and the entire population of the States, 64,000,000, has been twice counted. But a second operation is still more interesting; it is that of classifying a large number of the data recorded on the schedules. The first step in this operation is the preparation of a card corresponding to the data on the schedule for each individual. This is done mechanically by means of an instrument similar to a pantograph. Before the operator is a plate with 240 holes in it. One set of holes is numbered up to 100; this is to record ages; another set corresponds to race division and so on. The operator reads one of the schedules and presses the punch at his end of the pantograph into the hole corresponding to age on the schedule, and a punch at the opposite end of the frame makes a hole in a small card. He then moves his punch to the hole corresponding to the next item on the sched-

ule, and the second punch reproduces the motion of the first and perforates the small card. Hence the disposition of the apertures in the small card corresponds exactly with that of the holes in the plate, and an expert operator could read the record on the card from the position of the holes. This is, however, unnecessary, as they are only employed for registering results automatically. For this purpose the cards are placed over mercury cups and above the card is a frame holding wires in the positions corresponding to possible perforations in the card. When the frame is lowered by a handle the wires above openings in the card pass through and complete the circuit with the mercury, and the indices of the corresponding dials advance one point.

These contrivances are the invention of Mr. Herman Hollerith, of Washington, D. C. By their means all the names were counted twice in six weeks. Perhaps no other census was ever completed so accurately and so early.

THE CROTON AQUEDUCT.

ABOUT thirty miles north of New York city the Croton watershed is located. It has a catchment area of a little over 361 square miles. Its yearly rainfall, determined from meteorological observations extending over a period of seventeen years, is almost 46 inches. The average yearly flow of water is 135,400,000,000 gallons, making a daily flow of 371,000,000 gallons. Hence the computed minimum supply of the Croton watershed is placed at 250,000,000 gallons per day. To carry this supply to the city led to the construction of the aqueduct lately completed.

The first step in the proposed plan was to collect and store the water of the Croton watershed. This was done by building a large dam on the Croton river near Quaker Bridge, about four and a half miles above the mouth of the river. By this means a reservoir of 3635 acres in area is formed, which is capable of holding about 32,000,000,000 gallons. This dam will receive the entire drainage of the watershed. The plan adopted to convey the water thus stored at Croton reservoir was by means of a single tunnel to the city. As this conduit is almost wholly a rock tunnel it is a strong and stable structure, which will cost little for maintenance after completion. The length of the tunnel from the gate-house at 135th street to Croton Lake is $30\frac{1}{4}$ miles. From 135th street to the reservoir at Central Park the water is carried in pipes, making the entire length of the aqueduct $33\frac{1}{8}$ miles. For facility in blasting the circular cross-section was abandoned and a horseshoe-shape adopted, retaining, however, the sectional area. The average depth of the tunnel underground is 170 feet. The greatest depth of shaft from the surface is 350 feet, the least depth 28 feet. On reaching Gould Swamp the tunnel was sunk on an incline of 15° to a depth of 60 feet below the main tunnel and carried below the swamp at that level a distance of 716 feet, rising on the opposite side by a vertical shaft to the level of the main tunnel. When the tunnel reaches the Harlem river there is a vertical descent of

169 feet made in order to pass beneath the river. From this siphon the water is delivered to the gate-house at 135th street, and thence it is carried by twelve lines of iron pipe 3 feet in diameter to the reservoir in Central Park. The entire tunnel is lined with brick from end to end, forming a wall 16 to 24 inches thick and filled in from brick lining to rock face with rubble masonry. Additional dams are contemplated for the Croton watershed in order to increase the supply.

THE AUGUST SHOWER OF METEORS.

DURING August the astronomer looks for a brilliant meteoric display, and is never disappointed. At this time the earth enters the zone in which these bodies revolve around the sun.

The earth takes about ten days to pass through the cluster which makes it about 16,000,000 miles in thickness. The August display lasts about six hours, and the breadth of the stream where the earth crosses it is estimated at about 400,000 miles.

The first mention made of this August display dates back to July 25, A.D. 811, and the record is complete except in two places, when in all probability there was a failure to record the observations.

In its yearly journey around the sun the earth passes through more than one hundred such meteoric showers. Each stream has its own radiant point and seems to form a distinct system of meteors.

To this same category shooting stars belong. They are isolated and are not seen until they enter our atmosphere. We see them burning. For, entering our atmosphere with an enormous velocity, the friction due to the resistance of the air generates heat sufficient to make them red hot, and they burn away in two or three seconds. Computing the effects of the different forces that impart motion to a meteorite their velocity in reaching our atmosphere is probably 75 miles per second. Both meteorites and shooting stars move in long orbits and incline at different angles to the earth's orbit. Frequently, shooting stars are so large that they are not consumed before reaching the earth and fall as aerolites.

LIGHTNING-RODS.

ACCORDING to old notions, the lightning-rod was simply a channel to carry safely an amount of electrical fluid from the clouds to the earth. Hence, the larger the channel, the better. Therefore, there was a tendency to increase the sectional area of lightning-conductors. But, yet, with this increase it was found that the electricity would still escape from the rod and wander around buildings in the most marvellous and sometimes destructive manner. Such conduct, on the part of the electricity, was generally attributed to the faulty construction of the conductor. We have, however, to seek a cause more intimately connected with the nature of the electric discharge. Dr. Oliver Lodge, in study-

ing the character of the Leyden-jar discharge, found that it was not a single discharge, but a series of discharges in alternate directions. He connected the opposite coatings through a wire wound around a polarizing crystal and found that, on discharging the jar, the plane of polarization was turned alternately to the right and to the left, thus showing the alternating character of the discharge.

In the case of lightning, we have nothing but the discharge of a mammoth Leyden jar. The coatings are the earth and cloud, and the separating dielectric the air. According to former ideas, we looked to the cloud and earth, as containing the great stores of electric energy, but simple experiments have taught us that this is not the case. The coatings of a Leyden jar may be removed and handled so as to remove any electricity that may be on them. In touching them we perceive nothing, but returning them to their places in the jar and connecting them, the discharge takes place as if they had not been stirred. This shows that all that energy was not in the metal-coatings, but in the strained condition of the glass-dielectric that separated them. So, too, with the clouds and the earth; the energy of the electric discharge is to be sought for in the strained condition of the intervening non-conductor.

In the electric discharge, all this energy must be dissipated, but it may be very imprudent to do it too suddenly, or a large conductor may not be the best means of dissipating it. The oscillating character of the discharge is due to the fact that, in releasing this strain, there is a simple, harmonic motion started, a surging backward and forward, much the same as that which occurs when a pendulum is drawn from the vertical position and allowed to fall freely. It does not stop at its normal position of rest, but rises on the opposite side, oscillating until its energy is all spent. This may be expressed in the case of the cloud and the earth by saying that a cloud, at first positive, overdischarges itself and becomes negative; then follows a series of discharges and overdischarges until all the energy is dissipated. If, then, the conductor be large, the amplitude of swing at the start will be very great and the conductor will fail to direct the release of such an amount of energy, and other parts of the building will become lines along which this energy will be dissipated, and sometimes to a dangerous extent. In fact, a large conductor practically increases the danger by increasing the time and violence of the discharge. How, then, are we to protect our buildings? Certainly, the most effective way is the cage-system; for, any building, covered by a wire cage having no conductor within which is not in contact with the outside cage, is proof against all danger. For, the cage offers a sufficient number of lines along which the energy of the dielectric may be released. This is, however, not practical for ordinary building and the closest approximation to it is, undoubtedly, the surest protection. Wires should be run along all the prominent parts of the building and be well grounded. Four wires should be run along the chimney-corners and be joined at intervals by metal hoops. Wires of moderate thickness, sufficient to prevent fusion by the current, will serve as the conductor. Iron is the material of which the wire should be made. For-

merly, copper was required, because it was a better conductor, but there is no special advantage in high conductivity. In fact, some resistance in the conductor is necessary for the best lightning-rod, so that a thin iron wire is as good as a thick copper rod. It tends to dampen the vibrations sooner, and a side-flash is less liable to occur from a thin iron wire than from a thick, copper rod. Of course, the wire must not be too fine, for the current would soon melt it, or it would soon deteriorate on account of the heating of its surface. For the sudden currents due to the discharge, keep to the outer surface of the conductor and the wire must be thick to resist deterioration from chemical processes in the atmosphere, rather than for any special advantage it gains as a lightning-protector. There is no special advantage gained by the use of platinum points. They do not begin to do effective work until they are fused and blunt, and then blunt-iron points would do as well. Sharp points begin to act at low potentials, it is true, but the amount of electricity they carry off is trivial and useless, when there is question of a thunder-cloud.

Thus, protection from lightning is, from modern experiment, rendered more secure and can be had for a smaller expenditure. Galvanized iron-wire is, it is true, not very durable in towns where large quantities of coal is burned. But chemists may now invent some durable coating, since electricians have shown that the problem is a chemical, not an electrical, one.

MICROBES.

FIFTY YEARS have not yet passed since microbes first began to be associated with different diseases, and every known disease is supposed to have its characteristic microbe, which is slowly but surely sapping the foundations of life. This universal assigning of some special organism for each particular disease is the work of the last twenty years. We owe it more to the labors of the microscopist than to the chemist. Probably physicians have been more engaged with the study of parasitic disease, during the last few years, than with any other subject. There are wild enthusiasts, of course, to push it too far and attempt to explain every ill that man is heir to by a germ. Excepting these, it is still doubtful whether there will not be a reaction in favor of some of the older notions.

What are these microbes or bacteria? They resemble slender rods about one-three-thousandth of an inch long and the one-twenty-thousandth of an inch in diameter. In form all bacteria closely resemble one another, but differ much in their motion. Hence they have been classified as *Vibrones*, or those having a wave-like motion; *Oscillariæ*, or those having oscillating motion, etc. Before multiplying, the bacterium becomes motionless and soon after encysted, forming around itself a gelatinous wall, which entirely encloses the original bacterium. Then the whole mass divides into granules, which swell and finally break through the gelatinous covering, and thus become free, each to begin again the process of multiplication.

Bacteria are found everywhere. In the air we breathe, in the water and milk we drink, and in the food we eat. The saltpetre beds of India and Peru are produced by bacteria, which reduce the organic matter of the soil to nitrates which combine with potash or soda. No department of life is free from them. Such is the testimony of those competent to judge in the matter. This is liable to make some persons nervous. But we must know that many of these little organisms are harmless, and others are known to do useful work. The bacillus *Leptothrix buccalis*, always present in the saliva, is harmless, while many others aid materially in the process of digestion, converting albuminoids into peptones. It is true that our knowledge of bacteria is in its infancy, and the main point in the germ theory still remains unsettled. Are the microbes the cause of the disease, or are they an effect? If the latter is the case, then the germ theory is not attacking the root of the malady, and less enthusiasm will be shown in the now all-absorbing medical topic of the day. Bacteria may excite a series of chemical changes in the tissue-cells, but not until vitality and normal resistance are impaired. And it remains uncertain whether the phenomena incident to the growth and development of the microbe result from the microbes themselves or from the poisons generated by their growth and by the destruction of the tissue-cells. It is held by some that cholera may be much better explained by ptomaine poisoning than by the common bacillus. It is also held by many that sterilized fluids have been found to produce the same result when thrown into the blood as when they contained the living microbe. It has also been found that injecting solutions, in which bacteria have been destroyed, animals were rendered proof against inoculation by the corresponding microbe. This seems to show, as many suspect, that there is some special chemical substance which prevents the development of the germ. All endeavors, however, to discover this special substance, if it exist, have failed to detect it. Mr. Hankin, in the *British Medical Journal*, claims to have extracted from anthrax culture fluid an albumose which, in certain cases, gives this protective influence. In a special case Dr. Klein boiled an infusion full of bacilli; sterile test-tubes inoculated with this were alive with bacilli in forty-eight hours, but no amount would produce the inflammation characteristic of these bacilli. This, too, seems to show that the heat had destroyed the noxious principle, and that the inflammation was not due to the bacilli themselves. Experiments have also shown that bacteria which have no effect on healthy animals develop disease and grow in animals in which the organism is slightly deranged. These facts, together with many others, seem sufficient in the minds of many able scientists to direct the attention to more potent factors in disease than the microbes. The presence of these animalculæ does not seem to be satisfactorily accounted for, and it is probable that instead of causing epidemic and infectious diseases, they are only scavengers feeding on deranged organism. Hence, in the present condition, it is certainly as wise to study the field in which the microbe is cultivated as to devote all attention to the microbe itself.

The most ardent supporters of the germ theory admit the necessity and

influence of conditions that the bacilli may thrive. Hence, it is said that the great benefit of nitrate of silver in purulent inflammation of mucous surfaces is due to the fact that it destroys the weak superficial cells which the bacteria would invade, and in which they would thrive. In fact, many of the antiseptics in use injure the tissue-cell as much as they do the microbe, and to this their efficiency may be due. Hence, it seems much more rational to secure a healthy condition of the organism, that the bacilli may not find there their proper sustenance.

At present, attention is directed to the bacillus tuberculosis, which is supposed to be the sole cause of consumption. The tubercle bacilli are short rods, about one-half as long as red blood-corpuscles, and about one-tenth as broad as they are long. They are usually curved or comma-shaped. They were first described by Koch in 1882. They are found in all the tuberculous lesions and in the fluids which come from the diseased parts, as well as in the sputum from tuberculous lungs. They may enter the body in many ways. When taken in by ordinary respiration the lungs are primarily attacked. From the lungs the bacilli are easily carried to other parts of the body. They are conveyed with the sputum along the bronchi and trachea, and whenever the sputum comes in contact with mucous surfaces there is danger of infection. They may also be introduced into the system by food.

According to the germ theory, the malady is due to the microbe, and although the parasite does not live outside of the body, the spores are able to overcome, for a time, conditions unfavorable to their development. The disease is infectious, and hence precautions must be taken to prevent its spread. The sputum of patients suffering from this disease should be carefully disinfected. All the cloths and handkerchiefs used by them should be placed in a solution of bichloride of mercury before washing. The patient should not sleep in the same room with others. Infants should not be nursed by mothers infected by the disease, and a number of other precautions are to be taken to check the spread of the disease.

But if the germ is not the cause of the disease many of these precautions are unnecessary. There are many who claim that the microbe in this particular case is not the cause but the effect. Some of the reasons on which they base their conclusions are, that in a large number of cases no bacilli have been found. In other cases they were found near but not in tubercle deposits. If the bacillus is the cause, inoculations of pure cultures should produce tubercular disease, which is not always the case.

Hence, in this case, as in all cases considered by the germ theory, the main point is not yet proved, namely, that the bacilli cause the disease. If established, and the labors of the workers in this field deserve to meet with success, medicine will be a very simple science. All we will have to do is to recognize the germ generating each disease and know the means of destroying it.

Book Notices.

AN ESSAY CONTRIBUTING TO A PHILOSOPHY OF LITERATURE. By *Brother Azarias*, of The Brothers of the Christian Schools. New York, 1890. P. O'Shea. Sixth edition. Revised and enlarged.

AN "Essay," Brother Azarias modestly calls this thoughtful, happily conceived and admirably written book. Like all the learned brother's work, this essay is as practical in aim as it is artistic in form; serious, and yet fresh, lively; erudite in an agreeable fashion; filled with original ideas, suggestive, helpful to sound thinking, not on literature alone, but likewise on religion, philosophy and art. If we have a fault to find with the "Essay," it is that there is not enough of it. There are several chapters which might well be expanded. The book has grown as it passed from a first to a sixth edition. When we take up the twelfth edition—and we hope to do this before long—we shall expect to find the essay considerably enlarged.

What a world of poetasters, historians, editors, reviewers, critics, play-writers, novelists—short and long—is this world we live in! And, of the crowd that makes literature a profession, how many are inspired with the idea of ennobling man's nature, and of lifting him upward—towards God? Few, indeed; and yet, if Brother Azarias be right, only those who are moved by this idea have a true conception of the mission of literature. The educated Catholic will unhesitatingly accept the proposition of the author of the Essay, but he addresses a larger audience—all those who believe in a God and in a Divine Revelation. There are Christians who, practically, hold views wholly opposed to those supported by Brother Azarias. By argument, and by illustration, he establishes the truth of his position and the falsity of meaner schools. Doing this, he discusses the fundamental principles of all true art, criticizes periods, analyzes the works of the masters, and studies the causes of progress and decay. We may differ with the writer here and there as to definitions, as to the value of certain details, as to the law of literary epochs, as to the measure of the influence on literature and on society, of certain ideas and of certain artists; but we cannot resist the force of his argument, and we must acknowledge the variety and the worth of his acquirements. To this variety it is that we owe our occasional difference with the gifted Brother. He does not present facts or opinions in the ponderous, text-book fashion. He invites you to have reasonable opinions of your own; he awakens your memory of history, your memory of all the classics, pagan and Christian; your memory of literary compositions of every order. On every page he puts your judgment, your taste, your literary theories, to the test. To the humdrum mind, to the dull formulator of traditional theorems, to the philosopher of one book, Brother Azarias will not appeal, could not appeal. Quick-minded himself, he deliberately aims to quicken other minds. Independent in his judgment, he seeks to cultivate independence in others. Sure of his fundamental principles, he seeks to make you positive in these. They are important, not because he tells you so, authoritatively, but because reason and history, again and again, enforce their value.

Having considered the function of literature, the origin of literature, the influence of language on literature, the relation of literature to

architecture. the agencies that influenced literature in the pre-Christian East and West, Brother Azarias emphasizes the influence of Christianity—the central fact of civilization—on the thought, language and art of mankind. The best of pagan literature came out of schools of so-called philosophy whose tenets made the nearest approach to our conception of the true, the good, the beautiful. The coming of the God-Man, of the Word made flesh, what an impulse that was to every art of mere men! Under that impulse how little men have done, great as they have done! Discussing the pagan literature, Brother Azarias has written for scholars; and here his work could be and should be expanded in the interest of students. He has the material at hand, and here, or elsewhere, he could do good service by elaborating it, not as history, not as criticism, but as a division helping to a clearer exposition of the subject he so ably handles in his book.

From the doctrines of the Saviour, the sacrifice of the Son of Man, the enfleshing of the Word, and the infusion of the Spirit, all the thought and doings of mankind assumed a new form. Society was, almost contemporaneously, welded into new political shapes. The influence of the Christian ideals on the literature of the first ten centuries Brother Azarias summarizes hastily, with knowledge and insight, and often with the truest of sentiment. He knows and loves St. Augustine and who is there that does not love the zealous teacher, who had all the knowledge of all the schools, art unequalled in his time, an experience of men that made him a master of the soul, and a love of God as humble as it was burning? We would tarry here with the appreciative Brother, but he has fixed his goal. He wishes to hasten us on the way to our own century; he is more than all interested in the present. It is from our contemporaries that we shall best learn what to avoid and what to do.

In a chapter on the "Renaissance" we find Brother Azarias insisting on a fact of the utmost importance in the history of the development of mankind. The revival of letters does not date from the fall of Constantinople. The history of literature is not, cannot be, a record of sudden illuminations and of sudden extinguishments. Each century rejects something of the past and adds something of the present. The tradition of the best always survives. The cultivation of letters did not cease in any age, nor did the cultivation of the arts. The revival of painting does not date from Cinabue, nor that of literature from the day on which the word-mongering Greeks set up as teachers in Florence and Rome. We have still much to learn of the development of thought and of literature between the fifth and the eleventh centuries. As we learn, the theory to which many have pinned their faith will slowly, surely, fade away into a becoming obscurity.

To the influence of the "Reformation" on literature, Brother Azarias gives a large space. The much-vaunted spirit of rationalism, which is the spirit of Protestantism, has indeed been a blighting spirit. 'It could not inspire a literary master-piece.' 'Negation is not productive.' 'It is ruinous to thought.' Where you find a philosopher, poet, essayist, with high thought, be sure that he has sacrificed the principles of Protestantism and adopted those of the true Church. This thesis Bro. Azarias argues and illustrates in the happiest and most convincing manner. Nor is he less happy, less thorough, or less instructive, in the several chapters in which he discusses the later rationalistic philosophies, their teachings, their errors, and the positive injury they have done to thought and to literature. Through his crucible he passes Comtism, Evolutionism, Hegelism, Pessimism. Comparing the mean ideals that flow from these absurd and contradictory systems, with the noble ideals

of Christianity, Brother Azarias brings out strongly the intellectual weakness, impotence, of all the schools that seek light in darkness. There is but one true light—the Light of the World. He it is who vivifies poet, historian, painter, sculptor, philosopher. Where he is not humbly acknowledged, there can be no vigorous, healthful life, no elevation of soul, no true conception of beauty, no great work.

In Part II. of the "Essay Contributing to a Philosophy of Literature," Brother Azarias treats of the beautiful in literature, of the conservative principle of literature, and of the religious basis of literature. His chapter on religion and literature is one of the best in this very good book. The tendency of the age is, indeed, to do without religion, without God. In literature this tendency is strongly marked. The sensual is more and more honored, worshipped; the spiritual is more and more despised. Art has been divorced from its Maker. Art is a god unto itself. The effect of this irreligious tendency, of this false view of art, is sadly apparent in literature. Our Catholic writers cannot insist too much on the great principles that Brother Azarias eloquently sets forth in the last chapter of the second part. Only in the Church can the traditions of great literature be found. To her we must look for the correction of the evil that threatens our art as well as our thought. Among her children should true literature be fostered lovingly, generously, for the sake of humanity, of civilization, of salvation. All great ideas come from above. The closer our communion with the Deity the clearer will be our intellect, the higher our aspiration, the nobler our thought, the more intense our endeavor. Neither book-rules, nor wide reading, nor the cultivation of the senses, make the artist or the thinker. "That is a shallow view of man that would limit his education to the cultivation of imagination and sensibility. Beneath the delicate nerve, the exquisite taste, the refined sentiment, will lie whole wastes of human nature, giving out briars and thorns; will smoulder unchecked the fires of passion; and it will require but the occasion to make of the one so educated a moral wreck."

In the three chapters on "Practice," with which the "Essay" closes, we recognize the trained educator, and the writer of experience. What is the secret of the artist? Hard work. "For the literary man is it true, as for the mechanic, that he must earn his bread in the sweat of his brow." What is genius? "Eternal patience." What is originality? "It consists not so much in saying something that nobody ever before said, as in moulding an idea into shape, and giving it a hue that stamps it as characteristic." Would you be a literary artist? Please, then, to learn how to handle the tools. After that, beat, hammer, mould the language. No tricks! Be true, always! Admirable principles, and admirably expressed!

Remember, now, that you are not a mere workman; You are a teacher, a moralist. Before you begin your poem, play, history, essay, you have two questions to answer: "Are the consequences of this work to be for good, or for evil? Is there anything here that I would regret in after-life, anything that I would wish to recall on my death-bed?" If you would lift your work to a higher plane, you will begin with a fixed determination that, by your work, some man, or men, "shall be made the better for the reading of it." We are tempted to gather words of wisdom from every page of the chapters on literary morality and on literary criticism; but doing this, we should be fair neither to the writer, nor to his readers. Professors, as well as students, in and out of school, will find food for serious thought in the essay on "Practice."

Brother Azarias deserves greater encouragement than he has received. It is true that this book has reached a sixth edition; but it has been

before the public for sixteen years. The sixth edition has benefited by these sixteen years of study and of practice. To an earnest writer we owe more than we have heretofore given. We have more incompetent critics than we have capable teachers. It is so much easier to find fault than it is to acquire knowledge and skill. A liberal education which does not make a liberal man, is a wasted education. A liberal man is one who is liberal in the patronage of studious work, as well as liberal in his judgment of men and affairs. Thus far the American Catholic writer has not run any risk of being spoiled by the patronage of the men of liberal education. Indeed, we sometimes wonder how he has borne up against the prevalent neglect. In the case of a scholarly writer like Brother Azarias, who long ago won the praise of our best thinkers, we may hope that his latest edition, of the "Essay Contributing to a Philosophy of Literature," will be circulated widely. With success, we are certain that he will be led to develop his subject more at length. The book is good; it is timely; we needed it. It will be even better, if Catholics encourage the writer as they should.

LA REFORME SOCIALE, ET LE CENTENAIRE DE LA REVOLUTION. TRAVAUX DU CONGRES TENU EN 1889 PAR LA SOCIETE D'ECONOMIE SOCIALE ET LES UNIONS DE LA PAIX SOCIALE FONDEES PAR F. LE PLAY. Paris: Bureaux De La Réforme Sociale, 174 Boulevard Saint Germaine. 1890.

The French Exhibition of 1889 was an official tribute to 1789. Does France owe a debt to the Revolution? In the admirable work whose title we have set forth above, this question is answered again and again in the negative. The answer is not rhetorical, it is scientific. The Society of Social Economy and the Unions of Social Peace, held a Congress in June of last year during the Exhibition. At this Congress the social movement of the century was thoroughly, dispassionately, and learnedly discussed. The results of that discussion are presented in this well printed volume of eight hundred pages. The Revolution was necessarily put at the bar of experience, and convicted itself. Ignorance, political chicanery, passion, false enthusiasm, have combined to glorify the principles and the political acts of 1789. How false were these principles, how fruitless these acts, is here plainly shown. The theories of impracticable dreamers, and the doings of zealots, cannot stand the test of time and experience.

M. Taine in an introduction to "La Réforme Sociale et le Centenaire de la Révolution," says that, though politicians and charlatans may still make use of Rousseau's axioms, they are, in the estimation of thinkers, only a scholastic curiosity and a puerile combination of abstract terms, without any relation to real things. Unfortunately the "majority of thinking men" is a minority in most communities, and vast numbers of unthinking men are still at the mercy of the politician and the charlatan. As a help to thinkers, and to the unthinking, the studies of M.M. Focillon, Mazel, Boyenvals, Taine, Hubert-Valleroux and Babeau, cannot be too strongly commended. The great principles of 1789, were: the original perfection of man; the infallibility of the human conscience; the absolute equality of men. Without any foundation in reason, or in the experience of mankind, the acceptance of these principles has only retarded the march of progress. Still there has been progress in France during the century. "Yes," says M. Leroy Beaulieu, "but it is to steam that we owe the material progress we have had and not to the Revolution. That failed absolutely; it was a complete deception."

The popular notion that the Revolution conferred immeasurable benefits on France, is the result not merely of a limited acquaintance with

the social movement of this century, but also of the common misrepresentation of the facts of history, before and at the Revolution. M. Taine has recently been undoing much of the false, the slipshod, the prejudiced work of the past. After a time we shall have a critical history of the old *régime* and of the Revolution. In this volume there are many studies of the two periods; studies that will serve to correct unfounded impressions. One of the most instructive of these studies deals with "Life in the Bastille." In a short space, M. Funck-Brentano has given a sketch of the history and of the administration of the famous prison, whose name is, in many minds, associated with the idea of monstrous kingly tyranny. Yearly, party leaders celebrate the destruction of the Bastille. After reading M. Funck-Brentano's sketch, the reader who is not a politician will wonder more than ever what the annual celebration means. The worst that can be said of the old jail is that it was a very comfortable jail. The daily bill of fare makes an unjailed man's mouth water. The Bastille was not offered up on the altar of human rights. It was sacrificed to ignorance and to malice.

Some men imagine that before the so-called Reformation this was a very ignorant world, and many Americans as well as Frenchmen imagine that the French people were deprived of any right means of education before the Revolution of 1789. MM. Cazajoux, Vignancourt and Siloy, have, documents in hand, helped to put an end to this later myth. To destroy is not to renew; still less is it to improve. Church and State had established a system of popular education in France, which, if it had been allowed to develop naturally, would have assured a better, and sounder, and less costly system than that which now exists. 1789 marks not the beginning of a period of progress in education, but it marks the beginning of a decline. In the careful studies to which we have referred, readers will find the facts; and the facts contradict the popular theory.

M. Leroy Beaulieu states the truth when he credits the material progress of France during the past century to steam; but there have been other forces at work, moral forces, which have added to the prosperity of all the citizens, and have done this by moral means. Leaving aside the Church, we can count among these forces the associations of practical and patriotic men which have devoted themselves to the spread of economic truths, and to the reorganization of society on the principles of Christianity. And of these honorable associations none deserve more credit than the Society of Social Economy, and the Unions of Social Peace, formed on the lines laid down by the eminent Le Play. Some of the most useful chapters of this book are those in which an account is given of the Society's exhibits in the department of Social Economy of the Paris Exposition. How encouraging it would be, could we look forward to a like exhibit at our Columbus Exposition.

The French exhibit becomes doubly valuable when we study it in the light thrown upon it by the papers read at the Congress. In these papers the most important questions of social economy are dealt with scientifically; the question of public and private charity, of corporations past and present, of trades-unions, of Sunday-rest, of the liberty of labor, of landed property, the right of succession, rural life, seduction—to mention only a few of the practical subjects here considered. And all this serious work is a tribute, not to the French Revolution, but to an anti-revolutionist, F. Le Play; a man, whose patient, disinterested efforts in the study of social ills and the cause of social peace deserve more general attention than they have hitherto received. M. Claudio Janet, a disciple, who is in no wise inferior to his acknowledged master, ably reviews the influence of Le Play's work on the contemporary social

movement. In the peaceful discussion of the social question, Le Play sought to avoid the political and religious questions that divide society. A firm advocate of the liberty of labor, he saw that, under the new rule of liberty, the employer's obligations were as exacting as under the old class and corporation system. And his great aim in life was to create a body of workmen, with a just sense of liberty, and a body of employers, with a just sense of the duty of wealth. And one of the first duties of the employer, according to Le Play, was to set an example of morality, of religion, to those who were under him. Without this general example, there could be, he claimed, no reform. He believed that the attempt to abolish classes, was vain; for society could not exist without, at least, classes of employers—*responsible* classes; each class according to its gains. M. Claudio Jannet testifies to the progress of French employers, under the influence of Le Play's ideas. It is a progress worth noting; for Le Play's system was founded on the Decalogue and on the Christian idea. There are very good Christians in the United States, who act as if shorter hours, higher wages, protective laws, will make the poor comfortable, happy and peaceful. And yet, without religion, morality, there can be no lasting peace and no true happiness. The first thing to be done, then, is to assist the workers to be religious and moral. And this is one of the duties of every employer. The employer who is alive to this duty, will not neglect any other. Law cannot make a workman happy; speeches cannot make him happy. Practical work, work in his interest, according to his surroundings, united work—of the workmen and of the employers—with a single aim—peace—only this can solve the problems that threaten modern society. In M. Claudio Jannet's paper, the duties and the opportunities of firms, and of stock-companies, as well as of individual employers, are enforced by sound reasoning and by suggestive examples.

We commend this book to the attention of our school-teachers, of our college professors and of our graduates. In France, the members of the Unions of Peace do not confine themselves to addressing learned men. They have organized classes in the primary schools, where they instruct the children in the true principles of social science. They do not consider a girl's education to be complete, until she has learned something of a science which has to do not with men alone, but with mankind. They do not limit their instruction to children. The fathers of families, the youth who have not taken degrees, are as much entitled to intelligent assistance as the graduate or the schoolboy. If this most instructive volume should be the occasion of interesting even one teacher in each of our large cities, the gain from it would be immeasurable. The A B C is not, by any means, the most important of the many alphabets we should be taught in our young days.

LES FAITS ÉCONOMIQUES ET LE MOUVEMENT SOCIAL EN ITALIE. Par *Claudio Jannet*,
 Professor d'Economie Politique a La Faculté Libre de Droit, de Paris. Paris:
 L. Larose et Forcel, 22 Rue Soufflot. 1889, pp. 49.

Recently the Crispi ministry tried three Ministers of Finance within six months, but a minister a day could not save Italy from the inevitable consequences of lavish expenditure, and of an insane policy. We used to imagine that we had a very considerable national debt, but the Italian government valued this "national blessing" rather more than we did. Within the last five years it has increased the obligations of the State by \$250,000,000. The total amount of the Italian debt is, at

present, \$2,200,000,000; the annual charge for interest reaching the sum of \$106,000,000.

A protectionist policy has not helped the country, seemingly. As compared with 1887, the exports of 1888 decreased about \$22,000,000, and the imports as much as \$100,000,000. The new grain tax helped to raise the price of bread immoderately, much beyond what the poor can afford to pay for it. That terrible disease, the *pellagra*, has again laid its blighting hand on the farm laborer. The cities have not escaped the evils consequent on a high rate of interest, over-speculation, and wide-spread bankruptcy.

The rate of interest in the larger Italian cities is, chronically, two per cent. higher than in other European centres. Tight money in Italy, as elsewhere, means a scarcity of gold; and in Italy gold has been withdrawn from circulation. The government has been liberal with the banks and paternal with the people. How? It has *forced* the banks to issue bills to a much greater extent than the law permits. What is the law? Nowadays, the law is the will of a party, and, generally, the party, or the legislative majority, means the government, the ministry. We can easily understand, therefore, how the criminality of the ministry was condoned. The ministry brought in a law, *ex post facto*, authorizing the banks to increase their circulation by 40 per cent.

Meantime the people—and there is in United Italy a wide distinction between the people and the citizens—the people are fleeing from their native land. In North and South America, the Italians, with all other oppressed people, are seeking a home. The number of emigrants in 1886 amounted to 85,355; in 1888, the number was more than doubled, the official figures for the year being 195,211. It is not merely the laborers that are leaving. The small landholders are forsaking the family acres. Lands are uncultivated; labor is scarce. Unavailingly, the government has tried to fight Providence and reason by hindering emigration. Reason teaches that emigration is a necessity.

In 1770, statisticians say, the population of the States that now make *legal* Italy, was 14,689,317. To-day the population numbers 30,500,000. Only Belgium, Holland and Great Britain have a greater number of inhabitants to the square mile. The increase, since 1871, counts up 3,500,000 souls. Students of the present world must not lose sight of the Italian immigrant.

In the progressive little Argentine Republic, the Italians make a fourth of the total population. The Italian is bound to play a considerable part in the civilization of the United States. It will be a good part if he is not neglected.

From M. Claudio Jannet we draw the facts we have here stated. In his summary of the immediate social condition of Italy, the learned and active professor of political economy is as thorough, as detailed, as only a skilled teacher and writer can be. He has controlled his facts by personal observation. His testimony is that of an eye-witness. We commend his book to all those who would have an authoritative knowledge of the present financial, political, economical and religious state of Italy.

The "unification" of Italy, by law, has not remade the people. They are still Piedmontese, Venetians, Tuscans, Neapolitans, etc. The traditions, customs, pursuits, vary with locality. After reading M. Jannet's study, the sane reader will smile at the present efforts of frightened or fanciful rulers, to unify the remedies for the general social unrest by an international system of legislation. An attempt to unify men's height, or hunger, would be just as reasonable.

There is a great field for an anti-poverty society, in many parts of

Italy. Ireland has certainly suffered monstrous evils from heartless land-holders; but the Irish have not been the only sufferers. In Piedmont, and in many parts of Lombardy, agricultural strikes, elsewhere unknown, are common. Can we wonder? The unfortunate laborers earn, at most, twelve cents a day in winter, and eighteen cents in summer. Out of these wages they must support themselves, and pay house-rent besides. The proprietors are non-resident. They place their great estates in the hands of agents. The agent hires out the lands to large farmers, who compete one with another for a profitable business. These men sub-let to the *contadini*. It will surprise no one to learn that the laborer lives in a hut, fit only for cattle. His wages do not allow him to eat bread. Hence the rotten maize and a wasting death.

However, the Italian picture is not wholly dark. There are men who have good hearts and good wills. Many helpful associations have been organized throughout Italy; insurance associations of workmen, co-operative associations, popular banks, etc. The Italian suffers terribly from the usurer. The Jew and the Christian are equally guilty. And it is to a Signor Luzzati and a Dr. Leone Wollemborg, both Jews, that the poor are indebted for an effective arm of defense against the usurer. M. Jannet gives an account of the institutions organized by these two charitable Israelites. In Italy, as in Germany, and especially in France, there are men who, following the example and teachings of F. Le Play, sink political and religious differences, in the hope of saving the Fatherland, society itself, from the patent evils one and another suffer, and from the greater evils that threaten.

In Italy, as elsewhere, workmen's associations, benevolent, co-operative, whatever they may be, tend more and more, on the one hand, to Socialism, radical Socialism, and, on the other hand, to Catholicism. The men who thought that so-called "liberalism" could control the ideas of the masses, have to acknowledge that they have been mistaken, and that the issue is really between Catholicity and Socialism. No one will be surprised to learn that the Italian Socialists are also "democrats" in a bad sense. Will it surprise some to hear that there are Catholics, who are democrats, in a good sense? M. Jannet quotes a well-known Catholic writer, Pier Biagio Casali, who openly favors an Italian United States. The efforts made to adjust Italy to the administrative and political organization of Piedmont, are, he says, wholly contrary to the interests of the country. The world may yet see a Pope-President. Stranger things have happened!

If some American publisher would arrange with M. Claudio Jannet for a translation of his frequent and valuable studies of contemporary social conditions, the venture would be as beneficial as it would be profitable. In the *Correspondant* for January 25, 1890, the eminent economist has a study of the Social movement in America. There is no American, however well-read, who will not gain information from this article. M. Jannet is thoroughly at home in all our affairs, and his views deserve the careful attention of men of all religions. His Italian study is the most complete that has been published in any language. Reading him, one will see how unfounded is the distinction that some selfish innovators in this country have tried to make between religion and political economy. The two things cannot be differentiated, practically. Without the moral, you can have no science that deals with the living man. M. Jannet is a scientist and a Catholic; an exact and a bold scientist, and a bold and a true Catholic. He can command the respect of students, whatever be their school of economy and whatever be their philosophic or religious views. His science is based on facts,

and his faith is not only a criterion of certain facts, but it is established by facts, living, scientific, rational. He need not fear, he does not fear, to test himself, with the names of men whose reputation has been made by the advertisement, the book-criticism and the popular lecture of the speculative publisher. An acquaintance with this Italian study will help to an intelligent measure of many movements, not only in Italy but also in Europe, that are sure to make the next ten years memorable in Europe, and, perhaps, in America. For history takes its revenge in its own time.

VEN. P. LUDOVICI DE PONTE, S.J.; *Meditationes de Præcipuis fidei nostræ Mysteriis, de Hispanico in Latinum. Translatæ a Melchiorè Trevinnio, S.J., de novo Editæ cura. Augustini Lehmkuhl, S.J., cum approb. Friburgi Brisgovie, Sumptibus Herder, 1890. In Urbe S. Ludovici Americana. Partes VI.*

With Louis of Granada, Rodriguez and Scaramelli, the Venerable Father Louis de Ponte, S.J., deservedly ranks as one of the greatest of modern ascetical writers. Luis de la Puente was born in Valladolid, Spain, December 2d, in the year 1554. When he was twenty years old, he entered the Society of Jesus. Ribandeneira, in his "Catalogue of Authors of the Society of Jesus," writes thus of him in the year 1607: "From his earliest youth he seems to have been formed and trained to piety. He asked admission into our Society when he was twenty years old and entered in 1575, after he had finished his philosophical studies and had already given two years diligently to the study of theology. He then continued his literary studies, surpassing far all of his fellow-students, by reason of his earnestness, talents and clear judgment." His Master of Novice was the famous Balthassar Alvarez, for some time the Confessor of St. Theresa. Amongst his professors he had the happiness of attending the theological lectures of the renowned Jesuit, Francis Suarez. Having finished his studies with brilliant success, he was appointed professor of philosophy in the University of Salamanca. Afterwards he was chosen Master of Novices, when he proved himself a master in leading those under his care in the path of perfection. For thirty years he was the Confessor of that holy and wonderful lady, Marina de Escobar. When his bodily strength broke down, and he was forced to give up the active ministry, he devoted his time to the writing of ascetical works. Among these, the one best known is his "Meditations on the Mysteries of our Holy Faith," written in the plainest language, full of devotion and exceedingly practical. They constitute a wonderful treasure for the preacher in the preparation of his sermons. Father Louis de Ponte died in the odor of sanctity at the age of 70, February 17, 1624, and the Church has declared him Venerable. His life was published in the Series edited by the Fathers of the Oratory. In it they speak of these Meditations as follows: "It is, in truth, an immortal work, in which the reader scarcely knows which to admire most, either the extensive learning in the order of arrangement, or the multiplicity or correctness of the reflections, or the unction with which the mysteries are unfolded; it cannot be read without feeling the will excited to devotion, or without a desire to profit by it. It passed through three editions, and was translated (from the Spanish) into several languages within one year after its first appearance. In it he explains admirably the practice of prayer, at the same time furnishing ample materials for it. In it directors and confessors may find wherewith to instruct those committed to their charge. In it religious of every order may find celestial manna for the daily food of their devotion. In it, in fine, every person of every state may learn how to appreciate the eternal truths and

the mysteries of our holy faith, and also how to live well, if they will frequently read and meditate upon them." An English edition of these "Meditations," was published by Thomas Richardson & Son, London, 1866, but it is, we believe, out of print. This edition was a revised and corrected reprint of the translation made by John Heigham, who is mentioned in Dodd's "History" as a gentleman living abroad and engaged in translating works of piety from the Spanish into English. Heigham's translation was made over two centuries ago. Translations have been made into almost all the modern languages. The translation into Latin was the work of a Jesuit Father, Melchior Trevinnio, and it is this edition that Father Aug. Lehmkuhl, S. J., has now re-edited, especially for the benefit of the clergy.

As soon as de Ponte published his "Meditations," the General of the Jesuits, Father Claudius Aquaviva, ordered Father Trevinnio to translate them into Latin. The first volume was published at Cologne in 1611 and the others in the following years. There have been several editions of this Latin version. The last seems to have been in 1857. In this new edition Father Lehmkuhl tells us that he has verified all the quotations from Holy Scripture and the Fathers; adding, moreover, that as he was only editing the work, he did not think he was authorized to change anything therein. This is the reason why in the VIth Part of the "Meditations," where de Ponte treats of the six days of creation, he explains them according to the received opinions of physicists of his day; these the editor allows to remain because such views are few in number and do not affect the spirit of the "Meditations."

These six parts constitute a grand book for meditation, full of "that mystical food which will strengthen them in their journey to the mount of God and of those heavenly waters, of which whosoever drinketh, they shall become to him a fountain of water springing up into life everlasting."

The editor has added twelve Meditationes for the festivals of the following saints: S. Francis Xavier, B. Peter Canisius, S. Aloysius, S. Ignatius Loyola, S. Alphonsus Liguori, S. Dominic, S. John Berchmans, S. Augustine, S. Peter Claver, S. Francis Assisi, S. Alphonsus Rodriguez, and S. Stanislaus Kostka. The index gives the arrangement of the Meditations for every day of the ecclesiastical year. Among the other works of the Venerable Louis de Ponte, are (1) "A Moral and Mystical Explanation of the Canticle of Canticles"; (2) "Christian Perfection"; (3) "Spiritual Director"; (4) "Spiritual Guide"; (5) "On the Priesthood"; (6) "On the Episcopate." In the conclusion of his introduction to the "Meditations," which is on Mental Prayer, the Venerable author uses these words which we will quote, remembering they are the words of one whose sanctity has been admitted by our Holy Mother, the Church: "Those who desire daily to climb the mystical ladder of Jacob, which S. Augustine calls the ladder of paradise and S. Bernard the ladder of men who are religious: the steps of which are reading, meditation, prayer and contemplation—will find in this book matter and instruction fit for this ascent, relying principally upon God's grace, by whose favor we shall be able to climb and arrive at that union with our Lord, who is at the top inviting us to mount up thereby; and to this end He sends His holy angels who ascend and descend for our good. They ascend to present to God our desires and petitions, and they descend with the good despatch of them, and always animate us to climb up every day with great perseverance, until we enter into the paradise of our God, where we may see Him and enjoy Him, world without end, Amen." The glorious Doctor of the Church, S. Alphonsus Liguori, was

wont to say, that the best books to read, were those whose author's names commenced with an S. If our author has not yet been canonized, the Church has defined that his name shall at least commence with a V. The Latin edition of Father Lehmkuhl needs no further recommendation. It is beautifully printed and published in most convenient form by Herder of Friburg and St. Louis, U. S. A.

THEOLOGIA MORALIS FUNDAMENTALIS. Auctore *Thoma Jos. Bouquillon, S.D.D.*, et in Universitate Catholica Americana Theologiæ Moralis Professore. Brugis Beyaert-Storie Editor, 1890. Editio secunda, pp. 721. New York and Cincinnati: Fr Pustet.

In his very modest preface the learned author says: "It has been our one thought, in all things, to teach the genuine doctrines of the Church, and whilst we receive and reverence all her doctors, still there are three whom we consider our special masters, viz.: St. Thomas, Suarez and St. Alphonsus. From St. Thomas we have taken the immovable principles of moral science; from Suarez, the learned exposition and vindication of those principles and from St. Alphonsus, their prudent application."

He calls this volume the vestibule, and at the same time the foundation of the work on moral theology he is building up. It is the vestibule to the real building, for in it he treats of the nature of moral theology, its relations to other practical sciences, its divisions, the sources whence it draws its life, its origin, progress and history down to the present day. It is the foundation; for, in it, he demonstrates all those principles on which the morality of human acts depends, viz.: the end, the means to reach it, the law and its application through conscience.

It is a bulky volume of 692 pages and deserves to be called a work for true students. It is really "fundamental," for there is scarcely an application made to particular cases in the whole book. It shows forth the prodigious erudition of the author. The history of the rise and progress of the science must excite the wonder of the reader. We are sure that no such catalogue of moral theologians can be found elsewhere. The author does not simply mention their names, but gives a judicious criticism of those who have merited for themselves a high rank in this branch of sacred science. We will select only two, viz.: those whom he has chosen as his own guides. Of Suarez he thus speaks in a note p. 88: "The works of Suarez on moral theology, positive, speculative, polemic and casuistic, in a word, in all parts, are perfect. In them, we admire everywhere the combination of erudition, force and sharpness, diligence, sobriety, prudence and piety. Perhaps some might be named, who, under one or another aspect, surpass our '*Doctor eximius*,' e.g., in depth, Didacus Ruiz; in ease of explaining the divine mysteries, Lessius; in sharpness, John de Lugo, in erudition, Petavius; but there is no one, who summed up more fully all the gifts of the perfect theologian, no one who has explained more happily so many parts of theology, no one, the constant study of whose works can beget and perfect the theological mind, like Suarez. In our opinion, they who declare Suarez the prince of all theologians of modern times, do not exaggerate the truth." In speaking of St. Alphonsus, p. 114, in a lengthy note, after showing how his moral theology was composed, he concludes thus: "Finally, if you look at its merits, our holy Doctor is remarkable for his wise choice of opinions and his exquisite Christian acumen, rather than for profound erudition or orderly exposition of his matter; in a word, if I may so express myself, he excels most others in prudence (which was his dearest object), but in science, strictly

so-called, he must give place to many; for, distracted by so many and so great labors he could not give due attention to it."

The first part of the work, or the vestibule to the real building takes up 139 pages. From page 141 to 692, he treats of the foundation of moral actions, discusses profoundly all the principles of the science, examines critically the arguments which have been advanced to demonstrate the same, and either approves or qualifies or rejects them. Every quotation in the footnotes (and there are hundreds) has been verified at the fountain-source. The author's aim has been to give to students a scientific moral theology, to elevate the study above the low plane of a mere hand-book on morals, with a number of practical cases, heretofore the scope of most works on moral theology. He evidently does not believe in mere books of casuistry. He looks on moral theology as truly a part of the sacred science of theology, and therefore to be treated in the same way as dogmatic theology. Like faith, so morality falls under the infallible *magisterium* of the Church. Like faith, it rests on the same foundations, the Word of God, written and handed down by tradition. Like faith it appeals to the testimony of the Fathers; and like faith, it is supported by decisions of Popes and Councils and SS. Congregations and the arguments of doctors and theologians. It should, therefore, be treated in the same manner as dogma, and as such it was always treated by the great scholastic writers. Our author's desire is to emulate their example, and whilst walking in their footsteps, to accept every new light that has been thrown on the questions under discussion. We might call special attention to the chapters on Modern Liberalism (pp. 457-465), on Probabilism (pp. 515-570), and on the System of St. Alphonsus (pp. 570-586).

As a specimen of the author's style and method we quote the explanation of one of the principles (p. 636): "An action which is bad objectively, though done for a good end, remains bad, notwithstanding its relation to a good end; for, as the Apostle pronounces: evil is not to be done, that good may come. Commenting on which words St. Augustine writes thus forcibly: 'What most wicked crime, what most shameful outrage, what most impious sacrilege may not be declared capable of being done lawfully and justly, not only with impunity, but even boasting, . . . if once we grant that the question to be asked concerning the wicked deeds of men should be, '*not what is done but why it is done?*' And again, a little before, 'It is indeed of great importance, by what cause, for what end, with what intention, anything is done; but those things which are clearly sinful, are not to be done under any pretext of a good end or for a good intention.' . . . Since therefore, such actions are sinful, as theft, rape, blasphemy and the like, who will dare say, they can be done for good reasons and so not be sins, or what is more absurd, be lawful sins? Who is there who will say, that to have something to give to the poor, let us steal from the rich, or let us sell false testimony? Who will say such things, except he who strives to overthrow human society, morality and law?" St. Augustine, *contra mendacium*, c. vii., n. 18; St. Thomas, 1, 2, q. 19, art. 7, ad. 3. In a note the author declares this to be the doctrine of all theologians; and concerning the old calumny, the end justifies the means, he says, that it was first ascribed to Catholics by Protestants, and was afterwards rehearsed by the Jansenists against the Jesuits, as can be seen in the seventh of the "Provincial Letters."

With Father Lehmkuhl's "Moral Theology," Palmieri's edition of Ballerini's full notes on "Moral Theology," and this work of Dr. Bouquillon, the student may well say that his is an enviable privilege, one that

could not have been enjoyed a few years ago. We look forward anxiously to the publication of the successive volumes of this grand work which will be indeed a worthy memorial monument of the first years of our Catholic University.

Besides a complete index of all the parts and chapters, the author gives an invaluable analytical index of the whole work in 22 pages.

STATEMENT OF THE CHIEF GRIEVANCES OF IRISH CATHOLICS IN THE MATTER OF EDUCATION, PRIMARY, INTERMEDIATE AND UNIVERSITY. By the *Archbishop of Dublin*. Dublin: Browne & Nolan, M. H. Gill & Son. London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Ken & Co. New York: The Catholic Publication Society Co. 1890.

The publication of this work could not have been more timely had its immediate purpose been to throw the light of experience acquired in Ireland upon the practical workings of one of the plans advocated by some persons in the United States for solving the public school question. The work, however, was not prepared with any reference to this country, but for the sole purpose, as its title-page declares, of setting forth "the grievances of Irish Catholics in the matter of education."

The statement of those grievances is divided into three parts. The first part is a detailed exposure of the defects and unfairness of the system of "Primary National Education" imposed on Ireland, and its restrictions on religious freedom. One of the results of this system, as described in a recent statement of the Lord Mayor of Dublin in the House of Commons, is that in the public schools in Ireland, whether they are under Protestant or Catholic management, "religious teaching and observances of a religious character are permitted only during one-half hour, or other limited and specified portion of the school-time of the day. During the rest of the six hours a Protestant child may not read a verse from the Bible, nor a Catholic child say his Angelus, *nor may any religious emblem be exhibited.*" [The italics are ours.]

On several points the statements of the Most Rev. Archbishop fully answer objections to the claim made by Catholics in this country that denominational schools should be permitted to receive portions of the public school fund. "It is distinctly to be understood," says the Most Rev. Archbishop, "that the State should not undertake any new burden or responsibility, whether financial or otherwise, in connection with the teaching of Catholic doctrine in the schools, or that the State should bear one farthing of the cost involved in the exercise, when it is granted to us, of the freedom of religious observance. . . . What I wish here to point out is, that we do not in any way claim that these religious emblems (crucifixes, pictures, statues, etc.,) should be regarded as a portion of the furniture or fittings of the school-room, to be *provided for us*, either wholly or partially, out of *the public grants*. *We ask merely for liberty to provide them for ourselves*—the limitation, of course, being always understood that we make this claim in reference only to those schools, thousands, as we shall see in number, which are under Catholic management and are attended by Catholic children only.

"It cannot, I think, be deemed out of place for me to add that *no such restriction* as that so sternly enforced against *us* in this matter is known to the *State-aided Catholic schools of England*. A Catholic school in England may have the crucifix prominently displayed upon the wall of the school-room during all the working school hours of the day. In a Catholic National School in Ireland, when any such religious emblem is provided—of course, out of private funds, for it can be provided in no other way—it must, as I have already stated, be enclosed in a sort of box or cupboard, which may be opened only during the specified hour or half hour reserved for religious instruction, and in which,

except during that short portion of the working time of the school, it must be hidden away, as if it were the emblem of some idolatrous sect !”

Having thus protested against the restriction upon the use of Catholic religious symbols, the Most Rev. Archbishop says: “As regards the restrictions upon the freedom of religious teaching the case is precisely the same. Here also, as I have repeatedly explained, our claim has reference only to those schools which, as a matter of fact, are attended exclusively by Catholic children. But, in reference even to these, *we do not ask that the State should undertake for us the responsibility, or should defray the expense of any religious teaching.* We ask merely for *unfettered liberty to discharge this duty for ourselves*; unfettered, that is to say, in all respects in which the exercise of it involves no interference with the rights of others.” (The italics are the Archbishop’s.)

The Most Rev. Archbishop also shows that the system as administered, contrary to its intention, is as antagonistic to positive Protestant religious instruction as it is to Catholic. Quoting from an argument of Mr. Butt, he says: “Walking down Kings-Inn street, the passenger may see, divided by a narrow lane, two separate buildings, both bearing the inscription of National School. On the one side of the lane is a school under the management of the ladies of a convent; on the other is the school of a Presbyterian Church. Not a single Protestant child attends the one; not a single Roman Catholic the other. Yet *in both* religious instruction *is fettered and controlled.*”

“If the Presbyterian teacher obeys the rules he dare not allude to religion in his ordinary instruction. If the sound of the convent bell were to induce any unfortunate pupil of the nuns to make the sign of the cross, or to repeat the invocations which her parents tell her are sacred, all the machinery of inspectors, and head inspectors, and official investigators would be set in motion to discover and punish the awful infraction of the rules of mixed education.

“In the narrow compass of that lane, about four yards wide, any observer can estimate the reality of the system of united education, and the deep practical wisdom of its rules. At a glance he will obtain an epitome of the whole system as it really exists.”

The Archbishop then shows that, if the State officials were consistent with their professed principle of ignoring religion and aiding only secular education, they would not concern themselves about whether religious instruction was or was not imparted in State-aided schools, or to what extent. Quoting again from Mr. Butt, he says: “To *prohibit* religious education is not to *ignore* it. To *prevent* that teaching is the very *reverse* of *non-interference*, is meddling with it, and meddling with it in the most mischievous sense. To insist on religious teaching in every school is not one particle more intermeddling than it is either to *prohibit*, or to *regulate*, or to *restrain* it.”

Writing, as we are, when all but the last few pages of the *Review* have been printed, we have neither time nor space to mention in detail the various subjects discussed, and the various improvements and reforms advocated in this work. Suffice it to say, that it contains a vast amount of information which will be of great value to Catholic school teachers and the bishops and clergy in their efforts to improve our existing parochial schools, academies, and colleges.

MORAL PHILOSOPHIE. Eine Wissenschaftliche Darlegung der Sittlichen, einschliesslich der Rechtlichen Ordnung von *Victor Cathrein*, S. J. Erster Band. Allgemeine Moral Philosophie. Freiburg, Herdersche Verlagshandlung. 1890. St. Louis, Mo.

IN his famous reply to Mr. Gladstone’s pamphlet on the “Infallibility

of the Pope," His Eminence, Cardinal Newman, made use of these remarkable words: "This, at least, is how I read the doctrine of Protestants as well as of Catholics. The rule and measure of duty is not utility, nor expedience, nor the happiness of the greatest number, nor State convenience, nor fitness, order and the *pulchrum*. Conscience is not a long-sighted selfishness, nor a desire to be consistent with oneself; but it is a messenger from Him who, both in nature and in grace, speaks to us behind a veil, and teaches and rules us by His representatives. Conscience is the aboriginal Vicar of Christ, a prophet in its information, a monarch in its peremptoriness, a priest in its blessings and anathemas; and even though the eternal priesthood throughout the Church could cease to be, in it the sacerdotal principle would remain and would have a sway." These eloquent lines of the illustrious Oratorian summarize the true foundation of moral philosophy. Father Cathrein gives us in this volume the first part of an exhaustive work on that science. It treats of ethics in general, of human acts and their morality as known solely by the light of reason. The author is well known as one of the staff of learned Jesuits who publish the German magazine, *Stimmen aus Maria Laach*.

The work is divided into eight books, with a valuable supplement on the morality of the different nations of the earth in the past and at present, civilized, barbarous and savage. The first book or introduction might rather be called a part of psychology, as it treats of the psychical nature of man, his free will and what affects his freedom.

The author shows unmistakably that he does not believe in evolution, and that there exists an impassable gulf between the most degraded savage and the highest form of animal life. Darwinians invariably proclaim the triumph of their theory because of the authority of the names defending it, whilst the truth is, that the weight of reliable authority is all the other way. Professor John Ranke, one of the greatest living authorities in this specialty, in his work on "Man," speaking of the present and prehistoric races, says: "At present amongst all the varieties of mankind known to us, there exist neither races, peoples, tribes or families, nor even any particular individual, which can be reckoned to constitute zoologically a link between man and the ape."

Professor Virchow, in his address before the Natural Science Congress in Wiesbaden, September 21st, 1887, speaking of the remains of man found in the tertiary period, declares that these "possessed just as perfect an organization as the savages of our day." "After having seen in Europe during the last few years Esquimaux and Bushmen, Araucani and Circisi, having examined all who have been considered the most degraded of the human race, the skulls of whom at least have been sent to us, there can no longer be a shadow of doubt that there exists nowhere a race of savages who can be looked upon as a link between man and any kind of brute animal."

Our author, in treating his subject, follows the ordinary division of most moral philosophers:

1. The end of man; perfect happiness in God alone; the law of death.

2. The intrinsic nature of morality. Here the author examines all the different systems, grouping them under seven different heads, according to the fundamental principle of each. This is, perhaps, the richest and most learned portion of the work, embracing, as it does, all the errors not only of the past, but also the latest developments of Positivism and Materialism.

3. Objective and subjective morality, virtues and vices.

4. Law ; duty or obligation ; sanction of the natural law ; its properties ; positive law.

5. Conscience.

6. Right. The supplement treats of the moral principles received and practiced by the various nations and races of the world. He describes the ancient Egyptians, Assyrians and Babylonians, Persians, East Indians, Buddhists, Chinese, Japanese, Greeks, Germans, Mohammedans as belonging to the civilized peoples ; and the tribes of Oceanica, Papuans, Polynesians, New Zealanders ; the savage Bannars of Cochin China, and Ainos of Japan, in Asia ; the Negroes, Hottentots and Bushmen of Africa ; the Indians of North America, Aztecs, Inkas, South Brazilians, Patagonians and the people of the polar regions.

The work is the most complete Moral Philosophy we have yet seen. What Father Taparelli, S.J., did for the history and study of ethics up to his day, that Father Cathrein has done for the present state of the science. In his preface he promises, during the course of the next year, to give us the second volume, on the specific rights and obligations of the individual, the family and the State. We are sure this valuable work will be welcomed by professors, students and all intelligent readers as a real acquisition to their libraries. Moral questions are now the important questions of the day. They are at the basis of all the burning disputes now agitating the world, and no one can afford to be ignorant of the true doctrine to be held on such points. What is philosophically true, cannot be practically false.

NICOLAI NILLES, E SOC. JESU, Commentaria in Concilium Plenarium Baltimorense Tertium. Editio domestica, privatis auditorum usibus accomodata. Oeniponte : C. Pustet. 1888.

Rev. Dr. Smith published his "Notes on the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore" and afterwards his "Elements of Ecclesiastical Law," as also "New Procedure in Criminal and Disciplinary Causes," in which volumes he makes use of the Third Plenary Council, but, as far as we know, the work of Dr. Nilles is the first, which *ex professo* treats only of our last Plenary Council. The professors and the students of our seminaries can learn from this volume in what way the authorities of the University of Innsbruck have endeavored to carry out the decrees of the Council for the benefit of their American students. Dr. Nilles is one of the oldest professors of the theological faculty of that University, where he has been teaching with Tuzer, Hurter, Jung, Stentrup and others. His branch is Canon Law. Besides his regular class-lectures, three times a week, he gives also one hour each week to the interpretation of the acts and decrees of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, as this Council is practically the embodiment of Canon Law for the United States. In the College of St. Nicholas, attached to the University, there were last year thirty-three American students from different dioceses of this country, and the Fathers of the last Plenary Council deemed it opportune to recommend it warmly, together with the American Colleges of Rome and Louvain.

In this work Professor Nilles gives us the substance of his lectures to the students on our last Plenary Council. There is much extraneous matter introduced, which, though of interest, has nothing to do with the real object of the work, although we must admit that these subjects are mentioned in the acts and decrees of the Council ; *e.g.*, all that he says about the new saints for the American calendar ; about the consecration of the dioceses to the Sacred Heart and the nature of that devotion ;

about St. Peter Claver; all the laws and regulations of the Divinity school of our Catholic University, as also of the College of St. Nicholas of Innsbruck. Almost one-third of the volume is taken up with these topics.

He divides his work into three parts, the vestibule, the atrium or main hall and the decrees. In the first part he speaks of the decrees for the promulgation and approbation of the Council, and shows in what sense that approbation is to be received. The second part treats of the acts of the Council, and is full of information concerning the members of the Council, its officials, the various congregations and the subjects treated by them. He speaks especially of the "title of the mission" for ordination and how anxious the Holy See is that the ordinary titles recognized by Canon Law should be introduced; and of the extension to the United States of the Bull, "Romanos Pontifices," defining the relations of religious communities to the Ordinary of the diocese, in England and Scotland. In the third part he comments on all the decrees of the Council. We have noted, as worthy of special attention, the chapter on "avoiding secular occupations" for the clergy. In speaking of the Baltimore Catechism, he says, that although it is good, it could be better, and illustrates his criticism by the 119th question: "Who are the successors of the other Apostles? A. The successors of the other Apostles are the Bishops of the Holy Catholic Church." The word "other" here evidently must mean the remaining Apostles, Peter excepted, which makes the answer faulty; for the college of bishops, which succeeds to the college of Apostles in the episcopal office but not in the apostolate, can never be separated from Peter. Again, page 188, he says the sixth commandment of the Church, as given in the catechism and explained there, might lead one to conclude that there are only four impediments of every kind to the marriage contract.

In commenting on the Sacrament of Matrimony, he dwells on the necessity of having a fixed schedule of questions to be answered by the bridegroom and bride as a preparation for the contract, and gives as a specimen the printed formula in use in St. James' Church, Innsbruck. Something of a similar character would undoubtedly be of the greatest utility in our country. We see that the last Synod of Cincinnati has drawn up such a formula for the use of the clergy of that diocese.

The book is remarkable for the care with which the author explains the etymology of all the terms and names of offices introduced. He has also added those decrees of the Provincial Councils and various synods which have met since the confirmation of the Third Plenary Council, and which have relation to the decrees there promulgated. The book is published by Pustet from the press of F. Rausch, Innsbruck.

DE PHILOSOPHIA MORALI PRÆLECTIONES, QUAS IN COLLEGIO GEORGIOPOLITANO SOC. JESU. Anno 1889-90, habuit. *P. Nicolaus Russo*, ejusdem Societatis, Neo-Eboraci, etc. Benziger Fratres. 1890.

Father Russo is already well known to the Catholics of the United States by his admirable little volume, "True Religion." To students he is better known by his "Summa Philosophica," the first part of a complete course of philosophy. During the past scholastic year he has been Professor of Moral Philosophy in Georgetown College, and we have in this work the lectures he gave to the students on that subject. The volume has just appeared from the press of Benziger Brothers. Being a course of lectures designed to embrace in one year the whole of moral science, both universal and special, the various propositions had to be

treated concisely. The reader, however, will find that though concise, nothing has been omitted to make a complete treatise and a popular textbook. He will notice, moreover, that the learned author is keenly alive to the burning questions of the day.

We call attention to a few of these. In speaking of a sufficient sanction for the natural law, he necessarily must treat of eternal punishment for the unrepentant wicked. He shows that eternal punishment is not contrary to the essence of punishment; that it is not opposed to the divine attributes; that proportion should exist between guilt and its punishment; that it is not contrary to the divine goodness; that man's probation is restricted to the present life; that such punishment cannot consist in the soul's annihilation; and that without it there would be no sufficient sanction for the natural law.

In treating of man's duties to God, the duties of religion, he proves them to be the most important of all duties, and that both logically and morally they go before all other duties, and that therefore it is impossible to separate moral science from religion.

Coming to the right of property, he distinguishes between the right every one has to acquire property and the right of property; that the former is natural, but that the latter is based on some fact, and gives the doctrine of the scholastics on this subject (Proposition XXIV.).

In Proposition XXV. he shows that the arguments brought forward by Henry George to prove that individuals by the law of nature can have no right or title to ownership of the land or soil, are worthless and lead directly to communism.

In Chapter VI. he treats of the relation between employers and employed, justice in wages, the right of laborers to combine for the defence of their just rights.

In Proposition XXXII. he demonstrates that it is the duty of PARENTS, and consequently their right, to educate their children; that, therefore, the State cannot claim such right, and much less compel parents to send their children to the public schools to be educated.

In treating of the nature of civil society, he shows that it is of the utmost importance to recognize this truth; that the members constituting it are not the individuals taken separately, but families; that civil society is natural, but that the particular form of government depends on some contingent fact; that civil authority is from God, inasmuch as it is absolutely necessary for that order demanded by natural reason.

This brief statement of burning questions will show how important the work is, and must claim the attention not only of students in our seminaries, of priests on the mission, but of all who wish to keep abreast of the times. We congratulate Father Russo, and thank him for the labor he must have given, during the last few months, to bring out such a work. Benziger Brothers have done their full share to make the volume acceptable to the public,—fine paper, excellent type and scarcely any typographical errors (we noticed only one).

Two indices enrich the work, one analytical, the other alphabetical, so that the reader can find at once whatever he may desire of its precious contents.

BENJAMIN HERDER. Fünfzig Jahre eines geistigen Befreiungs Kampfes von *P. Albert Maria Weiss, O. Pr.* Freiburg and St. Louis: Herdersche Verlagshandlung. 1889.

A life of one of the greatest of all modern Catholic publishers, and his fifty years of noble work for the intellectual and spiritual emanci-

pation of the Catholic press of his native land. The life of Benjamin Herder shows what an inspiration and fountain of mental activity one man can become, not only to a nation, but to all mankind. We will give only a short list of his more important publications (pp. 73-121), many of which owe their origin to his suggestions, and very many would never have been published unless for his assistance. We begin with the famous "Kirchenlexicon," of Welte and Wetzer, which was inspired by Herder, and the first part of which was sent to him July 19, 1844. The history of this Catholic Encyclopædia is given (pp. 15-34). A new edition of the work, improved, and embracing all the latest learning and discoveries, was planned by him as far back as 1863, but it was only in 1876, that he could induce Hergenröther to act as editor-in-chief of the same. When Hergenröther was made Cardinal, Kauler succeeded him in that difficult position. Herder lived to see about one-half of the new work published. This Encyclopædia is incomparably the best, the most accurate and learned that has appeared in any language. No library is complete without it. To us it is a wonder that no English translation of it has appeared. The "Real-Encyclopædie of Christian Antiquity, of Kraus; Staatslexicon; Christian Annals," in the twelve numbers on the Encyclical of 1864, by the Jesuits of Maria-Laach, which were the introduction to the famous "Stimmen aus Maria-Laach,"; the "German Catholic Magazine"; Alban Stolz's Works; Janssen's Historical Works; Hefele's "History of the Church Councils"; Döllinger's Catholic Historical Works; in Theology, Schätzler, Scheeben, Simar, etc.; in Apologetics, Vosen and Hettenger, etc.; in Moral Theology, Gury, Dumas, Pruner, Rohling, Lehmkuhl, etc.; in Biblical Literature and Scripture Interpretation, Maier, Reusch, Langen, Aberle, Kaulen, Dursch, Koenig, Simar, Knabenbauer, Krementz, Wolter, Schanz, Keppler, etc.; on Social Questions, Perin, Cossa, Hertling, Ratzinger, Ehrle, Costa-Rossetti.

We have mentioned some of the Church historians, but there are many others, like Kopp, Gförrer, Jörg, Rász, Greith, Reumont, Mone, Pastor, all great authors; in Pastoral Theology and Liturgy, Thalhofer, Hettenger, Gühr, Hausherr, etc.; in Homiletics, Schleinitzer and Jungmann; in Catechisms, Canisius, Martin, Schuster, Deharbe, Schmitt, Krecht, Mey, Zenotty, König, Hake, Dreher, Habingsreither, Brüll, Maliske; in Canon Law, Binder, Phillips, Vering, Lämmer, Sentis, Meyer, Weber, Hergenröther, Lemz, Laurin.

Such are only some of the names of the authors whose works he published; and that only in the domain of ecclesiastical literature. What a wonderful energy this one list shows. The American catalogue of only selected works published by the firm comprises no less than five hundred and forty-three different numbers. Surely, the memory of Benjamin Herder deserves grateful recognition from the Church and every Catholic. In the words of Ecclesiasticus: "Let us praise such men of renown and our fathers in their generation, . . . men of mercy whose Godly deeds have not failed, . . . their bodies are buried in peace; and their name liveth unto generation and generation. Let the people show forth their wisdom and the Church declare their praise." (xlv.)

Benjamin Ignatius Herder was born July 31, 1818, at Freiburg, Germany. He died on Saturday, November 10, 1888, at noon, whilst the Angelus bell was ringing. Life long, he had been a devout child of Mary. Dying, he constantly asked those around him to say the "Hail, Mary." His last word was "Pray." In life his business motto was "*Sursum*." In death, we may hope that his Blessed Mother answered the prayer of her true client and said to him, also, "*Sursum*."

PLAIN SERMONS ON THE FUNDAMENTAL TRUTHS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.—By the *Rev. R. D. Browne*. "Mirabilia testimonia tua, ideo scrutata est ea anima mea." London: Burns & Oates, Limited; New York: Catholic Publication Society Company.

The writer of this notice once heard a venerable and most learned ecclesiastic say that he was inclined to look upon sermon-books as an evil rather than a blessing. Was he right in his estimate? Our verdict is an emphatic No. Sermon-books are clearly a great blessing. They are a blessing to the laity, and a blessing to the clergy. For both, they have been written, and to both, we are convinced, they are eminently profitable. Put plain, practicable sermon-books, we care not how many, into the homes of our people and you will have better Catholics. They will have clearer knowledge of their religion and its demands on them, and great good will necessarily follow. In his valuation of sermon-books, we feel sure that the divine we have quoted, must entirely have lost sight of the fact, that immediately and directly such works are intended for the laity as well as the clergy. But, even on the hypothesis that works of this character are intended solely for the clergy, and by them only utilized, we fail to see the grounds for our learned friend's judgment on them. Granted that the clergy alone make use of them, how can we look upon such works as an evil? In some, and we are convinced very rare cases, it may happen that books of this nature give encouragement to dissipation of time and talents, but the good they do, the boon they prove to busy, overworked priests, who have not time for deep thought and prolonged meditation necessary for effective preaching, far outweighs the lesser, if existing evil. And even to those of the clergy who have the leisure for deep, continuous thought, are not such works a boon and a blessing? The pity is, that we have so very few works of the kind. We want more and more of them, and the more we get, the better it will be for religion. But we want plain, practical sermons—sermons that are full of thought and calculated to bring home to the heads and hearts of man the great truths of religion. In Father Browne's book, we have a treasure. It is, as he has called it, a book of plain sermons. He makes no lofty pretensions. He does not seek to preach himself rather than Christ crucified. He has given it to us, without even a prefatory notice, believing, no doubt, that its high merits would soon commend it to those for whom he wrote it. The plan of the book is simple and natural. The style is easy and clear, but always dignified. The Apostle's Creed, the Commandments and Sacraments are foundations upon which he has built his splendid superstructure. The opening sermons are of God—As He is in Himself, of His nature and attributes. He then treats of Him as Creator—of His relations to us and our relations with Him. He then leads us on, step by step, through the Fall of Man, God's promise of a Redeemer, to the birth of Christ. His sermons on Christ, as God and man, are splendid, theological treatises, yet so plain and simple, that no one can fail to grasp his meaning. His sermons on and from the Commandments and Sacraments are models of simplicity and clearness. They are pre-eminently practical and instructive, seeking to win man to God, not by the persuasive words of human wisdom, but by the preaching of the Word of God—the true bread of life. This book, we are sure, will receive a hearty welcome. It will, we believe, be the instrument of much good, for, by making God better known, it will, consequently and necessarily make Him better loved.

COMPENDIUM JURIS CANONICI AD USUM CLERI ET SEMINARIORUM HAGUS REGIONIS ACCOMMODATUM.—Auctore *Rev. S. B. Smith, S.T.D.* Quondam Professore juris canonici; Qui etiam scripsit libros, qui inscribuntur "Elements of Ecclesiastical Law," "The New Procedure," etc., etc. Neo-Eboraci, Cincinnati, Chicago. Benziger Fratres. Summi Pontifices Typographi.

This work, as the title page proclaims, has been intended by its reverend author as a text-book for our Seminaries. It is an abridgment of the author's well-known work "Elements of Ecclesiastical Law." Indeed, it is more than an abridgment of that work; for the author devotes the third book of the compendium to a treatise on ecclesiastical property; a division of canon law, to which in his larger work he has not drawn attention.

That we need a canon-law text-book for our seminaries is pretty generally admitted. The books now in use, from one or another defect, are not satisfactory. Of those that have fallen under our notice, some are too diffuse, others devoid of form, no one entirely satisfactory. Have we in Doctor Smith's compendium the consummation so devoutly wished for? Over his "Elements of Ecclesiastical Law," the compendium, in that it is written in Latin, has clearly, in our estimation, a conspicuous excellence; for Latin, the mother-tongue of the Church, should ever be the language of her seminary text books.

But does this work possess the other qualities which should be found in a model text-book. If it be not chargeable with diffusiveness and excessive elaboration, is it on the other hand sufficiently complete—does it offer the student a fair grasp of the great subject of canon law? On this point it were strange if there should not be a divergence of opinion. As we read through the work, we more than once expressed the wish that in this or that particular the author had enlarged a trifle. To be sure, in almost every such instance, he refers us to his larger and more complete work, the "Elements of Ecclesiastical Law." Yet, in not a few instances, we would prefer to have in the compendium itself more fullness. How difficult is the task of making a satisfactory abridgment of any work we are fully conscious, and we moreover recognize the fact, that in a work on canon law, where so much is to be explained in detail, and so many authorities cited, the task is greatly intensified. Hence, it were hardly fair to press this point as a defect in the work. But what of the author's teaching? We do not hesitate to pronounce him clear and sound. In his hands we feel that our students will be safe. By this we do not mean that in all things we coincide with the author; for with not a few of his deductions and conclusions we are inclined to disagree. Yet these, for the most part, are matters freely controverted between canonists and theologians. To the students of our American seminaries not the least interesting and useful part of Doctor Smith's work will be what we may be allowed to call its American side. For, together with the general law of the Church, it gives us the special law for our own time and country, incorporating, as it does, the "Instructio cum magnopore" and other rulings of the sacred congregation which are practically a canon law for this country. Dr. Smith deserves great praise for his labors in the field of canon law. He has accomplished a great work, and we wish him the fullest reward for his labors.

THE LIFE OF ST. THOMAS AQUINAS, THE ANGELIC DOCTOR. Edited by Father *Pius Cavanaugh*, O. P. Illustrated. London: Burns and Oates. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co.

An English life of St. Thomas for popular reading was much needed,

and this need the work before us is well calculated to supply. It is written in pleasing style, and we are glad to say, that unlike many other books intended for the general public, it is not superficial, but is a carefully composed biography. It briefly but very clearly describes the chief occurrences in the life of St. Thomas, his sweetness of disposition, his humility, fervent devotion, purity, charity, and intense thirst for knowledge from his earliest years; his subsequent labors, penances, austerities and spiritual experiences; his wonderful wisdom and genius; the immense influence he exerted in banishing the spirit of irreverence and rationalism from the schools; the invaluable treatises he wrote. The concluding chapter is occupied with an account of the measures taken by the Holy Father, Leo XIII., to revive the study of the philosophy of St. Thomas in Catholic colleges and theological seminaries.

THE GREAT SACRIFICE OF THE NEW LAW EXPOUNDED BY THE FIGURES OF THE OLD.
—Eighth edition. London. Printed for Matthew Turner, at the Lamb, in High-Holburn: Permissu Superiorum. 1687. By *James Dymock*, A Clergyman.
London: Burns & Oates. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co. 1890.

This excellent little work (edited by Orby Shipley) is volume two of a series of old English books in process of publication by Burns & Oates. It was first printed privately in 1676, but so popular did it become, that in course of eleven years eight editions of it were published.

The ruling motive of the book may be inferred from some remarks of the author in his preface, in which he states that, while many of the "learned have labored much to inform the curious touching the antiquity and veracity of each part of the Mass, and others have gratified the people with several methods for hearing Mass," he endeavors "to expound the most essential parts of the Mass by proofs deduced chiefly out of the sacred books of Exodus and Leviticus; making use of the figures and sacrifices of the Old Law to explain and prove the sacrifices of the New, thus evidencing the Mass to be a complete and perfect sacrifice.

The first part of the work treats of sacrifices in general; the second part is occupied with a special exposition of the Mass; the third part contains a number of practical directions.

Both in method and style the work is highly commendable. It combines important instruction, lucidly imparted, with edifying reflections.

DER APOSTEL VON OHIO. Ein Lebensbild des Hochw. Edward Dominik Fenwick, aus dem Dominikanerorden, ersten Bishchofs von Cincinnati, Ohio, von *P. Bonaventura Hammer*, O. S. F. Freiburg and St. Louis. Herder'sche Verlagshandlung. 1890. Pp. 168.

This is a short history of the pioneer missionary bishop of Ohio and his times, drawn from Archbishop Spalding's "Sketches of the Early Catholic Missions of Kentucky," and his "Life of Bishop Flaget, the First Bishop of Louisville;" from Webb's "Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky"; Bishop Maes's "Life of Rev. Charles Nerinckx"; the "Annals of the Propagation of the Faith"; the early files of the "Catholic Telegraph," of Cincinnati, etc. It brings before us, also, the pioneer missionaries of the West, Fathers Gabriel Richard, Stephen T. Badin, C. Nerinckx, Frederick Rese, first bishop of Detroit, Frederick Baraga, first bishop of Marquette, John M. Henni, first bishop and archbishop of Milwaukee, and others. All such sketches are valuable for the future history of the Church in this country. The fragments can be gathered up still, but they are in great danger of being lost unless

there be found those who, like the author of this little work, will strive to save them from oblivion. Every State in the West and Northwest has its apostles; who will write their lives whilst their memories are still fresh?

WHO WAS BRUNO? A DIRECT ANSWER TO A PLAIN QUESTION. From the latest published documents. By *John A. Mooney*. New York: The Catholic Publication Society Co. 1890.

To those who wish to know who and what Giordano Bruno was this pamphlet will be both interesting and valuable. The answer to the question may be given in few words. He was an adventurer of infamous life; a liar and a scoundrel; both a materialist and a pantheist. He was not an original thinker; he put forth no new ideas, and the notions he gathered from others are self-contradictory, and were arranged and expressed by him in a confused, bungling manner. Reduced to a system, they are essentially anarchical, destructive alike of religion and human society. The proofs of this are presented in the pamphlet before us.

ELEMENTARY TREATISE OF ALGEBRA. For the Use of Beginners. Second Edition, Entirely Revised, with an Appendix. By *Joseph Bayma*, S.J., Professor of Mathematics in Santa Clara College, S.J., Santa Clara, California. San Francisco: A. Waldteuffel, 1890.

Of all the elementary text-books on Algebra that have come under our notice (and we have had occasion to examine a number of them) this, in our opinion, is decidedly the best. The author of it says, in his preface, that he has "made it a point to be as plain and as brief as possible." That he has succeeded in this every page of the work furnishes evidence. His definitions, explanations, and rules, far excel in lucidity and easiness of comprehension those that are given in most of the text-books on Algebra that are used in our schools.

THE GARDEN OF DIVINE LOVE. By the *Rev. J. A. Maltus*, of the Order of Preachers. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co.

This little work, which bears the highest ecclesiastical approval, contains a variety of devotional topics, all set forth in simple, yet interesting style. It opens with two chapters on humility; then come nineteen on devotions to the Blessed Trinity, twenty-one on devotions to Jesus, six on devotions to the Holy Ghost, and, lastly, two on devotions to the Blessed Virgin. We are reminded in the introduction that "as an encouragement to the use of these devotions, every act of the love of God, exercised in the state of grace, receives a reward by the increase of divine love in the soul."

COLUMBIADS. Pearl Drops from the Fountain of Wisdom, Wrought out in Sober Settings in the Laboratory of Thought. By A Random Thinker. Columbus, O.: August Ruetty. 1889.

We cannot help but think "at random" that this title is unfortunate, if not incongruous. The package is worthy of a better label, for it contains some of the best mental nutriment that we have ever met with in such a collection. Of course, where there are so many expressions of thought, it cannot be but that a considerable portion of them are commonplace. Perhaps for this reason they are worth pondering over, as the commonplace, no matter how useful, is often likely to be overlooked. It is unfortunate, too, that occasional typographical inaccuracy is out of keeping with the book's handsome binding.

MEXICO; PICTURESQUE, POLITICAL, PROGRESSIVE. By *Mary Elisabeth Blake*, Author of "On the Wing, etc.," and *Margaret F. Sullivan*, Author of "Ireland of To-Day." Boston: Lee & Shephard. New York: Charles T. Dillingham.

The first part of this book, comprising about three-fourths of the whole volume, consists of a series of sketches containing charming descriptions of the scenery, habits, and social life of the people of Mexico, as observed by the writer during a recent very extensive tour through that country. The second part of the book consists of four chapters, briefly describing the history of Mexico and its political progress; its constitution and government; its religious and educational conditions; its revenue and its application.

LESSONS FROM OUR LADY'S LIFE. By the Author of "The Little Rosary of the Sacred Heart." London: Burns & Oates. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co. 1889.

These "Lessons" are brief comments, full of wholesome food for pious reflection, on the principal incidents in our Blessed Lady's career, from her immaculate conception and nativity to her assumption and coronation. They really form a biography in the shape of brief chapters intended for occasional spiritual reading and meditation.

THE LIFE OF OUR LORD. Prepared Chiefly in the Words of the Gospel, for the Use of Schools. By *T. Murphy*, Master of the Practicing School, St. Mary's Training College, Hammersmith. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Catholic Publication Society Company. 1890.

This is an admirable little volume. We would be glad to see it used in every family, as well as introduced as a text-book into every school.

MENSHIKOFF, OR THE PEASANT PRINCE. By *Alfred D'Aveline*. Philadelphia: H. L. Kilner & Co. 1890.

This is a realistic tale of Russian barbarism and cruelty in the days of Peter the Great. Its moral is good.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

[The mention of books under this head will not preclude them from receiving further and fuller notice hereafter.]

PREHISTORIC AMERICA. Volume II. By *Stephen D. Peet*, editor of the "American Antiquarian." Chicago: American Antiquarian Office. 1890.

THE CROWN OF THORNS; OR, THE LITTLE BREVIAIRY OF THE HOLY FACE. A Complete Manual of Devotion and Reparation to the Holy Face of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. From Approved and Original Sources by the Sisters of the Divine Compassion. With an Introductory Notice by the *Right Rev. Monsignor Preston, DD., LL.D.*, Prothonotary Apostolic, Vicar General. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers. 1890.

THE SACRED HEART STUDIED IN THE SACRED SCRIPTURES. Translated from the French of the *Rev. H. Santrain, O.S.S.R.*, author of the "Redemption," etc., etc. New York, Cincinnati, and Chicago: Benziger Brothers, Printers to the Holy See. 1890.

ORDO DIVINI OFFICII RECITANDI. Missæque Celebrandæ Juxta Rubricas Emendatas Breviarii Missalisque Romani cum Votivis Officiis ex Indulto tam pro Clero Sæculari Statum Fœderatum Officiis Generalibus hic Concessis utente quam pro Iis Quibus Kalendarium Clero Romano proprium concessum est. Pro Anno Domini. MDCCCCIXC. Fr. Pustet & Co. New York and Cincinnati.

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